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Wilson & Boutall Ph &c

Robert Burton,
from the Portrait at Brasenose College, Oxford.

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Melancholia.



Democritus Abderita.



Solitudo.

THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.

What it is, With all the Kinds causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, & Severall cures of it. In three Partitions, with their severall Sections, members & subsections,

Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, opened & cut up.

By

Democritus Junior.

With a Satyricall Preface, Conducing to the following Discourse.

The Second Edition, corrected and augmented by the Author.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.



Inamorato.



Hypocondriacus.



Superstitiosus.



Democritus Junior.



Maniacus.



Bonus.

London
Printed for H: Cripps and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-head Alley and by B: Wallis at the Horse shoe in the Old Baley.
1660.



Melancholicus.

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THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY

BY

ROBERT BURTON

EDITED BY THE
REV. A. R. SHILLETO, M.A.
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY A. H. BULLEN

VOL. I

LONDON
GEORGE BELL AND SONS
1896

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

IN the present volumes the text of the sixth edition (1651-2) of "THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY" has been followed. That edition was posthumously printed from a copy containing the author's latest corrections. The seventh and eighth editions were literal reprints of the sixth, and of more modern editions none has any critical value. Burton's use of italics and capitals has been kept, but his erratic spelling has been somewhat altered in order to make it more consistent throughout.

No attempt has been made by previous editors to verify Burton's numberless quotations. His range of reading was so wide, and his references are frequently so vague and inexact, that it would be a task of the greatest difficulty to follow him through all his devious wanderings. The erudite editor of these volumes, Mr. Shilleto, whose long familiarity with the "Anatomy" has rendered the work to a great extent a labour of love, has, however, by a happy combination of unusually extensive reading and untiring perseverance, succeeded in verifying a large proportion of the classical quotations, and also numerous passages from

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obscure post-classical authors. Unfortunately, through serious ill-health, the editor was obliged to give up work while the sheets of the third volume were passing through the press; and Mr. A. H. Bullen has kindly supplied the Introduction.

The portrait of Burton has been reproduced by Messrs Walker and Boutall from the painting at Brasenose College, Oxford. A new and very full index has been compiled by Mr. W. F. R. Shilleto, the editor's brother.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the chapter on "Air Rectified" part. ii., sect. 2, memb. 3 of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton mentions that he was born at Lindley[1] in Leicestershire, "the possession and dwelling-place of Ralph Burton, Esquire, my late deceased father." His elder brother, William, (1575-1645), remembered as the author of a *Description of Leicestershire*, survived him, and raised a monument to his memory in Christ Church Cathedral. In the calculation of his nativity, above the bust, the date of Robert Burton's birth is given as February 8th, 1576-7.[2] He was educated at the free school of Sutton Coldfield,[3] Warwickshire, and at Nuneaton Grammar School.[4] In 1593 he became a commoner of Brasenose

[1] "There is a tradition that he was born at Falde, in Staffordshire, and Plot, in his *Natural History of Staffordshire*, 1686, p. 276, states that he was shown the house of Robert Burton's nativity; but the tradition probably arose from the fact that William Burton (his elder brother) resided at Falde."—*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* (article by the present writer). On the title-page of some of the books which he bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, we find his autograph with the addition "Lindliacus Leycestrensis."

[2] William Burton, in his *Description of Leicestershire*, ed. 1777, p. 162, gives February 8th, 1578, as the date of birth.

[3] "Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire (where I was once a grammar scholar) . . . which stands, as Camden notes, *loco ingrato et sterili*, but in an excellent air and full of all manner of pleasures."—Chapter on "Air Rectified."

[4] See Robert Burton's *Will*, *infra*.

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College, Oxford; in 1599 he was elected student at Christ Church, where, "for form sake, though he wanted not a tutor" (in the words of Anthony à Wood, the Oxford historian), he was placed under the tuition of Dr. John Bancroft,[1] afterwards Bishop of Oxford; in 1614, he took the degree of B.D., and was admitted to the reading of the sentences; and on November 29th, 1616, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church appointed him Vicar of St. Thomas, in the west suburbs of Oxford. It is recorded that he always gave his parishioners the sacrament in wafers and that he built the south porch of the church. About 1630 he was presented by his patron, George Lord Berkeley, to the rectory of Segrave, in Leicestershire. Residing at Christ Church, he held the two livings "with much ado to his dying day."

In part. i., sect. 2, memb. 3, subsect. 15 of the *Anatomy* (the "Digression on the Miseries of Scholars, and why the Muses are Melancholy"), Burton mentions in a side-note his Latin comedy, *Philosophaster*, acted at Christ Church, February 16th, 1617. This play was not printed in the author's lifetime, and was long supposed to be irretrievably lost; but happily two MS. copies have been preserved. One MS., which had originally belonged to the author, was purchased (at the sale of Dean Milles' library) by the late Rev. W. E. Buckley, of Brasenose College, rector of Middleton Cheney, and vice-president of the Roxburghe Club. It could not have fallen into better hands. With loving care, Mr. Buckley, in 1862, edited and annotated the precious MS. for the members of the Roxburghe Club,[2]

[1] In the chapter on "Air Rectified," Burton takes occasion to praise the situation of Cuddesdon Palace, "lately and fairly built in a good air, good prospect, good soil, both for profit and pleasure, not so easily to be matched," adding a side-note "By John Bancroft, Dr. of Divinity, my quondam tutor in Christ Church, Oxon, now the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Oxon, who built this house for himself and his successors."

[2] The impression was limited to sixty-five copies.

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appending for their further gratification a collection of Burton's various contributions to academical miscellanies (*Natalia*, *Parentalia*, etc.). The second MS., a presentation copy to William Burton from the author, is now in Lord Mostyn's library (Historical MSS. Comm., 4th Rep., 356).

Latin academical plays are with few exceptions insuperably tedious, but for *Philosophaster* no apologies are needed (though we may regret that it was not written in English). From a note on the title-page of Mr. Buckley's MS. it appears that the play was originally projected in 1606—"Inchoata A°. Domini 1606, alterata, renovata, perfecta Anno Domini 1615." The same hand has written *Scripta* over *Inchoata*, and *revisa* over *renovata*. In the prologue Burton defends himself against the possible charge of plagiarism. Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*[1] (acted in 1610), and Tomkis's *Albumazar*, (acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1614), deal with some of the foibles and follies

[1] Polupistos (in Burton's play), who has been induced by Pantomagus the alchemist to part with large sums of money, dwells with rapture on the uses to which he will put his promised treasures :—

"Alpes complanabo, et sylvam Hercyniam,
Desiccabo deinde Paludem Mœotidem,
Projiciendo in eam montes Hyperboreos.
Desertum Lop et Zin prata erunt uberrima,
Mons Atlas frugifer, et arena Lybica
Producet sumptu meo decuplum, centuplum.
Loquuntur idiotæ et vulgus hominum
De ponte Trajani et stupendis operibus
Romanorum, theatris et Mausoli tumulis ;
At hæc si ad nostra conferantur opera
Nulla futura. De vivo saxo pontes condam duos,
In ornamentum Europæ, et stuporem Oceani.
Primus erit a Caleto ad Doroberniam,
Alter ad fretum et fauces Euxini Maris,
Ubi Xerxes olim trajecit exercitum.
Faciamque piscinam de Mari Mediterraneo."

Sir Epicure Mammon in the *Alchemist* indulged in more voluptuous visions of happiness.

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that are exposed in *Philosophaster*. Hence Burton was at pains to let the auditors know, on February 16th, 1617, that his play had been written eleven years earlier:—

> "Emendicatum e nupera scena aut quis putet,
> Sciat quod undecim abhinc annis scripta fuit."

A certain Desiderius, Duke of Osuna (a small town in Andalusia), re-establishes the university there, and by proclamation invites learned men from all parts of Europe to repair to his asylum. In response to the invitation various charlatans assemble, among them an alchemist, jesuit, poetaster, theologaster, etc. The schemes of these adventurers are ingeniously described. Owing to the numerous abuses brought to his notice, Desiderius determines to break up the university; but, at the advice of the sages Polumathes and Philobiblos, the pretenders are brought to judgment and punished. Good government established, the play closes with a hymn in praise of philosophy. There is much spirit and pleasantry in the dialogue, and the rhymed lyrical passages are briskly written.

In 1621 appeared *The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is. With all the Kindes, Cavses, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and severall Cvres of it. In Three Maine Partitions, with their seuerall Sections, Members, and Svbsections. Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, opened and cvt vp. By Democritus Iunior. With a Satyricall Preface, conducing to the following Discourse. Macrob. Omne meum, Nihil Meum. At Oxford, Printed by Iohn Lichfield, and Iames Short, for Henry Cripps. Anno Dom.* 1621, 4to. At the end is an "Apologetical Index," (found only in the first edition) subscribed "Robert Burton," and dated "From my Studie in Christ Church, Oxon." Later editions, in folio, followed in 1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1651-2, 1660, 1676. To the end of his life Burton was constantly engaged in revising his treatise. In the third edition he stated that thenceforward he would

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neither add, alter, nor retract; but the fourth edition (1632) differs considerably from the third, and the fifth (1638) from the fourth. The sixth edition (1651-2) was posthumously printed from a copy that contained the author's latest corrections. An enthusiastic admirer of Burton will desire to possess all six editions. The engraved title-page by C. Le Blond first appeared in the third edition (1628). At the top is an emblematic representation of Democritus, and at the foot is the author's portrait. The sides contain figures illustrating the effects of Love-Madness, Hypochondriasis, Religious Melancholy, and Mania. Emblems of Jealousy and Solitude are in the corners at the top; the herbs borage and hellebore (formerly esteemed powerful aids against Melancholy and Madness) are depicted in the corners at the foot.

In the long preface, "Democritus to the Reader," Burton tells how he came to write his treatise and explains why he assumed the name of "Democritus Junior." He had been brought up a student "in the most flourishing College of Europe," and desired to show his gratitude to the College by writing something that should be worthy of so noble a society. Having the use of excellent libraries, he had read widely. With whimsical self-depreciation, he remarks,—"I have read many books, but to little purpose for want of method; I have confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our Libraries, with small profit, for want of art, order, memory, judgment." Neither rich nor poor, he was possessed of a competence. Leading a secluded life, he surveyed the world from afar, "a mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts, which methinks are diversely presented unto me as from a common theatre or scene."

Democritus, as described out of Hippocrates and Diogenes Laertius, was "a little wearish old man, very melancholy by nature, averse from company in his latter days, and much given to solitariness." He was well skilled in divinity, mathematics, medicine, and natural history.

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One of his favourite studies was husbandry. The last years of his life were spent at Abdera, where he had a garden-house in the suburbs. Occasionally he would go down to the haven and laugh heartily at the ridiculous objects that presented themselves to his view. Once Hippocrates found him in the garden, sitting in the shade with a book on his knee. The book was on the subject of melancholy and madness. Scattered about were the carcases of "many several beasts newly by him cut up and anatomized, not that he did contemn God's creatures, as he told Hippocrates, but to find out the seat of this *atra bilis*, or melancholy, whence it proceeds and how it was engendered in men's bodies, to the intent he might better cure it in himself, by his writings and observations teach others to prevent and avoid it." Burton set himself to carry out the design conceived by Democritus and commended by Hippocrates. He modestly disclaimed any intention of comparing himself with Democritus, but urged that (like the sage of Abdera) he had led a silent, sedentary, and solitary life. If we may credit a story told by Bishop Kennet (*Register and Chronicle*, p. 220), it would appear that Burton, when he assumed the name of Democritus, went so far as to reproduce the old philosopher's oddities of conduct. As Democritus used to recreate himself by walking down to the haven at Abdera and laughing at the absurdities that he encountered, so Burton (to shake off a fit of melancholy) would repair to the bridge-foot at Oxford and listen to the bargemen swearing at one another, "at which he would set his hands to his sides and laugh most profusely."

To those who may object to his choice of subject Burton has a ready answer. He wrote of melancholy to avoid melancholy. To procure ease of mind he turned over such medical treatises as he could find in public libraries or in his friends' collections. Why add to the number of books? It is but repetition and pilfering. Our eyes ache with reading, and our fingers are weary of turning the page.

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Burton shelters himself behind Macrobius' saying, "*Omne meum, nihil meum*, 'tis all mine and none mine." He owns that he has laboriously "collected this cento out of divers authors," but declares that he had given every author his due. He had digested what others had written, but the method was all his own. His apology for his borrowings is made in a spirit of pleasantry, but at the same time with a full sense of his own dignity and literary skill:—"The composition and method is ours only, and shows a scholar." A scholar, and much besides: a curious master of language; a shrewd observer, a subtle enquirer; a spirit dowered with kindliest humour and inexhaustible fancy. Having vindicated his claim to originality, Burton is pleasantly apologetical again. His book, he protests, is a vain, idle treatise, not worth the reading:—"I should be peradventure loth myself to read him or thee so writing, 'tis not *operæ pretium*." In the course of his apology, he states that it had been his original intention to write in Latin. But "our mercenary stationers" would not take the risk of issuing the book in Latin; so he was compelled (happy compulsion!) to employ English. He would have been glad to revise the matter, and correct the style, more carefully; but opportunity was wanting. He begs the reader's indulgence on the ground that he had no amanuenses or assistants. Pancrates (in Lucian) was able by magic to turn a door-bar into a serving man, but Burton never arrived at such skill in magic. Origen was allowed by Ambrosius six or seven amanuenses; Burton had to arrange his "confused company of notes" as best he could, without assistance. Working single-handed, he had no time to spend on the elaboration of tropes and figures, "strains of wit, brave heats, elogies, hyperbolical exornations, elegancies, etc., which many so much affect." He looks rather to matter than to style; his aim is (we are gravely assured) to express himself plainly. It may be urged that he ought to have chosen Divinity as the subject of his treatise. Divinity is beyond question the queen

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of all professions; but so many commentaries, expositions, sermons, etc., were already in existence that he saw no need to add to the number. "Had I been," he remarks, "as forward and ambitious as some others, I might have haply printed a sermon at Paul's Cross, a sermon in St. Mary's, Oxon, a sermon in Christ Church, or a sermon before the right honourable, right reverend, a sermon before the right worshipful, a sermon in Latin, in English, a sermon with a name, a sermon without, a sermon, a sermon, etc. But I have been ever as desirous to suppress my labours in this kind as others have been to press and publish theirs." If physicians resent his intrusion into their province, he would remind them that the professions of divinity and physic are closely allied. Marcilius Ficinus was at once a priest and a physician; Thomas Linacre, in his old age, entered the Church; the Jesuits practise medicine. Melancholy being an infirmity of soul and body, divinity and medicine must unite in effecting the cure. The need of such a treatise as the present is evident. If we take a brief survey of the world we shall see how widespread is the disease, attacking not only individuals, but whole kingdoms, and even extending to "vegetals and sensibles." The rest of the preface is devoted to this brief survey, which covers sixty closely-printed folio pages.

After the prefatory chapter is a very elaborate tabular Synopsis of the First Partition, with the several Sections, Members, and Subsections. It is followed by observations on diseases in general, and on diseases of the mind in particular. Then Burton proceeds to give a Digression of Anatomy,—the anatomy of the body and the anatomy of the soul. These preliminary remarks concluded, he sets himself to "perspicuously define what this Melancholy is, shew his Name and Differences." Having touched on the matter of Melancholy, and its species or kinds, he at length reaches the Causes of Melancholy. These causes are either supernatural or natural. In the former class are spirits and devils, witches and magicians. He confesses that he

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approached the subject of demonology with some perplexity:—"How far the power of spirits and devils doth extend, and whether they can cause this or any other disease, is a serious question, and worthy to be considered. We can sooner determine with Tully, *de nat. deorum, quid non sint quam quid sint,* our subtle schoolmen, Cardans, Scaligers, profound Thomists, *Fracastoriana et Ferneliana acies,* are weak, dry, obscure, defective in these mysteries, and all our quickest wits, as an owl's eyes at the sun-light, wax dull, and are not sufficient to apprehend them; yet, as in the rest, I will adventure to say something to this point." The information that he collected is curious and entertaining. Cardan's father conjured up seven devils (in Greek apparel), about forty years old, some of a ruddy complexion, some pale; they were aerial devils. Paracelsus kept a devil in his sword-pommel. In Germany there are places where, if Paracelsus may be credited, devils "do walk in little coats some two foot long." These, like our Hobgoblins and Robin Goodfellow, are well-disposed, amiable spirits. In Norway there are devils that turn their hand to domestic work, draw water, dress meat, etc. Hardly a family in Iceland that has not some familiar spirit attached to the household. But save us from the devils who haunt the centre of the earth (having their egress and regress round Ætna and Hypara and Hecla), to torture the souls of the damned! Nor would any sensible man hunt after the society of the Foliots (harmless though they are reported to be), who take up their abode in deserted houses, alternately howling and laughing, opening doors and shutting them, rattling chains, flinging stones, and generally conducting themselves in a manner that is to be deprecated. Then there are the devils of the deserts of Asia, who try to draw the traveller from his path by counterfeiting the voices of his comrades. Again there are the devils who sit by the wayside watching an opportunity to make travellers' horses stumble. That holy man Ketellus gathered in conversation from these roadside devils that

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they heartily rejoice when a rider loses his temper and swears at his horse for stumbling. Olaus Magnus mentions six varieties of devils whose home is in the mines; some are noxious, others harmless. In a thousand shapes the devil reigns. He is always compassing our overthrow and seeking our destruction. It is hard to say how far the power of devils extends, but they are among the chief Causes of Melancholy.

The chapters on Diet (memb. 2, subs. 1, 2, 3) are entertaining. By one authority or another every sort of food, animal and vegetable, has been condemned. Beef (according to Galen) breeds "gross melancholy blood"; pork is "altogether unfit for such as live at ease"; Bruerinus would have us avoid goat's flesh; horse is eaten by "Tartars and they of China," but Galen disallowed it; venison is "generally bad and seldom to be used"; hare is hard of digestion and causes bad dreams. Peacocks, pigeons, ducks, geese, swans, herns, cranes, coots, etc., are all reputed to be dangerous meats. Fish of every kind is condemned by Rhasis and Magninus. Paulus Jovius is loud in praise of lampreys, but stiffly rejects eels. Gomesius commends ling, fumado, red-herrings, sprats, poor-John, and shell-fish. Carp, which is violently attacked by Franciscus Bonsuetus and Hippolinus Salvianus, finds a stout champion in Freitagius. It should be noted that the Carthusian friars, whose diet largely consists of fish, are more addicted to melancholy than any other order. Gourds, cucumbers, coleworts and melons are forbidden; but more dangerous than all is cabbage, which "sends up black vapours to the brain." Some writers approve of parsnips and potatoes; but Crato, Magninus, and others, denounce all roots. Crato also condemns every kind of fruit. Scottish writers have contended for the wholesomeness of oaten bread, but Wecker judged it to be fitter food for juments than for men. Wine, beer, cider, and perry, are disallowed by many writers; on the other hand, water-drinking is a frequent cause of melancholy. But, in matters of diet, it is

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more important to observe moderation and regularity than to be careful about substance and quality. Muley Hamet, King of Fez, spent three pounds on sauce for a capon. Gluttony and drunkenness are rife as ever: "Lucullus' ghost walks still." But 'tis ill to run into the other extreme, for abstinence is a sure road to melancholy.

The chapter on Study, with a Digression of the Misery of Scholars (memb. 3, subs. 15), gives an affecting description of the hardships which scholars had to encounter. How shall a scholar gain a livelihood? His easiest course is to turn schoolmaster or curate. But he will then be at the mercy of a parish or a patron; he will earn a falconer's wages, and after a year or two he may be turned adrift to seek a new master. If he becomes a "trencher chaplain" in a gentleman's house, he may, after some seven years' service, have "a living to the halves" (what some of our old writers call a "gelded vicarage"), or be promoted to a small rectory on the understanding that he marries a poor kinswoman of his patron. Even more hopeless is the lot of poets, historians, philosophers. Hunger compels them to flatter illiterate patrons in high-sounding dedicatory epistles: "So they prostitute themselves as fiddlers and mercenary tradesmen to serve great men's turns for a small reward." There are three recognised professions,—the law, physic, and divinity. The law is precarious: "let him be a Doctor of the Law, an excellent civilian of good worth, where shall he practise and expatiate?" Physicians have to contend with quacks, empirics, mountebanks, impostors of either sex. In the Church, simony flourishes openly. The avarice of patrons is detestable, but divines are also to blame. Patrons are deplorably ignorant: they care nothing for learning, and are unable to distinguish between a true scholar and an illiterate pretender. Subservient parasites are promoted, while University men, "like so many hide-bound calves in a pasture," tarry their time. If a scholar does succeed at last in gaining a small benefice, there is the risk of litigation with some rival claimant; there are exorbitant

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fees to be paid; there are puritans and papists, atheists and contentious tithepayers, to be combated. The change from the cheerful society of the university to the rude solitude of the country is attended with no slight discomfort. In his country village the lettered parson ("the polite and terse academic") is an Ovid among the Getæ. He falls a prey to melancholy, or turns maltster, grazier, etc. In the last part of the chapter Burton complains that men of unworthy character are admitted to the ministry, and urges that stricter church-discipline should be maintained. These remarks, not being addressed to the ear of the vulgar, are appropriately thrown into Latin.

Having discussed the Causes of Melancholy, Burton proceeds to set down the Symptoms. It would be vain to attempt to summarize the Symptoms briefly, for "the Tower of Babel never yielded such confusion of tongues as this Chaos of Melancholy doth of Symptoms." The First Partition closes with a weighty disquisition on suicide. Burton's remarks on this difficult and painful subject have curious interest from the fact that himself is traditionally stated to have sought a voluntary death. He marshals a formidable array of ancient moralists who defended, or even counselled, suicide as—under certain circumstances—a legitimate course of action. Then he denounces such teaching as impious. Finally he urges that we should pass charitable judgment on those who have sought refuge in death from the troubles of life:—"Of their goods and bodies we can dispose, but what shall become of their souls God alone can tell. His mercy may come *inter pontem et fontem, inter gladium et jugulum*, betwixt the bridge and the brook, the knife and the throat. *Quod cuiquam contigit cuivis potest.* Who knows how he may be tempted? It is his case, it may be thine: *Quæ sua sors hodie est, cras fore vestra potest.* We ought not to be so rash and rigorous in our censures as some are: charity will judge and hope the best: God be merciful unto us all!"[1]

[1] Burton recurs to the subject of suicide in part. iii., sect. 4, memb. 2,

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The Second Partition, which is preceded by its Synopsis, deals with the Cure of Melancholy. In a prefatory chapter we are warned that all unlawful cures must be rejected:— we must not resort to sorcery, magic, amulets, philtres, etc., thereby endangering our soul's health. First on the list of lawful cures is prayer; but Burton is strenuously opposed to invoking the aid of saints. Physic is well applied when the physician is honest and skilful, inspiring the patient with confidence and exacting from him obedience. Good results frequently follow from rectification of diet; but it is difficult to lay down rules, for the best guide is a man's own experience. It is of the first importance that we should live in good air. A delightful chapter is devoted to "Air Rectified. With a Digression of the Air." Here Burton gives the rein to his sprightly fancy, which careers over sea and land from pole to pole. In "Democritus to the Reader" he told us that he had lived a retired life,—"I never travelled but in map or card, in which my unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever been especially delighted with the study of cosmography." From his room at Christ Church he made a progress in fancy through the universe. He traversed desolate seas in search of fabled lands; he trod the wall of China; off the coast of Madagascar he watched for the great Ruck; he penetrated the inner parts of America to discover the "great city of Manoa, or Eldorado, in that golden Empire, where the highways are as much beaten (one reports) as between Madrid and Valladolid in Spain"; curiosity led him to the caves of Lapland, the Egyptian pyramids, Lucullus' fishponds, Ophir whence Solomon fetched his gold; he inspected the lambs of Tartary, the barnacle tree in the Orchades, the spherical stones of Cuba, and a hundred other marvels; he soared to the empyrean and voyaged from star to star; he dived to the centre and

subs. 5 ("Prognosticks of Despair, Atheism, Blasphemy, Violent Death, etc.").

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explored the mysteries of the under-world. Then, having put a girdle round the universe, he turned home to England. Specially dear to him were "Oldbury in the confines of Warwickshire, where I have often looked about me with great delight, at the foot of which hill I was born; and Hanbury in Staffordshire, contiguous to which is Falde, a pleasant Village, and an ancient patrimony belonging to our family, now in the possession of mine elder brother William Burton, Esquire." Walsby in Lincolnshire he held in high regard, for there he received a "real kindness" from his patroness, Frances, Countess Dowager of Exeter; Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire (where he had been a grammar-scholar) is praised for its excellent site; and he declares that the air of Segrave in Leicestershire, of which place he was rector, is not to be surpassed. He concludes by urging that change of air is the best of all cures for melancholy.

Equally discursive, and not less delightful, is the chapter that follows,—"Exercise rectified of body and mind." It treats of hawking, hunting, fowling, fishing ("a kind of hunting by water, be it with nets, weels, baits, angling, or otherwise"); wrestling, fencing, football, swimming, and other violent recreations; cock-fighting, bull-baiting, etc.; hobby-horses, fiddles, and bagpipes; pictures, poetry, law, physic, divinity, scientific instruments, maps, herbals, and what not? After reading that chapter we feel that none ever relished more keenly than Burton the joy of living. When he touches on the pleasures of country life, his language breathes an enthusiasm that is contagious. But, ah, if we could see him in his study, deep in Ortelius, or poring over Napier's logarithms, or casting a nativity!

Among the cures for melancholy are "mirth and merry company." Good liquor, merry tales, and pleasant jests are sovereign remedies. But we must not spend our days and nights in an alehouse, eating and drinking, jesting and singing scurril songs with carmen and tapsters. It is impolitic to heat the liver and spoil our stomach. In fact,

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we might as well remain melancholy to the end of our days as turn into drunken beasts.

Several chapters are devoted to the discussion of remedies against discontents, whether they spring from bodily deformities, poverty, servitude, the death of friends, injuries, or whatever other cause. The Partition closes with an account of the medical and chirurgical treatment of melancholy. Speaking of the use of lawful amulets, Burton takes occasion (sect. 5, memb. 1, subs. 5), to mention that his mother[1] was noted for her medical skill. Once, when he happened to be on a visit to his parents at Lindley, he noticed that she applied an amulet, consisting of a "spider in a nut-shell lapped in silk, etc.", to a person suffering from ague. It was known to all the country-side that his mother had "done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks that were otherwise destitute of help"; but he conceived this experiment with the spider to be wholly ridiculous, till at length, "rambling among authors (as I often do) I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, *Cap. de Aranea, lib. de insectis.*" Having made this discovery, he began to entertain a better opinion of this particular medicine, and of amulets in general; but he is careful to repeat the warning given earlier that on no account are we to resort to spells and charms.

The first Three Sections of the Third Partition deal with Love-Melancholy. Some captious critics may object that a celibate divine is unfit to handle amatory matters; but Burton is not to be turned from his course by these cavillers. A staid man of ripe years can better discern and more discreetly counsel than a young princox. Many are the learned men—Plato, Plutarch, Plotinus, and scores of others —who have treated of love. Heliodorus, when the choice lay between giving up his bishopric and sacrificing his romance of *Theagines and Chariclea*, cheerfully surrendered his high office. "Give me leave then," pleads Burton, "to

[1] Burton adds a side-note—"Mistress Dorothy Burton, she died 1629."

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refresh my muse a little and my worthy readers; to expatiate in this delightsome field, *hoc deliciarum campo*, as Fonseca terms it; to season a surly discourse with a more pleasing aspersion of love matters." How his pen frisks and curvets when he comes to tell his merry tales! what sparkle and gusto in the writing! what sly hints and witty innuendoes! As we turn the pages we seem to hear soft whispers of lovers at nightfall, the rustling of petticoats, coaxings and caressings. He confesses that he is but a novice, "a contemplator only," and that what he writes is drawn from observation and study; but he adds carelessly, "I have a tincture, for why should I lie, dissemble, or excuse it, yet *homo sum*, etc., not altogether inexpert in this subject." Ovid would have confessed himself a tyro in the Art of Love beside this Oxford bachelor of divinity. On the subject of the advantages and drawbacks of marriage Burton has much to say. Many a man when he has taken a wife lives like a mouse in a trap; all his life he is in purgatory, in hell. Bartholomæus Sheræus, that learned professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, in the preface to his *Itineraria in Psalmos* deplored the hard fate that had yoked him to a shrewish wife, and declared that but for her vixenish conduct his commentary would have been finished long ago. Without a wife Phoroneus the lawyer would have been the happiest man alive. In a lottery there are forty blanks to one prize, and so 'tis with marriage. Bachelors have a merry time; they may live where they like and how they like; they have only themselves to please. Burton throws out a whimsical suggestion that some rich bachelor, to show his gratitude for the blessings he enjoys, should build a college for "old, decayed, deformed, and discontented maids to live together in." Very hard is the lot of a poor man with a fruitful wife; however frugal he be, his charge of children will be his undoing. Often a rich man sees his son grow up a drunkard and a gamester, his daughter a fool or worse. It is risky to marry a learned woman, for she will probably be proud and peevish; on the other hand, an ignorant, foolish wife is not

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a desirable companion. An ill-favoured woman will disgust her husband, whether she be content to appear in her native ugliness, or attempt to cover her deficiencies by the aid of art. Young maids, when they become wives, are frequently frisky and hard to please; old maids may happen to find child-bearing inconvenient; widows, with dowries or without, must be cautiously approached. As the perils are so many and so various, 'tis best, when friends importune you to marry, to reply with the philosopher, "*adhuc intempestivum*, 'tis yet unseasonable, and ever will be." Yet, when all is said, marriage is the best cure for love-melancholy. Avicenna tells of a youth, worn to skin and bone, who was restored to health by marriage. We should marry early. Burton is severe upon young gentlewomen who are "so nice, they scorn all suitors, crucify their poor paramours, and think nobody good enough for them, as dainty to please as Daphne herself." The time may come when they will have to be content with a poor curate or an old serving-man. Hard-hearted parents who restrain their children from marriage are strongly to be condemned. A father sees his daughter pining for a husband, but he cares not, "he will take no notice, she must and shall tarry." Sometimes a man who has squandered his estate in riotous living repairs his fortunes by forcing his innocent son to marry "some fool, or ancient, or deformed piece for money." The son objects, but is overruled. Fathers look too much to money and mothers to gentility. Love is a free passion, and may not be forced. If we have daughters we should make it our business to marry them betimes to men of good understanding. Nevisanus the lawyer declared that a woman past the age of twenty-five may marry anybody, however inferior his station, against her parents' wish, and compel them to provide her with a suitable dowry. It would be well if rich men would obey Plautus' advice and marry poor women; there would be more contentment in the commonwealth. Beauty is a sufficient dowry in itself. Danaus of Lacedæmon showed himself a sensible man in his method

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of bestowing his daughters. Being well-to-do, and having many daughters, he did not worry himself about making grand matches for them, but invited a company of lusty young gallants to the house and let the girls choose for themselves. His action was applauded, but in these days we are all for money. A yeoman expects his daughter to marry a gentleman, a knight is ambitious to have a baron or an earl for a son-in-law. It is sometimes questioned whether scholars ought to marry. Philippus Beroaldus used to rail against marriage, but afterwards he made a handsome recantation, advising all men to marry—and scholars in particular. A good wife is the greatest comfort under heaven. In the kingdom of Naples (Fulgentius tells the story) a poor countryman was ploughing by the sea-shore, when some Moorish pirates landed and carried his wife aboard. He waded after her up to his neck, and then swam, imploring the master of the ship to give her up, or to take him along with her as a prisoner, for he was ready to drudge as a galley-slave if only he might be near her. The governor of Tunis, admiring such devotion, set them both free and gave them a pension. It cannot be denied that there is trouble in marriage, but "though it were all troubles, *utilitatis publicæ causa devorandum, grave quid libentur subeundum*, it must willingly be undergone for public good's sake." Georgius Wicelius, that eminent divine, puts forward twenty-six arguments in favour of marriage, and denounces bachelors as enemies to the commonwealth, apostates to nature, rebels against heaven.

The subject of Jealousy is carefully considered. Burton states that he had been at great pains to set forth the causes, prognostics, and cures of Jealousy in order that those who suffer from this distemper may see their errors as in a glass, while those who are free from it may learn to detest it themselves and dispossess any who may be affected. Not only men, but beasts and birds are subject to this passion. A swan about Windsor, finding his mate in the company of a strange cock, swam for miles after the cock and killed him ;

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then returned and killed his mate. Elephants, camels, and (Peter Martyr declares) crocodiles are particularly prone to jealousy; but the passion is most furious among men. Many a man will put up with every sort of injury if only he be left in quiet possession of his wife or mistress. *Lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno*, they cry with Propertius. Some have doubted whether there is any cure for jealousy. Burton advises that we should avoid idleness and listen to the counsel of judicious friends. In marriage it is well to pay regard to equality of age, birth, fortunes; and men must treat their wives well. If once we are mastered by Jealousy we shall never have a quiet hour. Alphonsus suggested that a deaf and dumb man should marry a blind woman. The advice of astrologers may be sought, horoscopes may be compared. "One other sovereign remedy," adds Burton in conclusion, "I could repeat, an especial antidote against jealousy, an excellent cure, but I am not now disposed to tell it, not that like a covetous empiric I conceal it for any gain, but some other reasons, I am not willing to publish it; if you be very desirous to know it, when I meet you next, I will peradventure tell you what it is in your ear."

The rest of the Partition deals with the sombre subject of Religious Melancholy. A gruesome description is given of despair (sect. 4, memb. 2, subs. 4). For sickness, poverty, and other ills there are cures or alleviations; but past hope of help is the man who imagines that he is damned to all eternity, forsaken of God. Burton severely censures those pestilent parsons who make election, predestination, and reprobation the theme of their ordinary sermons, frightening poor harmless people with threats of damnation; "making every small fault and thing indifferent an irremissible offence, they so rent, tear, and wound men's consciences that they are almost mad and at their wits' ends." A plague upon such kill-joys! For the Roman Catholic clergy Burton had an aversion which he was at no pains to conceal. Fasting, hair-clothes, whips, etc., he regarded with disfavour;

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and he condemned the doctrine of purgatory. He was equally opposed to the precisians and schismatics who rail at church-discipline, disallow church-music, object to hawking and hunting, interpret the Scriptures according to their own phantastical notions, prophesy the end of the world to the very month and the very day, set all authority at defiance, and are rapt out of their wits by ignorant zeal. On the question of religious tolerance Burton held liberal views. Neither persuasion nor persecution has power to restrain obstinate enthusiasts. Some nations, recognizing this fact, have allowed men to follow freely the dictates of their own conscience. Jews are generally tolerated: "in Asia they have their synagogues." Socinian heretics are allowed in Poland: they "nestle themselves about Cracow and Racow." Turks permit all religions to be practised. There are who hold that religious persecution of any kind is a mistake, "that no man ought to be compelled for conscience's sake, but let him be of what religion he will he may be saved," if he leads an honest life. Burton evidently shared this charitable view. It may be doubted whether he objected to honest downright infidels. Symmachus the orator argued that, as God is infinite and His nature cannot possibly be known, it would be convenient to let people worship Him how they pleased. Cecilius in Minutius urged that each nation should be allowed to have its peculiar gods; and Pomponius Mela objected to any one nation challenging the "universality of God." But, with all his tolerance, Burton could not view with patience the pretensions of vulgar schismatics,—Brownists, Anabaptists, Familists, and the like. Burton leaves the subject somewhat abruptly with the remark "Sed de his satis," as though he were glad to get away from it. At the instance of his brother George and of his *quondam* fellow-student at Christ Church, James Whitehall, rector of Checkly, Staffordshire, he collected (from English and foreign divines) "comfortable speeches, exhortations, arguments, advice," for those who labour under religious melancholy. His parting advice

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is "Give not way to solitariness and idleness. *Be not solitary, be not idle.*"

For them that have once fallen under the spell of the *Anatomy* there can be no disenchantment. The marvellous book, that charmed their free fancy in youth, will in manhood keep a bower quiet for them amid the turmoil of work-a-day life; aye, and it has an art to thaw the frost of age. That lauded critic Hallam wrote, "I have not found much pleasure in glancing over the *Anatomy*." The pity of it! Another esteemed writer (was it Macaulay? but the name matters not) described the *Anatomy* as the "scourings of the Bodleian." Let them rave! Dr. Johnson declared that it was the only book which fetched him from his bed two hours before his usual time for rising. Very few, it may be surmised, can claim to have emulated Johnson's example; but how many has the *Anatomy* kept from their bed o' nights long past the hour when they should close the five ports of knowledge! The huntsmen may be up in America, but we cannot lay aside the enchanting folio. They are already past their first sleep in China, but we turn another page, and another, and another. Sometimes, in the tingling silence of the night, as we shut the book at last when the fire-light fades and the lamp burns low, it seems to us that the "fantastic great old man" is sitting there, in the arm-chair, beside us. Stir the fire and fill the cup! Robert Burton *redivivus*, kindliest sprite that ever ferried across the Styx, a health to you! You were a water-drinker, but to-night you shall *do me right* (*Curas edaces dissipat Evius*), for since my days began I have loved you,—you and Sir Thomas Browne, and Fuller, and Charles Lamb. Exact mathematician, curious calculator of nativities, how fares it with you? Anthony à Wood told us that you were a person of great honesty, plain dealing, and charity. Of course you were; we needed not the assurance. In some Elysian common-room do you still recreate the Antients of Christ Church with your facete anecdotes?

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Quo me, Bacche, rapis? Halloo, my fancy! I rave, dote, need a dose of hellebore, 'twere fit I take passage to Anticyra aboard the Ship of Fools. *Si qua offensiuncula facta est animi tui* (as he said), if I have trod awry, *extremam hanc oro veniam*, I am resolved not to offend again. But I am tedious, I digress.

How gratifying it must have been to Burton, and to those Antients of Christ Church, to see his great treatise passing through edition after edition! We have Fuller's word for it that scarce any book of philology in our land was so widely read as the *Anatomy*. Wood says that the Oxford publisher Henry Cripps made a fortune out of the sale of it, and we know from Burton's will that Cripps had only a half-share of the copyright.

In *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ* there is a story illustrating Burton's absent-mindedness. One day he was in a bookshop when the Earl of Southampton entered and enquired for a copy of the *Anatomy;* whereupon "says the bookseller, 'My lord, if you please, I can show you the author.' He did so. 'Mr. Burton,' says the earl, 'your servant.' 'Mr. Southampton,' says Mr. Burton, 'your servant,' and away he went."

On 25th January 1639-40, Burton died at Christ Church, having reached his climacteric year. His death occurred at or about the time that he had predicted some years previously by the calculation of his nativity. According to Wood, a rumour ran through Christ Church that he had "sent up his soul to heaven through a noose about his neck" that his prediction might not be falsified. They buried him in the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral; his brother William raised the monument, with his bust in colour. Beneath the bust is the epitaph which he wrote for himself — "Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus Junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem Melancholia." In the hall of Brasenose College hangs his portrait, which has been reproduced as a frontispiece for the present edition.

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He had made his will on 15th August 1639, being then in perfect health. The preamble runs:

"Because there be soe many casualties to which our life is subjecte, besides quarrellinge and contencōn which happen to our Successors after our death by reason of unsettled estates, I Robert Burton, Student of Christchurch Oxon, though my meanes be but smale have thought good by this my last will and testament to dispose of that little which I have, and being at this p̄sent, I thanke God, in pfecte health of bodie and mynde, and if this testamt. be not soe formall according to the nice and strict termes of law and other circumstances peradventure required, of which I am ignorant, I desire howsoev[r] this my will may be accepted and stand according to my true intent and meaninge."

To his elder brother William, who was his executor and residuary legatee, he bequeathed his land in Higham. His nephew Cassibelan (son of William) was to have £20 per annum from the Higham estate; and to his sister Katherine Jackson he left £8 per annum. John Upton, his servant, received an annuity of £2 per annum. To Christ Church, "where I have soe longe lived," and to the Bodleian Library, he bequeathed £100 apiece, to be invested in land for the purchase of books. There were small bequests to his brothers George and Ralph, and to the parish of Segrave in Leicestershire, where he was rector; £100 to his niece Eugenia Burton; £100 to his nephew Richard Burton "nowe Prisoner in London, to redeeme him"; forty shillings for the poor of Higham, and the same sum for the poor of Nuneaton "where I was once a grammar scholar;" various small sums for relatives and friends; and five pounds "to make a smale monument to my Mother, where she is buried in London." In a codicil bearing the same date he left forty shillings to Dr. Fell of Christ Church, twenty shillings apiece to the eight canons, twenty shillings to the poor of St. Thomas's parish, and five pounds to Brasenose College library. Mr. Rowse of Oriel, Mr. Heywood, and Dr. Metcalf were not forgotten. "If I have any bookes the University hath not, lett them take

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them," and then Christ Church was to choose what it needed. All the English books on husbandry, with one exception, were to go to Dr. Fell. There are bequests of books to members of the college and to various Oxford friends. "If anie bookes be lefte lett my executors dispose of them, with all such bookes as are written with my owne handes, and half my *Melancholy* copie, for Crips hath the other halfe."

How comes it that the *editio princeps* of the *Anatomy* is not in Christ Church library? I have seen and handled the copy of the second edition (bearing his inscription) that he presented to the college, but where is the quarto? Let the Senior Students look to it. Were I on the foundation of that "most flourishing College of Europe," I should have no peace until not only the quarto but all the folios had been added to the shelves. Then I would induce some college friends to join me in collating all the various editions and in verifying all the numberless quotations,—both in the side-notes and in the text. 'Twould cost much time and labour, for Burton often quoted *memoriter* and many of his references are inexact. The devotion of a scholar from Cambridge has done much to clear away the difficulties, and to show the possibility of attaining a definitive edition of Burton's imperishable treatise.

A. H. BULLEN.

1, YELVERTON VILLAS,
TWICKENHAM.
November, 1893.

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THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.

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THE ARGUMENT OF THE FRONTISPIECE.

TEN distinct Squares here seen apart
Are join'd in one by Cutter's art.

1 *Old* Democritus *under a tree,*
Sits on a stone with book on knee;
About him hang there many features,
Of Cats, Dogs, and such like creatures,
Of which he makes Anatomy,
The seat of Black Choler to see.
Over his head appears the sky,
And Saturn *Lord of Melancholy.*

2 *To th' left a landscape of* Jealousy
Presents itself unto thine eye.
A Kingfisher, a Swan, an Hern,
Two fighting-Cocks you may discern;
Two roaring Bulls each other hie
To assault concerning Venery.
Symbols are these; I say no more,
Conceive the rest by that's afore.

3 *The work of* Solitariness
A Portraiture doth well express,
By sleeping Dog, Cat: Buck and Doe,
Hares, Conies in the desert go:
Bats, Owls the shady bowers over,
In melancholy darknesse hover.
Mark well: if't be not as't should be,
Blame the bad Cutter, and not me.

4 *I' th' under Column there doth stand*
Inamorato *with folded hand;*
Down hangs his head, terse and polite,
Some ditty sure he doth indite.
His lute and books about him lie,
As symptoms of his vanity.
If this do not enough disclose,
To paint him, take thyself by th' nose.

5 Hypochondriacus *leans on his arm,*
Wind in his side doth him much harm,
And troubles him full sore, God knows,
Much pain he hath and many woes.
About him pots and glasses lie,
Newly brought from's Apothecary.
This Saturn's *aspects signify,*
You see them portray'd in the sky.

6 *Beneath them kneeling on his knee,*
A Superstitions *man you see:*
He fasts, prays, on his Idol fixt,
Tormented hope and fear betwixt:
For hell perhaps he takes more pain,
Than thou dost heaven itself to gain.
Alas poor Soul, I pity thee,
What stars incline thee so to be?

7 *But see the* Madman *rage down right*
With furious looks, a ghastly sight.
Naked in chains bound doth he ly,
And roars amain, he knows not why!
Observe him; for as in a glass,
Thine angry portraiture it was.
His picture keep still in thy presence;
Twixt him and thee, there's no difference.

8 9 Borage *and* Hellebore *fill two scenes,*
Sovereign plants to purge the veins
Of Melancholy, and cheer the heart,
Of those black fumes which make it smart;
To clear the Brain of misty fogs,
Which dull our senses, and Soul clogs.
The best medicine that e'er God made
For this malady, if well assaid.

10 *Now last of all to fill a place,*
Presented is the Author's *face;*
And in that habit which he wears,
His Image to the world appears.
His mind no art can well express,
That by his writings you may guess.
It was not pride, nor yet vain glory,
(Though others do it commonly)

Made him do this: if you must know,
The Printer would needs have it so.
Then do not frown or scoff at it,
Deride not, nor detract a whit.
For surely as thou dost by him,
He will do the same again.[1]
Then look upon't, behold and see,
As thou lik'st it, so it likes thee.
And I for it will stand in view,
Thine to command, Reader, *Adieu!*

[1 Probably this line should be "He'll do to thee the same again." For it halts both in sense and rhythm.]

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HONORATISSIMO DOMINO NON MINUS VIRTUTE SUA, QUAM GENERIS SPLENDORE, ILLUSTRISSIMO, GEORGIO BERKLEIO, MILITI DE BALNEO, BARONI DE BERKLEY, MOUBREY, SEGRAVE, D. DE BRUSE,

DOMINO SUO,

Multis Nominibus Observando,

HANC SUAM

MELANCHOLIAE ANATOMEN,

JAM SEXTO REVISAM,

D. D.

DEMOCRITUS, Junior.

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DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR AD LIBRUM SUUM.

VADE liber, qualis, *non ausim dicere*, felix,
Te nisi felicem fecerit Alma dies.
Vade tamen quocunque lubet, quascunque per oras,
Et Genium *Domini fac imitere tui.*
I blandas inter Charites, mystamque saluta
Musarum quemvis, si tibi lector erit.
Rura colas, urbem, subeasve palatia regum,
Submissè, placidè, te sine dente geras.
Nobilis, aut si quis te fortè inspexerit heros,
Da te morigerum, perlegat usque lubet.
Est quod Nobilitas, est quod desideret heros,
Gratior hæc forsan charta placere potest.
Si quis morosus Cato, *tetricusque Senator,*
Hunc etiam librum fortè videre velit,
Sive magistratus, tum te reverenter habeto;
Sed nullus; muscas non capiunt Aquilæ.
Non vacat his tempus fugitivum impendere nugis,
Nec tales cupio; par mihi lector erit.
Si matrona gravis casu diverterit istuc,
Illustris Domina, aut te Comitissa legat:
Est quod displiceat, placeat quod forsitan illis,
Ingerere his noli te modò, pande tamen.
At si virgo tuas dignabitur inclyta chartas
Tangere, sive schedis hæreat illa tuis:
Da modo te facilem, & quædam folia esse memento
Conveniant oculis quæ magis apta suis.
Si generosa ancilla tuos aut alma puella
Visura est ludos, annue, pande lubens.
Dic utinam nunc ipse meus [1] *(nam diligit istas)*
In præsens esset conspiciendus herus.
Ignotus notusve mihi degente togatâ
Sive aget in ludis, pulpita sive colet,
Sive in Lycæo, & nugas evolverit istas,
Si quasdam mendas viderit inspiciens,
Da veniam Auctori, dices; nam plurima vellet
Expungi, quæ jam displicuisse sciat.
Sive Melancholicus quisquam, seu blandus Amator,
Aulicus aut Civis, seu benè comptus Eques,
Huc appellat, age & tutò te crede legenti,
Multa istic forsan non malè nata leget.
Quod fugiat, caveat, quodque amplexabitur, ista
Pagina fortassis promere multa potest.
At si quis Medicus coram te sistet, amice
Fac circumspectè, & te sine labe geras:
Inveniet namque ipse meis quoque plurima scriptis,
Non leve subsidium quæ sibi forsan erunt.

[1] Haec comicè dicta cave ne malè capias.

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Si quis Causidicus chartas impingat in istas,
Nil mihi vobiscum, pessima turba, vale;
Sit nisi vir bonus, & juris sine fraude peritus,
Tum legat, & forsan doctior inde siet.
Si quis cordatus, facilis, lectorque benignus,
Huc oculos vertat, quæ velit ipse legat;
Candidus ignoscet, metuas nil, pande libenter,
Offensus mendis non erit ille tuis,
Laudabit nonnulla. Venit si Rhetor ineptus,
Limata & tersa, & qui benè cocta petit,
Claude citus librum; nulla hic nisi ferrea verba,
Offendent stomachum quæ minùs apta suum.
At si quis non eximius de plebe poeta,
Annue; namque istic plurima ficta leget.
Nos sumus è numero,[1] *nullus mihi spirat Apollo,*
Grandiloquus Vates quilibet esse nequit.
Si criticus Lector, tumidus Censorque molestus,
Zoilus & Momus, *si rabiosa cohors:*
Ringe, freme, & noli tum pandere, turba malignis
Si occurrat sanniis invidiosa suis:
Fac fugias; si nulla tibi sit copia eundi,
Contemnes, tacitè scommata quæque feres.
Frendeat, allatret, vacuas gannitibus auras
Impleat, haud cures; his placuisse nefas.
Verum, age, si forsan divertat purior hospes,
Cuique sales, ludi, displíceantque joci,
Objiciatque tibi sordes, lascivdque: dices,
Lasciva est Domino & Musa jocosa tuo,
Nec lasciva tamen, si pensitet omne; sed esto;
Sit lasciva licet pagina, vita proba est.[2]
Barbarus, indoctusque rudis spectator in istam
Si messem intrudat, fuste fugabis eum.
Fungum pelle procul (jubeo) nam quid mihi fungo?
Conveniunt stomacho nam minus ista suo.
Sed nec pelle tamen; læto omnes accipe vultu,
Quos, quas, vel quales, inde vel unde viros.
Gratus erit quicunque venit, gratissimus hospes
Quisquis erit, facilis difficilisque mihi.
Nam si culpárit, quædam culpásse juvabit,
Culpando faciet me meliora sequi.
Sed si laudárit, neque laudibus efferar ullis,
Sit satis hisce malis opposuisse bonum.
Hæc sunt quæ nostro placuit mandare libello,
Et quæ dimittens dicere jussit Herus.

[1 Cf. Hor. Epp. i. ii. 27.]
[2 This line is borrowed from Martial, i. iv. 8, with a slight change or two.]

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[DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR TO HIS BOOK.

APPEAR, my book, happy I dare not call you,
Unless by popularity made happy.
Yet go whate'er you please, through whate'er quarters,
And imitate the genius of your author.
Go 'mongst the gentle Graces, and salute
Whatever votary of the Nine will read you.
Pay court to town and country, and king's palaces:
Enter with deferential humble reverence.
If nobleman or great man shall inspect you,
Obsequiously let him read *ad libitum*.
Something or noble or great man may seek,
Which found in you may make your page more welcome.
If any stern Cato, or gloomy senator,
Should haply wish to see my book, or magistrate,
Be all obsequioushess, though probably
None such will come, for eagles hunt not flies.
These have no leisure time to spend on trifles;
Nor seek I such; my readers be my fellows!
If some grand dame should chance to turn to you,
Some Countess, or illustrious lady, read you:
Your contents might now please such, now displease,
Do not intrude on such, only lie open.
But if some glorious virgin deign to finger
Your leaves, or dwell intently on your pages;
Be debonair to her, only remember
Some parts will suit her eyes better than others.
If genial handmaid, or some jolly girl,
Look at your jokes, be free and open to her;
Say to her, "Would my master now were present,
For dearly does he love such girls as you!"[1]
If any gownsman, known to me or unknown,
Whether a comic or a tragic actor,
Or studious Academic, con your trifles,
And any blots discern on close inspection,
Say to him, "Be not hard upon the Author,
Fain would he blot out most that does not like you."
If melancholy man, or gentle lover,
Courtier or citizen, or well-combed knight,
Should light upon you, be at your ease with him,
Haply he'll find in you what suits him well;
Let him avoid what likes him not, the page
He fancies haply may much knowledge give him.
If any doctor meet you, greet him friendly,
Act circumspectly and decorously;
For in my writings also he will find
Much medical instruction to his mind.

[1 This is said in joke, pray do not mistake me.]

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If any lawyer light upon your pages,
We've nought in common, odious class, farewell;
Except an honest lawyer, he may read,
And haply be the wiser for my book.
If any clever, easy, kindly reader
Turn his eyes here, let him read what he list;
Fear nothing, open freely, in his candour
He will ignore your blots, not censure them,
And praise some of your contents. If dull orator,
Who only values terse and polished matter,
And well-digested, shall present himself,
Shut the book quickly; for my style is rough,
And will offend his dainty stomach. But
If any simple poet of the people
Present himself, pray welcome him, he'll read
Much that will feed his fancy; I myself
Am but an ordinary poet, no
Apollo has inspired me, everyone
Cannot be mighty poet. Come some critic,
Some frothy bitter censor, rabid band,
Some Zoilus or Momus, snarl and growl,
And open not to such a mocking set.
Flee if you can, if not, despise such fellows,
And silently bear all their envious scoffings.
Care not if such bark, snarl, and fill the air
With yelping, 'tis a crime to please such persons.
But if some pure stranger should turn your way,
One who dislikes jokes, jests, and witticisms,
And should upbraid you with coarse wanton writing,
Say that your Master's vein 's jocose and wanton,
And yet not wanton, duly weighed; yet be it so;
His life is honest, if his page be wanton.[1]
If rude, uncouth, spectator thrust himself
Into your garner, drive him out with cudgel.
Expel too dolts, for what have I in common
With dolts? You will not suit such folks at all.
And yet expel not any, welcome all,
Both men and women, of whatever kind.
Whoever comes shall welcome be, most welcome
Whatever stranger, be he friend or foe.
For if he blames, some blame is beneficial,
For by his blame he'll make me to improve.
But if he praise, I will not be elated,
Let it suffice me to have managed well.
Be this the preface to my book, for this
Is what its master wish'd to say on issuing it.]

[1 This line is taken, with a slight change or two, from Martial, i. iv. 8, and is the usual apology for free writing. *Valeat quantum valet!* Compare Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 353, 354, and the remarks of Ausonius at the end of his *Cento Nuptialis*. Compare also Herrick at the end of the *Hesperides;*

"To his Book's end this last line he'd have plac't,
Jocund his Muse was; but his Life was chast."]

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THE AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT OF MELANCHOLY,

Διαλογικῶς.

WHEN I go musing all alone,
Thinking of divers things fore-known,
When I build Castles in the air,
Void of sorrow and void of fear,
Pleasing my self with phantasms sweet,
Methinks the time runs very fleet.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as Melancholy.
When I lie talking all alone,
Recounting what I have ill done,
My thoughts on me then tyrannise,
Fear and sorrow me surprise,
Whether I tarry still or go,
Methinks the time moves very slow.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so sad as Melancholy.
When to my self I act and smile,
With pleasing thoughts the time beguile,
By a brook side or wood so green,
Unheard, unsought for, or unseen,
A thousand pleasures do me bless,
And crown my soul with happiness.
All my joys besides are folly,
None so sweet as Melancholy.
When I lie, sit, or walk alone,
I sigh, I grieve, making great moan,
In a dark grove, or irksome den,
With discontents and Furies then,
A thousand miseries at once
Mine heavy heart and soul ensconce.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so sour as Melancholy.
Methinks I hear, methinks I see,
Sweet musick, wondrous melody,
Towns, Palaces, and Cities fine;
Here now, then there; the world is mine,
Rare beauties, gallant Ladies shine,
Whate'er is lovely or divine.
All other joys to this are folly,
None so sweet as Melancholy.
Methinks I hear, methinks I see
Ghosts, goblins, fiends: my phantasy
Presents a thousand ugly shapes,
Headless bears, black men, and apes,
Doleful outcries, and fearful sights,
My sad and dismal soul affrights.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so damn'd as Melancholy.

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Methinks I court, methinks I kiss,
Methinks I now embrace my mistress,
O blessed days, O sweet content,
In Paradise my time is spent.
Such thoughts may still my fancy move,
So may I ever be in love.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as Melancholy.
When I recount love's many frights,
My sighs and tears, my waking nights,
My jealous fits; O mine hard fate
I now repent, but 'tis too late.
No torment is so bad as love,
So bitter to my soul can prove.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so harsh as Melancholy.
Friends and Companions get you gone,
'Tis my desire to be alone;
Ne'er well but when my thoughts and I
Do domineer in privacy.
No Gem, no treasure like to this,
'Tis my delight, my Crown, my bliss.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as Melancholy.
'Tis my sole plague to be alone,
I am a beast, a monster grown,
I will no light nor company,
I find it now my misery.
The scene is turn'd, my joys are gone;
Fear, discontent, and sorrows come.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so fierce as Melancholy.
I'll not change life with any King,
I ravisht am: can the world bring
More joy than still to laugh and smile,
In pleasant toys time to beguile?
Do not, O do not, trouble me,
So sweet content I feel and see.
All my joys to this are folly,
None so divine as Melancholy.
I'll change my state with any wretch,
Thou canst from gaol or dunghill fetch:
My pain 's past cure, another Hell,
I may not in this torment dwell,
Now desperate I hate my life,
Lend me a halter or a knife.
All my griefs to this are jolly.
Naught so damn'd as Melancholy.

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DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR

TO THE READER.

GENTLE Reader, I presume thou wilt be very inquisitive to know what antick or personate actor this is, that so insolently intrudes upon this common theatre to the world's view, arrogating another man's name, whence he is, why he doth it, and what he hath to say. Although, as [1]he said, *Primum si noluero, non respondebo, quis coacturus est?* I am a free man born, and may choose whether I will tell, who can compel me? If I be urged, I will as readily reply as that *Egyptian* in [2]*Plutarch*, when a curious fellow would needs know what he had in his basket, *Quum vides velatam, quid inquiris in rem absconditam?* It was therefore covered, because he should not know what was in it. Seek not after that which is hid; if the contents please thee, [3]*and be for thy use, suppose* the Man in the Moon, *or whom thou wilt, to be the Author;* I would not willingly be known. Yet in some sort to give thee satisfaction, which is more than I need, I will shew a reason, both of this usurped name, title, and subject. And first of the name of *Democritus;* lest any man by reason of it should be deceived, expecting a pasquil, a satire, some ridiculous treatise (as I myself should have done) some prodigious tenent, or paradox of the Earth's motion, of infinite Worlds, *in infinito vacuo, ex fortuitâ atomorum collisione*, in an infinite waste, so caused by an accidental collision of Motes in the Sun, all which *Democritus* held, *Epicurus* and their Master *Leucippus* of old maintained, and are lately revived by *Copernicus*, *Brunus*, and some others. Besides it hath been always an ordinary custom, as [4]*Gellius* observes, *for later Writers and impostors, to broach many absurd and insolent fictions, under the name of so noble a philosopher as* Democritus, *to*

[1] Seneca in ludo in mortem Claudii Cæsaris. [Apocolocyntosis, Initium.] [2] Lib. de Curiositate. [§ iii]. [3] Modò hæc tibi usui sint, quemvis auctorem fingito. Wecker. [4] Lib. 10. c. 12. Multa à malè feriatis in Democriti nomine commenta data, nobilitatis auctoritatisque ejus perfugio utentibus.

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get themselves credit, and by that means the more to be respected, as artificers usually do, *novo qui marmori ascribunt Praxitelen suo.*[1] 'Tis not so with me.

> [2] Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyasque
> Invenies, hominem pagina nostra sapit.
>
> No *Centaurs* here, or *Gorgons* look to find,
> My subject is of man, and human kind.

Thou thyself art the subject of my discourse.

> [3] Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
> Gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago libelli.
>
> Whate'er men do, vows, fears, in ire, in sport,
> Joys, wandrings, are the sum of my report.

My intent is no otherwise to use his name, than *Mercurius Gallobelgicus, Mercurius Britannicus,* use the name of *Mercury,*[4] *Democritus Christianus, &c.* Although there be some other circumstances, for which I have masked myself under this visard, and some peculiar respects, which I cannot so well express, until I have set down a brief character of this our *Democritus,* what he was, with an Epitome of his life. *Democritus,* as he is described by [5] *Hippocrates,* and [6] *Laertius,* was a little wearish old man, very melancholy by nature, averse from company in his latter days, [7] and much given to solitariness, a famous Philosopher in his age, [8] *coævus* with *Socrates,* wholly addicted to his studies at the last, and to a private life, writ many excellent works, a great Divine, according to the divinity of those times, an expert Physician, a Politician, an excellent Mathematician, as [9] *Diacosmus* & the rest of his works do witnesse. He was much delighted with the studies of Husbandry, saith [10] *Columella,* and often I find him cited by [11] *Constantinus* and others, treating of that subject. He knew the natures, differences of all beasts, plants, fishes, birds; and, as some say, could [12] understand the tunes and voices of them. In a word, he was *omnifariàm doctus,* a general scholar, a

[1 Phaedri Fab. Book v. Prologue, ll. 5, 6. "Who put Praxiteles' name on their new marble statue."] [2] Martialis, lib. 10. epigr. [iv. 9, 10.] [3] Juv. Sat. i. [85, 86.] [4] Auth. Pet. Besseo edit. Coloniæ, 1616. [5] Hip. Epist. Damaget. [6] Laërt. lib. 9. [cap. 7.] [7] Hortulo sibi cellulam seligens, ibique seipsum includens, vixit solitarius. [Ibidem.] [8] Floruit Olympiade 80; 700 annis post Troiam. [9] Diacos. quod cunctis operibus facilè excellit. Laërt. [lib. 9. cap. 7.] [10] Col. lib. 1. c. 1. [11] Const. lib. de agric. passim. [12] Volucrum voces et linguas intelligere se dicit Abderitanus. Ep. Hip.

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great student; and to the intent he might better contemplate, [1]I find it related by some, that he put out his eys, and was in his old age voluntarily blind, yet saw more than all Greece besides, and [2]writ of every subject, *Nihil in toto opificio naturæ de quo non scripsit.*[3] A man of an excellent wit, profound conceit; and to attain knowledge the better in his younger years, he travelled to *Egypt* and [4]*Athens*, to confer with learned men, [5]*admired of some, despised of others.* After a wandering life, he setled at *Abdera*, a town in *Thrace*, and was sent for thither to be their Law-maker, Recorder or Town-clerk as some will; or as others, he was there bred and born. Howsoever it was, there he lived at last in a garden in the suburbs, wholy betaking himself to his studies, and a private life, [6]*saving that sometimes he would walk down to the haven,*[7] *and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects, which there he saw.* Such a one was *Democritus.*

But in the mean time, how doth this concern me, or upon what reference do I usurp his habit? I confess indeed that to compare my self unto him for ought I have yet said, were both impudency and arrogancy, I do not presume to make any parallel, *Antistat mihi millibus trecentis,*[8] [9]*parvus sum, nullus sum, altum nec spiro, nec spero.*[10] Yet thus much I will say of myself, & that I hope without all suspicion of pride, or self-conceit, I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi & musis* [11] in the University as long almost as *Xenocrates* in *Athens, ad senectam ferè,*[12] to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study. For I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing College of *Europe,* [13]*augustissimo collegio*, and can brag with [14]*Jovius*, almost, *in eâ luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi, per* 37 *annos multa opportunaque didici*; for 30 years I have continued (having the use of as good [15]Libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be therefore loth, either by living

[1] Sabellicus, exempl., lib. 10. Oculis se privavit, ut melius contemplationi operam daret, sublimi vir ingenio, profundæ cogitationis, &c. [2] Naturalia, moralia, mathematica, liberales disciplinas, artiumque omnium peritiam callebat. [3] [Nothing in all nature's working is there of which he has not written.] [4] Veni Athenas, et nemo me novit. [5] Idem contemptui et admirationi habitus. [6] Solebat ad portam ambulare, et inde, &c. Hip. Ep. Damag. [7] Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat Democritus. Juv. Sat. [x. 33, 34.] [8] Catullus, ix. 2.] [9] Non sum dignus præstare matellam. Mart. [x. 11. 3.] [10] He excels me in 300,000 ways, I am an insignificant person, a nobody, I have neither high aims nor hopes.] [11] To myself and letters.] [12] To old age almost.] [13] Christ Church in Oxford. [14] Præfat. hist. [15] Keeper of our college library, lately revived by Otho Nicolson, Esquire.

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as a drone, to be an unprofitable or unworthy a Member of so learned and noble a society, or to write that which should be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation. Something I have done, though by my profession a Divine, yet *turbine raptus ingenii*, as [1]he said, out of a running wit, an unconstant unsettled mind, I had a great desire, (not able to attain to a superficial skill in any) to have some smattering in all, to be *aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis*,[2] which [3]*Plato* commends, out of him [4]*Lipsius* approves and furthers, *as fit to be imprinted in all curious wits, not be a slave of one science, or dwell altogether in one subject as most do, but to rove abroad*, centum puer artium,[5] *to have an oar in every mans boat, to* [6]*taste of every dish, and sip of every cup*, which saith [7]*Montaigne*, was well performed by *Aristotle* & his learned country-man *Adrian Turnebus*. This roving humour (though not with like success) I have ever had, & like a ranging spaniel, that barks at every bird he sees, leaving his game, I have followed all, saving that which I should, & may justly complain, & truly, *qui ubique est, nusquam est*,[8] which [9]*Gesner did in modesty*, that I have read many books, but to little purpose, for want of good method, I have confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our Libraries, with small profit for want of art, order, memory, judgement. I never travelled but in Map or Card, in which my unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever been especially delighted with the study of *Cosmography*. [10]*Saturn* was the Lord of my geniture, culminating &c. & *Mars* principal *significator* of manners, in partile conjunction with mine *Ascendant*; both fortunate in their houses, &c. I am not poor, I am not rich; *nihil est, nihil deest*, I have little, I want nothing: all my treasure is in *Minerva's* tower. Greater preferment as I could never get, so am I not in debt for it, I have a competency (*Laus Deo*) from my noble and munificent Patrons, though I live still a Collegiate student, as *Democritus* in his garden, and lead a

[1] Scaliger. [2] Somebody in everything, no authority in anything.] [3] In Theaet. [p 173. E.] [4] Phil. Stoic. li. diff. 8. Dogma cupidis et curiosis ingeniis imprimendum, ut sit talis qui nulli rei serviat, aut exactè unum aliquid elaboret, alia negligens, ut artifices, &c. [5] Hor. Odes. iv. i. 15.] [6] Delibare gratum de quocunque cibo, et pytissare de quocunque dolio jucundum. [7] Essays, lib. 3. [ch. 5. Cf. lib. 2. ch. 12, as to Aristotle. And as to Adrian Turnebus see Montaigne's Essays, lib. 1. ch. 24; lib. 2. chs. 12, 17.] [8] Seneca, Epist. 2. He who is everywhere is nowhere.] [9] Præfat. bibliothec. [10] Ambo fortes et fortunati, Mars idem magisterii dominus juxta primam Leovittii regulam.

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monastick life, *ipse mihi theatrum*,[1] sequestered from those tumults & troubles of the world, *et tanquam in specula positus*, (as he said) in some high place above you all, like *Stoicus Sapiens, omnia sæcula, præterita præsentiaque videns, uno velut intuitu*,[3] I hear & see what is done abroad, how others,[4] run, ride, turmoil, & macerate themselves in court and country, far from those wrangling lawsuits, *aulæ vanitatem, fori ambitionem, ridere mecum soleo:* I laugh at all,[5] *only secure lest my suit go amiss, my ships perish*, corn and cattle miscarry, trade decay. *I have no wife nor children good or bad to provide for.* A mere spectator of other mens fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts, which methinks are diversely presented unto me, as from a common theatre or scene. I hear new news every day, and those ordinary rumours of war, plagues, fires, inundations, thefts, murders, massacres, meteors, comets, spectrums, prodigies, apparitions, of towns taken, cities besieged in *France, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Poland, &c.* daily musters and preparations, and such like, which these tempestuous times afford, battles fought, so many men slain, monomachies, shipwrecks, piracies, and sea-fights, peace, leagues, stratagems, and fresh alarms. A vast confusion of vows, wishes, actions, edicts, petitions, lawsuits, pleas, laws, proclamations, complaints, grievances, are daily brought to our ears. New books every day, pamphlets, currantoes, stories, whole catalogues of volumes of all sorts, new paradoxes, opinions, schisms, heresies, controversies in philosophy, religion, &c. Now come tidings of weddings, maskings, mummeries, entertainments, jubilees, embassies, tilts and tournaments, trophies, triumphs, revels, sports, plays: then again, as in a new shifted scene, treasons, cheating tricks, robberies, enormous villanies in all kinds, funerals, burials, deaths of Princes, new discoveries, expeditions; now comical then tragical matters. To-day we hear of new Lords and officers created, to-morrow of some great men deposed, and then again of fresh honours conferred; one is let loose, another imprisoned; one purchaseth, another breaketh; he thrives, his neighbour turns bankrupt; now plenty, then again dearth and famine; one

[1 A theatre to myself.] [2 Heinsius [Primerio.] [3 Seeing all ages, past and present, as at one glance.] [4 Calide ambientes, solicite litigantes, aut misere excidentes, voces, strepitum, contentiones, &c, [Heinsius Primerio]. [5 Cyp. ad Donat. Unice securus, ne excidam in foro, aut in mari Indico bonis eluam, de dote filiæ patrimonio filii, non sum solicitus. [Heinsius Primerio.]

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runs, another rides, wrangles, laughs, weeps &c. Thus I daily hear, and such like, both private and publick news. Amidst the gallantry and misery of the world; jollity, pride, perplexities and cares, simplicity and villany; subtlety, knavery, candour and integrity, mutually mixed and offering themselves, I rub on *privus privatus*;[1] as I have still lived, so I now continue, *statu quo prius*, left to a solitary life, and mine own domestick discontents: saving that sometimes, *ne quid mentiar*,[2] as *Diogenes* went into the city, and *Democritus* to the haven, to see fashions, I did for my recreation now and then walk abroad, look into the world, and could not choose but make some little observation, *non tam sagax observator ac simplex recitator*,[3] not as they did to scoff or laugh at all, but with a mixed passion.

[4] Bilem, sæpè jocum vestri movere tumultus.[5]

I did sometimes laugh and scoff with *Lucian*, and satirically tax with *Menippus*, lament with *Heraclitus*, sometimes again I was[6] *petulanti splene cachinno*, and then again, [7]*urere bilis jecur*, I was much moved to see that abuse which I could not amend. In which passion howsoever I may sympathize with him or them, 'tis for no such respect I shroud myself under his name, but either in an unknown habit, to assume a little more liberty and freedom of speech, or if you will needs know, for that reason and only respect, which *Hippocrates relates* at large in his Epistle to *Damagetus*, wherein he doth express, how coming to visit him one day, he found *Democritus* in his garden at *Abdera*, in the suburbs, [8]under a shady bower, [9]with a book on his knees, busy at his study, sometimes writing, sometimes walking. The subject of his book was melancholy and madness, about him lay the carcasses of many several beasts newly by him cut up and anatomized, not that he did contemn God's creatures, as he told *Hippocrates*, but to find out the seat of this *atra bilis*, or melancholy, whence it proceeds, and how it was engendred in men's bodies, to the intent he might

[1] In a strictly private life.] [2] Not to tell a lie.] [3] Not so sagacious an observer as a simple narrator.] [4] Oft have your passions raised my rage or mirth.] [5] Hor. [Ep. lib. I. xix., 20.] [6] Per. [i. 12. A laugher with petulant spleen.] [7] Hor. [lib. I. Sat. ix. 66]. [8] Secundum mœnia locus erat frondosis populis opacus, vitibusque sponte natis, tenuis prope aqua defluebat, placide murmurans, ubi sedile et domus Democriti conspiciebatur. [9] Ipse composite considebat, super genua volumen habens, et utrinque alia patentia parata, dissectaque animalia cumulatim strata, quorum viscera rimabatur.

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better cure it in himself, [and] by his writings & observations[1] teach others how to prevent and avoid it. Which good intent of his *Hippocrates* highly commended: [2] *Democritus Junior* is therefore bold to imitate, and because he left it unperfect, and it is now lost, *quasi succenturiator Democriti*,[3] to revive again, prosecute and finish, in this treatise.

You have had a reason of the name. If the title and inscription offend your gravity, were it a sufficient justification to accuse others, I could produce many sober treatises, even sermons themselves, which in their fronts carry more phantastical names. Howsoever it is a kind of policy in these days to prefix a phantastical title to a book which is to be sold. For as Larks come down to a day-net, many vain readers will tarry and stand gazing, like silly passengers,[4] at an antick picture in a painter's shop, that will not look at a judicious piece. And indeed, as [5] *Scaliger* observes, *nothing more invites a reader than an argument unlooked for, unthought of, and sells better then a scurrile pamphlet*, tum maxime cum novitas excitat palatum.[6] Many men, saith[7] [*Aulus*] *Gellius, are very conceited in their inscriptions*, and able (as *Pliny*[8] quotes out of *Seneca*) to make him loiter by the way *that went in haste to fetch a mid-wife for his daughter, now ready to lie down.* For my part I have honourable[9] precedents for this which I have done: I will cite one for all, *Anthony Zara, Pap. Episc.* his Anatomy of Wit, in four sections, members, subsections, *&c.* to be read in our Libraries.

If any man except against the matter or manner of treating of this my subject, & will demand a reason of it, I can allege more than one. I writ of melancholy, by being busy to avoid melancholy. There is no greater cause of melancholy than idleness,

1 Cùm mundus extra se sit, et mente captus sit, et nesciat se languere, ut medelam adhibeat. [2 Erasmus gave this name to More in his dedicatory Epistle of Encomium Moriae. Perhaps Burton borrowed the title thence, or at least the suggestion of the title.] [3 As a substitute for Democritus. See Terence, Phormio, i. iv. 55.] [4 Passers by. Compare Dryden's Translation of Dufresnoy's Art of Painting: "Apelles, when he had finished any work, exposed it to the sight of all passengers, and concealed himself to hear the censure of his faults."] 5 Scaliger, Ep. ad Patissonem. Nihil magis lectorem invitat quam inopinatum argumentum, neque vendibilior merx est quàm petulans liber. [6 Especially when its novelty whets the palate.] 7 Lib. xx. c. 11. Miras sequuntur inscriptionum festivitates. 8 Præfat. Nat. Hist. Patri obstetricem parturienti filiæ accersenti moram injicere possunt. 9 Anatomy of Popery, Anatomy of Immortality, Angelus Scalas, Anatomy of Antimony, &c.

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no better cure than business, as [1] *Rhasis* holds: and howbeit *stultus labor est ineptiarum,*[2] to be busied in toys is to small purpose, yet hear that divine *Seneca,* better *aliud agere quam nihil,* better do to no end than nothing. I writ therefore, and busied myself in this playing labour, *otiosâque diligentiâ ut vitarem torporem feriandi,*[3] with *Vectius* in *Macrobius,*[4] atque otium in utile verterem negotium.[5]

> [6] ——Simul & jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ,
> Lectorem delectando simul atque monendo.[7]

To this end I writ, like them, saith *Lucian,*[8] that *recite to trees, & declaim to pillars, for want of auditors:* as [9] *Paulus Ægineta* [10] ingeniously confesseth, *not that any thing was unknown or omitted, but to exercise myself,* which course if some took, I think it would be good for their bodies, and much better for their souls; or peradventure as others do, for fame, to show myself, (*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.*[11]) I might be of *Thucydides'* opinion,[12] *to know a thing & not to express it, is all one as if he knew it not.* When I first took this task in hand, *& quod ait* [13] *ille, impellente genio negotium suscepi,*[14] this I aimed at, [15] *vel ut lenirem animum scribendo,* to ease my mind by writing, for I had *gravidum cor, fœtum caput,* a kind of imposthume in my head, which I was very desirous to be unladen of, & could imagine no fitter evacuation than this. Besides I might not well refrain, for *ubi dolor, ibi digitus,*[16] one must needs scratch where it itches. I was not a little offended with this malady, shall I say my Mistress *Melancholy,* my *Egeria,*[17] or my *Malus Genius?* [18] & for that cause, as he that is stung with a scorpion, I would expel *clavum clavo,*[19] [20] comfort one sorrow with another, idleness with idleness, *ut ex Vipera Theriacum,*[21] make an Antidote out of that which was the prime cause of my disease. Or as he did, of whom [22] *Felix Plater*

[1] Cont. l. 4, c. 9. Non est cura melior quàm labor. [2] Martial ii. 86. 10.] [3] That I might avoid the torpor of laziness.] [4] Saturnal. i. 7.] [5] And turn my leisure to useful purpose.] [6] Hor. De Arte Poet. [334, 344.] [7] At once to say both useful things and pleasant, So as to please the reader, yet instruct.] [8] See Hist. quomodo conscribenda, § 4.] [9] Non quod de novo quid addere, aut à veteribus prætermissum, sed propriæ exercitationis causa. [10] Preface to his Works, memoriter. Ed. 1553.] [11] Pers. i. 27.] [12] Qui novit, neque id quod sentit exprimit, perinde est ac si nesciret. [ii. 60.] [13] Jovius Præf. Hist. [14] And, as he says, undertook the work, my genius impelling me.] [15] Erasmus. [16] See Erasmi Adagia, p. 462.] [17] Livy, i. 19, 21.] [18] Evil genius.] [19] Erasmi Adagia, p. 70.] [20] Otium otio, dolorem dolore, sum solatus. [21] See Pliny, N.H. xxix. 4.] [22] Observat, l. 1.

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speaks, that thought he had some of *Aristophanes'* frogs[1] in his belly, still crying *Brecececex, coax, coax, oop, oop,* and for that cause studied physick seven years, and travelled over most part of *Europe* to ease himself. To do myself good I turned over such physicians as our Libraries would afford, or my [2]private friends impart, and have taken this pains. And why not? *Cardan* professeth he writ his book *De Consolatione* after his son's death, to comfort himself; so did *Tully* write of the same subject with like intent after his daughter's departure, if it be his at least, or some impostor's put out in his name, which *Lipsius* probably suspects. Concerning myself, I can peradventure affirm with *Marius* in *Sallust,*[3] *that which others hear or read of, I felt*[4] *& practised myself, they get their knowledge by books, I mine by melancholising. Experto crede* Roberto.[5] Something I can speak out of experience, *ærumnabilis experientia me docuit,*[6] and with her in the Poet,[7] *Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco:* I would help others out of a fellow-feeling, and as that virtuous Lady did of old, [8]*being a Leper herself, bestow all her portion to build an Hospital for Lepers,* I will spend my time and knowledge, which are my greatest fortunes, for the common good of all.

Yea but you will infer that this is[9] *actum agere,*[10] an unnecessary work, *cramben bis coctam apponere,*[11] the same again and again in other words. To what purpose? [12]*Nothing is omitted that may well be said,* so thought *Lucian* in the like theme. How many excellent Physicians have written just Volumes and elaborate Tracts of this subject! no news here, that which I have is stolen from others,[13] *Dicitque mihi mea pagina, fur es.* If that severe doom of[14] *Synesius* be true, *It is a greater offence to steal dead men's labours than their clothes,* what shall become of most Writers? I hold up my hand at the bar amongst others, and am guilty of

[1 Ar. Ranae, 209, 210.] [2 M. Joh. Rous, our Protobib. Oxon. M. Hopper, M. Guthridge, &c. [3 De Bello Jugurthino, c. 85.] [4 Quæ illi audire aut legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi: quæ illi literis, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate facta an dicta pluris sint. [5 Cf. Virg. Æn. xi. 283. But probably Burton took this from Sarisburiensis, *Polycraticus,* Lib. i. Prologue.] [6 Painful experience has taught me.] [7 Dido, Virg. [Æneid. i. 630. It is my acquaintance with evil that teaches me to succour the miserable.] [8 Camden. Ipsa elephantiasi correpta elephantiasis hospitium construxit. [9 Iliada post Homerum. [10 Ter. Ph. ii. iii. 70.] [11 See Erasmi Adagia, pp. 196, 197.] [12 Nihil prætermissum quod à quovis dici possit. [13 Martialis. [i. 53. 12. And my page says to me, you are a thief.] [14 Magis impium mortuorum lucubrationes, quàm vestes furari. [Epistle 142.]

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felony in this kind, *habes confitentem reum*, I am content to be pressed with the rest. 'Tis most true, *tenet insanabile multos scribendi cacoethes*,[1] and[2] *there is no end of writing of books*, as the Wise-man found of old, in this[3] scribbling age especially, wherein [4] *the number of books is without number*, (as a worthy man saith) *presses be oppressed*, & out of an itching humor, that every man hath to show himself, [5] desirous of fame and honor (*scribimus indocti doctique*[6]—) he will write no matter what, & scrape together it boots not whence. [7] *Bewitched with this desire of fame, etiam mediis in morbis*, to the disparagement of their health, & scarce able to hold a pen, they must say something, &c [8] *get themselves a name*, saith *Scaliger*, *though it be to the down-fall and ruin of many others*. To be counted writers, *scriptores ut salutentur*, to be thought and held *Polymaths* & *Polyhistors*, *apud imperitum vulgus ob ventosæ nomen artis*, to get a paper kingdom: *nulla spe quæstus sed amplâ famæ*,[9] in this precipitate ambitious age, *nunc ut est sæculum, inter immaturam eruditionem ambitiosum & præceps* ('tis *Scaliger's*[10] censure) and they that are scarce auditors, *vix auditôres*, must be masters & teachers, before they be capable & fit hearers. They will rush into all learning, *togatam, armatam*, divine, human authors, rake over all *Indexes* & Pamphlets for notes, as our merchants do strange havens for traffick, write great Tomes, *cum non sint revera doctiores, sed loquaciores*, when as they are not thereby better scholars, but greater praters. They commonly pretend publick good, but, as *Gesner*[11] observes, 'tis pride and vanity that eggs them on, no news or ought worthy of note, but the same in other terms. *Ne feriarentur fortasse typographi, vel ideo scribendum est aliquid ut se vixisse testentur*.[12] As Apothecaries we make new mixtures every day, pour out of one vessel into another; and as those old *Romans* robbed all the cities of the world, to set out their bad sited *Rome*, we skim off the cream of other men's wits,

[1] Juv. vii. 51, 52. Many are possessed by an incurable itch to write.] [2] Ecclesiastes, [xii. 12.] [3] Libros Eunuchi gignunt, steriles pariunt. [4] D. King præfat. lect. Jonas, the late Right Reverend Lord Bp. of London. [1611-1621.] [5] Homines famelici gloriæ ad ostentationem eruditionis undique congerunt. Buchananus. [6] Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 117. We write learned and unlearned.] [7] Effascinati etiam laudis amore, &c. Justus Baronius. [8] Ex ruinis alienæ existimationis sibi gradum ad famam struunt. [9] From no hope of gain but great hope of fame.] [10] Exercit. 288. [11] Omnes sibi famam quærunt et quovis modo in orbem spargi contendunt, ut novæ alicujus rei habeantur auctores. Præf. biblioth. [12] They turn authors lest peradventure the printers should have a holiday, or they must write something to prove they have lived.]

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pick the choice flowers of their tilled gardens to set out our own sterile plots. *Castrant alios ut libros suos per se graciles alieno adipe suffarciant* (so [1]*Jovius* inveighs): they lard their lean books with the fat of others' works. *Ineruditi fures,*[2] *&c.* A fault that every Writer finds, as I do now, and yet faulty themselves, [3] *Trium literarum homines,* all thieves; they pilfer out of old Writers to stuff up their new Comments, scrape *Ennius'* dung-hills, and out of [4] *Democritus'* pit, as I have done. By which means it comes to pass, [5] *that not only libraries & shops are full of our putid papers, but every close-stool and jakes, Scribunt carmina quæ legunt cacantes;* [6] they serve to put under pies, to [7] lap spice in, and keep roast-meat from burning. With us in France, saith [8] *Scaliger, every man hath liberty to write, but few ability.*[9] *Heretofore learning was graced by judicious scholars, but now noble sciences are vilified by base and illiterate scribblers,* that either write for vain-glory, need, to get money, or as Parasites to flatter and collogue with some great men; they put out [10] *burras, quisquiliasque ineptiasque.* [11] *Amongst so many thousand Authors you shall scarce find one, by reading of whom you shall be any whit better, but rather much worse, quibus inficitur potiùs, quàm perficitur,* by which he is rather infected than any way perfected.

——[12] Qui talia legit,
Quid didicit tandem, quid scit nisi somnia, nugas?

So that oftentimes it falls out (which *Callimachus* taxed of old) a great Book is a great mischief.[13] *Cardan* [14] finds fault with French men and Germans, for their scribbling to no purpose, *non, inquit, ab edendo deterreo, modo novum aliquid inveniant,* he doth not bar them to write, so that it be some new invention of their own; but we weave the same web still, twist the same rope again and again, or if it be a new invention, tis but some bauble or toy which idle fellows write, for as idle fellows to read, and who so cannot invent? *He* [15] *must have a barren wit, that in this scribbling age can forge*

[1] Præfat. Hist. [2] Unskilful thieves,] [3] Plautus. [Aul. ii. iv. 46.] [4] E Democriti puteo. [5] Non tam refertæ bibliothecæ quam cloacæ. [6] Mart. xii. 61, 10.] [7] Et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis. [Hor. Ep. ii. i. 270.] [8] Epist. ad Patiss. In regno Franciæ omnibus scribendi datur libertas, paucis facultas. [9] Olim literæ ob homines in pretio, nunc sordent ob homines. [10] Aus. [Latino Pacato Depranio, filio, 5, "trifles, rubbish, and trash.] [11] Inter tot mille volumina vix unus a cujus lectione quis melior evadat, immo potius non pejor. [12] Palingenius. [What has anyone, who reads such works, learned, what does he know but dreams and trifling things?] [13] μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν. See Athenaeus, iii. 72.] [14] Lib. 5. de Sap. [15] Sterile oportet esse ingenium quod in hoc scripturientum pruritu, &c.

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nothing. [1]*Princes show their armies, rich men vaunt their buildings, soldiers their man-hood, and scholars vent their toys,* they must read, they must hear whether they will or no.

> [2] Et quodcunque semel chartis illeverit, omnes
> Gestiet à furno redeuntes scire lacuque,
> Et pueros & anus——
>
> What once is said and writ, all men must know,
> Old wives and children as they come and go.

What a company of Poets hath this year brought out! as *Pliny* complains to *Sossius Senecio;*[3] *this April every day some or other have recited!* What a catalogue of new books all this year, all this age (I say) have our *Frank-furt* Marts, our domestick Marts, brought out! Twice a year [4]*proferunt se nova ingenia & ostentant,* we stretch our wits out, and set them to sale, *magno conatu nihil agimus.*[5] So that, which [6] *Gesner* much desires, if a speedy reformation be not had, by some Princes' Edicts and grave Supervisors, to restrain this liberty, it will run on *in infinitum. Quis tam avidus librorum helluo,* who [7] can read them? As already, we shall have a vast *Chaos* and confusion of Books, we are [8] oppressed with them, [9] our eyes ache with reading, our fingers with turning. For my part I am one of the number, *nos numerus sumus,*[10] I do not deny it, I have only this of *Macrobius* to say for myself, *Omne meum, nihil meum,* 'tis all mine and none mine. As a good housewife out of divers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth, a bee gathers wax and honey out of many flowers, and makes a new bundle of all,

> Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,[11]

I have laboriously [12] collected this *Cento* out of divers Writers, and that *sine injuriâ,* I have wronged no authors, but given every man his own; which *Hierome* so much [13] commends in *Nepotian,* he

[1] Cardan, præf. ad Consol. [2] Hor. lib. 1, Sat. 4. [36-38.] [3] Epist. lib. 1. [Ep. xiii.] Magnum poetarum proventum annus hic attulit, mense Aprili nullus fere dies quo non aliquis recitavit. [4] Ibidem. [5] With mighty effort we attain nothing.] [6] Principibus et doctoribus deliberandum relinquo, ut arguantur auctorum furta, et millies repetita tollantur, et temere scribendi libido coerceatur, aliter in infinitum progressura. [7] So greedy a glutton for books that he.] [8] Onerabuntur ingenia, nemo legendis sufficit. [9] Libris obruimur, oculi legendo manus volitando dolent. Fam. Strada, Momo. Lucretius. [10] Hor. Epp. i. ii. 27.] [11] Lucret. iii. 11.] [12] Quicquid ubique bene dictum facio meum, et illud nunc meis ad compendium, nunc ad fidem et auctoritatem alienis exprimo verbis, omnes auctores meos clientes esse arbitror, &c. Sarisburiensis ad Polycrat. prol. [13] In Epitaph. Nep. Illud Cyp. hoc Lact. illud Hilar. est; ita Victorinus, in hunc modum locutus est Arnobius. &c.

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stole not whole verses, pages, tracts, as some do nowadays, concealing their Authors' names, but still said, this was *Cyprian's*, that *Lactantius'*, that *Hilarius'*, so said *Minucius Felix*, so *Victorinus*, thus far *Arnobius:* I cite and quote mine Authors (which howsoever some illiterate scribblers account pedantical, as a cloak of ignorance, and opposite to their affected fine style, I must and will use) *sumpsi, non surripui,*[1] and what *Varro*[2] *de re rust.* speaks of bees, *minimè maleficæ [quod] nullius opus vellicantes faciunt deterius,*[3] I can say of myself, whom have I injured? The matter is theirs most part and yet mine,[4] *apparet unde sumptum sit* (which *Seneca* approves) *aliud tamen quàm unde sumptum sit apparet;*[5] which nature doth with the aliment of our bodies, incorporate, digest, assimulate, I do *concoquere quod hausi*, dispose of what I take. I make them pay tribute, to set out this my *Macaronicon*,[6] the method only is mine own, I must usurp that of[7] *Wecker e Ter. nihil dictum quod non dictum priùs, methodus sola artificem ostendit*, we can say nothing but what hath been said, the composition and method is ours only, & shows a Scholar. *Oribasius, Aëtius, Avicenna*, have all out of *Galen*, but to their own method, *diverso stilo, non diversâ fide.* Our Poets steal from *Homer*, he spews, saith *Ælian*, they lick it up.[8] Divines use *Austin's* words *verbatim* still, and our Story-dressers do as much, he that comes last is commonly best,

> ——donec quid grandius ætas
> Postera sorsque ferat melior.——[9]

Though there were many Giants of old in Physick and Philosophy, yet I say with[10] *Didacus Stella, A dwarf standing on the shoulders of a Giant may see farther than a Giant himself;* I may likely add, alter, and see farther than my predecessors. And it is no greater prejudice for me to indite after others, then for *Ælianus Montaltus*, that famous Physician, to write *de morbis capitis*[11] after *Jason Pratensis, Heurnius, Hildesheim, &c.*, many horses to run in a

[1 I have borrowed, not stolen.] [2 3. 16. 7.] [3 That they are by no means malicious, because they injure nothing they extract honey from.] [4 Whence it is taken appears, yet it appears as something different from what it is taken from.] [5 Seneca, Epistle 84, § 5.] [6 It means *medley, farrago*, which is exactly what this book is.] [7 Præf. ad Syntax. med. [8 Var. Hist. Lib. xiii. § 22.] [9 Until a later age and a happier lot produce something more truly grand.] [10 In Luc. 10. tom. 2. Pygmaei Gigantum humeris impositi plus quam ipsi Gigantes vident. [11 About diseases of the head.]

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race, one Logician, one Rhetorician, after another. Oppose then what thou wilt,

> Allatres licet usque nos & usque,
> Et gannitibus improbis lacessas,[1]

I solve it thus. And for those other faults of barbarism, [2] *Dorick* dialect, extemporanean style, tautologies, apish imitation, a rhapsody of rags gathered together from several dung-hills, excrements of authors, toys and fopperies confusedly tumbled out, without art, invention, judgement, wit, learning, harsh, raw, rude, phantastical, absurd, insolent, indiscreet, ill-composed, indigested, vain, scurrile, idle, dull and dry, I confess all ('tis partly affected) thou canst not think worse of me then I do of myself. 'Tis not worth the reading, I yield it, I desire thee not to lose time in perusing so vain a subject, I should be peradventure loth myself to read him or thee so writing, 'tis not *operæ pretium.*[3] All I say, is this, that I have [4] precedents for it, which *Isocrates* calls *perfugium iis qui peccant,*[5] others as absurd, vain, idle, illiterate, &c. *Nonnulli alii idem fecerunt,* others have done as much, it may be more, and perhaps thou thyself, *Novimus & qui te, &c.*[6] we have all our faults; *scimus & hanc veniam, &c.*[7] [8] thou censurest me, so have I done others, and may do thee, *Cædimus, inque vicem, &c.*[9] 'tis *lex talionis, quid pro quo.* Go now, censure, criticize, scoff and rail.

> [10] Nasutus sis usque licet, sis denique nasus.
> Non potes in nugas dicere plura meas,
> Ipse ego quàm dixi, &c.
>
> Wert thou all scoffs and flouts, a very Momus:
> Than we ourselves, thou canst not say worse of us.

Thus, as when women scold, have I cried whore first, and in some men's censures I am afraid I have overshot myself, *Laudare se vani, vituperare stulti,*[11] as I do not arrogate, I will not derogate. *Primus vestrûm non sum, nec imus,* I am none of the best, I am none of the meanest of you. As I am an inch, or so many feet,

[1 Mart. v. 60. 1, 2. Bark and snarl at me as wantonly as you choose.] [2 Nec aranearum textus ideo melior quia ex se fila gignuntur, nec noster ideo vilior, quia ex alienis lîbamus ut apes. Lipsius adversus dialogist. [Opera, Vesaliae, 1675. Tom. iv. p. 203.] [3 Livy, Praef. Worth while.] [4 Uno absurdo dato mille sequuntur. [5 Ad Demonicum, § 34. A windfall for sinners.] [6 Virg. Ecl. iii. 8.] [7 Hor. A. P. 11.] [8 Non dubito multos lectores hic fore stultos. [9 Pers. iv. 42.] [10 Martial, 13. ii. [1, 4, 5.] [11 The vain praise themselves, the foolish blame themselves.]

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or so many parasangs,[1] after him or him, I may be peradventure an ace before thee. Be it therefore as it is, well or ill, I have assayed, put myself upon the stage, I must abide the censure, I may not escape it. It is most true, *stilus virum arguit*, our style bewrays us, and as[2] hunters find their game by the trace, so is a man's *genius* descried by his works; *multò meliùs ex sermone quàm lineamentis de moribus hominum judicamus*;[3] 'twas old *Cato's* rule. I have laid myself open (I know it) in this treatise, turned mine inside outward, I shall be censured, I doubt not, for to say truth with *Erasmus*, *nihil morosius hominum judiciis*, there's naught so peevish as men's judgements, yet this is some comfort, *ut palata, sic judicia*, our censures are as various as our palates.

[4] Tres mihi convivæ prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato, &c.

[They seem to me to differ like three guests,
Whose palates each require different food,]

Our writings are as so many dishes, our readers guests, our books like beauty, that which one admires, another rejects; so are we approved as mens fancies are inclined.

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.[5]

[The reader's fancy makes the fate of books.]

That which is most pleasing to one is *amaracum sui*,[6] most harsh to another. *Quot homines, tot sententiæ*,[7] so many men, so many minds: that which thou condemnest he commends.

[8] Quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.

[" What you wish, that the other two detest."]

He respects matter, thou art wholly for words, he loves a loose and free style, thou art all for neat composition, strong lines, hyperboles, allogories; he desires a fine frontispiece, enticing pictures, such as [9] *Hieron. Natali* the Jesuit hath cut to the Dominicals, to draw on the reader's attention, which thou rejectest; that which one admires, another explodes as most absurd & ridiculous. If it be not pointblank to his humour, his method, his conceit, [10] *si*

[1] A parasang was thirty furlongs.] [2] Ut venatores feram e vestigio impresso, virum scriptiuncula, Lips. [3] We judge much better of a man's character by his conversation than his features. Plutarch, Life of Cato, § 7.] [4] Hor. [Epist. ii. 2. 61, 62.] [5] Terentianus Maurus.] [6] Lucret. vi. 973, 974. "As odious as marjoram to a sow."] [7] Ter. Phorm. 454.] [8] Hor. [Epist. ii. 2. 64.] [9] Antwerp, fol. 1607. [10] Muretus.

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quid forsan omissum, quod is animo conceperit, si quæ dictio, &c. if ought be omitted, or added, which he likes, or dislikes, thou art *mancipium paucæ lectionis*,[1] an idiot, an ass, *nullus es*, or *plagiarius*,[2] a trifler, a trivant, thou art an idle fellow; or else 'tis a thing of mere industry, a collection without wit or invention, a very toy. [3] *Facilia sic putant omnes quæ jam facta, nec de salebris cogitant, ubi via strata*,[4] so men are valued, their labours vilified, as things of nought, by fellows of no worth themselves, who could not have done as much. *Unusquisque abundat sensu suo*,[5] every man abounds in his own sense; and whilst each particular party is so affected, how should one please all?

> [6] Quid dem, quid non dem? Renuis tu quod jubet ille.
>
> [What shall I give my guests? For you refuse
> What he demands.]

How shall I hope to express myself to each man's humour & conceit,[7] or to give satisfaction to all? Some understand too little, some too much, *qui similiter in legendos libros atque in salutandos homines irruunt, non cogitantes quales, sed quibus vestibus induti sint*,[8] as [9] *Austin* observes, not regarding what, but who write,[10] *orexin habet auctoris celebritas*,[11] not valuing the metal but the stamp that is upon it, *cantharum aspiciunt, non quid in eo*.[12] If he be not rich, in great place, polite and brave, a great doctor, or full-fraught with grand titles, though never so well qualified, he is a dunce, but as [13] *Baronius* hath it of Cardinal *Caraffa's* works, he is a mere hog that rejects any man for his poverty. Some are too partial, as friends, to overween, others come with a prejudice to carp, vilify, detract, and scoff; (*qui de me forsan, quicquid est, omni contemptu contemptius judicant*) [14] some as bees for honey, some as spiders to gather poison. What shall I do in this case? As a Dutch Host, if you come to an Inn in *Germany*, & dislike your fare, diet, lodging, &c. replies in a surly tone,[15] *aliud tibi quæras diversorium*, if you like not this, get you to another Inn: I resolve,

[1] A sorry fellow of little reading.] [2] Not worth reading, or a plagiarist.] [3] Lipsius. [4] All people think things so easy that are already done, nor do they think of the trouble the road has taken to make when it is made.] [5] Rom. xiv. 5. (Vulgate.)] [6] Hor. [Epist. ii. 2. 64.] [7] Fieri non potest, ut quod quisque cogitat, dicat unus. Muretus. [8] Who value books by the authors, as people judge of men by their clothes.] [9] Lib. 1. de ord., cap. 11. [10] Erasmus. [11] The author's fame sells the book.] [12] They look at the tankard, and not the liquor in it.] [13] Annal. Tom. 3. ad annum 360. Est porcus ille qui sacerdotem ex amplitudine redituum sordide demetitur. [14] Who judge perhaps whatever I produce as unworthy of anything but contempt.] [15] Erasm. [Colloquia, *Diversoria*.]

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if you like not my writing, go read something else. I do not much esteem thy censure, take thy course, 'tis not as thou wilt, nor as I will, but when we have both done, that of[1] *Plinius Secundus* to *Trajan* will prove true, *Every mans witty labour takes not, except the matter, subject, occasion, & some commending favourite happen to it.* If I be taxed, exploded, by thee and some such, I shall haply be approved and commended by others, & so have been (*Expertus loquor*)[2] & may truly say with[3] *Jovius* in like case[4] (*absit verbo jactantia*) *heroum quorundam, pontificum, & virorum nobilium familiaritatem & amicitiam, gratasque gratias, & multorum*[5] *bene laudatorum laudes sum inde promeritus*, as I have been honoured by some worthy men, so have I been vilified by others, and shall be. At the first publishing of this book; (which[6] *Probus* of *Persius'* Satires) *editum librum continuò mirari homines, atque avidè deripere ceperunt*,[7] I may in some sort apply to this my work. The first, second, and third editions were suddenly gone, eagerly read, & as I have said, not so much approved by some, as scornfully rejected by others. But it was *Democritus* his fortune, *Idem admirationi &*[8] *irrisioni habitus.*[9] 'Twas *Seneca's* fate, that superintendent of wit, learning, judgement,[10] *ad stuporem doctus*,[11] the best of *Greek* and *Latin* writers in *Plutarch's* opinion: that *renowned corrector of vice*, as[12] *Fabius* terms him, *and painful omniscious philosopher, that writ so excellently and admirably well*, could not please all parties, or escape censure. How is he vilified by[13] *Caligula*, *A. Gellius*, *Fabius*, and *Lipsius* himself, his chief propugner![14] *In eo pleraque perniciosa*, saith the same *Fabius*, many childish tracts and sentences he hath, *sermo illaboratus*, too negligent often and remiss, as *A. Gellius* observes, *oratio vulgaris & protrita, dicaces & ineptæ sententiæ, eruditio plebeia*, an homely shallow writer as he is. *In partibus spinas & fastidia habet*,[15] saith

[1] Epist. lib. 6. [23. § 4.] Cujusque ingenium non statim emergit, nisi materiæ fautor, occasio, commendatorque contingat. [2] I speak from experience.] [3] Praef. Hist. [4] (Let me not speak boastfully) I have had the intimacy and friendship of some eminent men, pontiffs, and noblemen, and had pleasant favours from them, and been praised by many who themselves were highly esteemed.] [5] Laudari a laudato laus est. [Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 5. 12. 7.] [6] Vit. Persii. [Jahn's Persius, p. 240.] [7] Men began both to admire and eagerly carp at it.] [8] Minuit præsentia famam. [Claudian, De bello Gildonico, 385.] [9] He was both admired and jeered at.] [10] Lipsius Judic. de Seneca. [11] Learned to a marvel.] [12] Lib. 10. Plurimum studii, multam rerum cognitionem, omnem studiorum materiam, &c., multa in eo probanda, multa admiranda. [13] Suet. [C. Calig. 53.] Arena sine calce. [14] Defender.] [15] In some of his works he has difficulties and inspires disgust.]

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Lipsius,[1] & as in all his other works, so especially in his epistles, *aliæ in argutiis & ineptiis occupantur, intricatus alicubi, & parum compositus, sine copiâ rerum hoc fecit*, he jumbles up many things together immethodically, after the Stoicks' fashion, *parum ordinavit, multa accumulavit, &c.*[2] If *Seneca* be thus lashed, and many famous men that I could name, what shall I expect? How shall I that am *vix umbra tanti philosophi*,[3] hope to please? *No man so absolute*, [4] *Erasmus* holds, *to satisfy all, except antiquity, prescription, &c. set a bar.* But as I have proved in *Seneca*, this will not always take place, how shall I evade? 'Tis the common doom of all writers, I must (I say) abide it, I seek not applause; [5] *Non ego ventosæ venor suffragia plebis* [6]; again, *non sum adeo informis*,[7] I would not be [8] vilified.

——[9] laudatus abunde,
Non fastiditus si tibi lector ero.

[I shall have praise enough if, gentle reader,
You not despise me.]

I fear good men's censures, and to their favourable acceptance I submit my labours,—

——[10] & linguas mancipiorum
Contemno.

[But I despise the tongues of slaves.]

As the barking of a dog, I securely contemn those malicious and scurrile obloquies, flouts, calumnies of railers and detractors. I scorn the rest. What therefore I have said, *pro tenuitate meâ* [11] I have said.

One or two things yet I was desirous to have amended, if I could, concerning the manner of handling this my subject, for which I must apologize, *deprecari*, and upon better advice give the friendly reader notice: it was not mine intent to prostitute my muse in *English*, or to divulge *secreta Minervæ*,[12] but to have exposed this more contract in *Latin*, if I could have got it printed. Any scur-

[1] Introduct. ad Sen. [2] "'Twas Seneca's fate,—*accumulavit.* etc." All this is in Lipsius' edition of Seneca. Antverpiae, 1652.] [3] Scarce the shadow of so great a philosopher.] [4] Judic. de Sen. Vix aliquis tam absolutus, ut alteri per omnia satisfaciat, nisi longa temporis præscriptio, semota judicandi libertate, religione quadam animos occupârit. [5] Hor. Ep. lib. 1. 19. [37.] [6] I court not the suffrages of the fickle people.] [7] Verg. Ecl. ii. 25. I am not so ugly.] [8] Æquè turpe frigidè laudari ac insectanter vituperari. Favorinus, A. Gel. lib. 19. cap. 3. [9] Ovid. trist. [1. 7. 31, 32.] [10] Juven. [ix. 120, 121.] [11] In my poor fashion.] [12] The secrets of Minerva.]

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rile pamphlet is welcome to our mercenary Stationers in *English*, they print all,

cuduntque libellos
In quorum foliis vix simia nuda cacaret;

but in *Latin* they will not deal; which is one of the reasons [1]*Nicholas Car*, in his oration of the paucity of *English* writers, gives, that so many flourishing wits are smothered in oblivion, lie dead and buried in this our nation. Another main fault is, that I have not revised the copy, and amended the style, which now flows remissly, as it was first conceived, but my leisure would not permit. *Feci nec quod potui, nec quod volui*, I confess it is neither as I would, nor as it should be.

[2] Cùm relego scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno
Me quoque quæ fuerant judice digna lini.

When I peruse this tract which I have writ,
I am abash'd, and much I hold unfit.

Et quod gravissimum,[3] in the matter itself, many things I disallow at this present, which when I writ,[4] *Non eadem est ætas, non mens*;[5] I would willingly retract much, &c., but 'tis too late, I can only crave pardon now for what is amiss.

I might indeed (had I wisely done) have observed that precept of the poet,

——nonumque prematur in annum,[6]

and have taken more care: or as *Alexander* the Physician would have done by *Lapis Lazuli*, fifty times washed before it be used, I should have revised, corrected, and amended this tract; but I had not as (I said) that happy leisure, no *amanuenses* or assistants. *Pancrates* in [7]*Lucian*, wanting a servant as he went from *Memphis* to *Coptos* in *Egypt*, took a door-bar, and after some superstitious words pronounced (*Eucrates* the relator was then present) made it stand up like a serving-man, fetch him water, turn the spit, serve in supper, and what work he would besides; and when he had done that service he desired, turn'd his man to a stick again. I have no such skill to make new men at my pleasure, or means

[1] Aut artis inscii aut quæstui magis quam literis student. hab. Cantab. et Lond. Excus. 1676. [2] Ovid. [Pont. 1. 5. 15, 16.] [3] And what is most important.] [4] Hor. [Epp. i. i. 4.] [5] 'Twas in my salad days, when I was green, Not ripe, in judgement.] [6] Hor. De Arte Poetica, 388. Let a book wait 9 years, ere it be printed.] [7] Philopseudes, [§ 35.] Accepto pessulo, quum carmen quoddam dixisset, effecit ut ambularet, aquam hauriret, urnam pararet, &c.

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to hire them, no whistle to call like the master of a ship, and bid them run, &c. I have no such authority, no such benefactors, as that noble [1] *Ambrosius* was to *Origen*, allowing him six or seven *amanuenses* to write out his dictates; I must for that cause do my business myself, and was therefore enforced, as a Bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump, I had not time to lick it into form, as she doth her young ones, but even so to publish it, as it was first written, *quicquid in buccam venit*,[2] in an extemporean style, as[3] I do commonly all other exercises, *effudi quicquid dictavit genius meus*,[4] out of a confused company of notes, and writ with as small deliberation as I do ordinarily speak, without all affectation of big words, fustian phrases, jingling terms, tropes, strong lines, that like[5] *Acestes'* arrows caught fire as they flew, strains of wit, brave heats, elogies, hyperbolical exornations, elegancies, &c. which many so much affect. I am[6] *aquæ potor*,[7] drink no wine at all, which so much improves our modern wits, a loose, plain, rude writer, *ficum voco ficum, & ligonem ligonem*,[8] & as free as loose, *idem calamo quod in mente*, [9] I call a spade a spade, *animis hæc scribo, non auribus*,[10] I respect matter, not words; remembering that of *Cardan, verba propter res, non res propter verba*: [11] and seeking with *Seneca, quid scribam, non quemadmodum*,[12] rather what than how to write. For as *Philo* thinks,[13] *he that is conversant about matter, neglects words, and those that excel in this art of speaking, have no profound learning,*

> [14] Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verba medullas
> Intus habent——
>
> [Words may sound fine, yet have no inner meaning.]

Besides, it was the observation of that wise *Seneca*,[15] *when you see a fellow careful about his words, and neat in his speech, know this for a certainty, that man's mind is busied about toys, there's no solidity*

[1] Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. lib. 6. [c. 23.] [2] Cic. ad Attic. i. 12; Martial, xii. xxiv. 5. whatever came uppermost.] [3] Stans pede in uno, as he made verses, [Lucilius, see Hor. Sat. i. 4. 11.] [4] I poured forth whatever my genius dictated.] [5] Virg. [Æneid, v. 519-528.] [6] Non eadem à summo expectes, minimoque poeta. [Juv. x. 14.] [7] Hor. Epist. i. 19. 3. a water-drinker.] [8] Prov. Plut. 2. 178, B. Luc. Hist. Conscr. 41. I call a fig a fig, and spade a spade.] [9] Stilus hic nullus, præter parrhesiam. [10] Seneca, Epist. 100. 1.] [11] *De libris propriis.* Words exist for things, not things for words.] [12] Seneca, Ep. 100, 1.] [13] Qui rebus se exercet, verba negligit, et qui callet artem dicendi, nullam disciplinam habet recognitam. [14] Palingenius. [15] Cujuscunque orationem vides politam et sollicitam, scito animum in pusillis occupatum, in scriptis nil solidum. Epist. [115, 1.]

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in him. Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas:[1] as he said of a nightingale,

——vox es, præterea nihil, &c.[2]

I am therefore in this point a professed disciple of [3]*Apollonius* a scholar of *Socrates*, I neglect phrases, and labour wholly to inform my reader's understanding, not to please his ear; 'tis not my study or intent to compose neatly, which an Orator requires, but to express myself readily & plainly as it happens. So that as a River runs, sometimes precipitate and swift, then dull and slow; now direct, then *per ambages*;[4] now deep, then shallow; now muddy, then clear; now broad, then narrow; doth my style flow: now serious, then light; now comical, then satirical; now more elaborate, then remiss, as the present subject required, or as at that time I was affected. And if thou vouchsafe to read this treatise, it shall seem no otherwise to thee than the way to an ordinary Traveller, sometimes fair, sometimes foul; here champaign, there inclosed; barren in one place, better soil in another: by woods, groves, hills, dales, plains, *&c.* I shall lead thee *per ardua montium, & lubrica vallium, & roscida cespitum, & [5]glebosa camporum*, through variety of objects, that which thou shalt like and surely dislike.

For the matter itself or method, if it be faulty, consider I pray you that of *Columella, nihil perfectum, aut à singulari consummatum industriâ*, no man can observe all, much is defective no doubt, may be justly taxed, altered, and avoided in *Galen, Aristotle*, those great Masters. *Boni venatoris* ([6] one holds) *plures feras capere, non omnes*, he is a good Huntsman can catch some, not all: I have done my endeavour. Besides, I dwell not in this study, *non hic sulcos ducimus, non hoc pulvere desudamus*, I am but a smatterer, I confess, a stranger, [7]here and there I pull a flower; I do easily grant, if a rigid censurer should criticize on this which I have writ, he should not find three sole faults, as *Scaliger* in *Terence*, but 300: so many as he hath done in *Cardan's* Subtleties, as many

[1 Sen. Ep. 115, 2. Prettiness of style is not a manly distinction.] [2 Plut. Apophthegmata Laconica, p. 232. You are a voice, and nothing else.] [3 Philostratus, lib. 8. vit. Apol. [cap. 6.] Negligebat oratoriam facultatem, et penitus aspernabatur ejus professores, quod linguam duntaxat, non autem mentem redderent eruditiorem. [4 Windingly.] [5 Hic enim, quod Seneca de Ponto, bos herbam, ciconia lacertum, canis leporem, virgo florem legat. [Seneca, Epistle 108 § 29, memoriter.] [6 Pet. Nannius not. in Hor. [7 Non hic colonus domicilium habeo, sed topiarii in morem, hinc inde florem vellico, ut canis Nilum lambens.

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notable errors as [1]*Gul. Laurembergius*, a late Professor of *Rostock*, discovers in that Anatomy of *Laurentius*, or *Barocius* the *Venetian* in *Sacroboscus*. And although this be a Sixth Edition, in which I should have been more accurate, corrected all those former escapes, yet it was *magni laboris opus*, so difficult and tedious,[2] that, as Carpenters do find out of experience, 'tis much better build a new sometimes than repair an old house; I could as soon write as much more, as alter that which is written. If ought therefore be amiss (as I grant there is) I require a friendly admonition, no bitter invective,

[3] Sint musis socii Charites, Furia omnis abesto,

Otherwise as in ordinary controversies, *funem contentionis nectamus, sed cui bono?* We may contend, and likely misuse each other, but to what purpose? We are both scholars, say,

——[4] Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares, & respondere parati:

[Arcadians both, and adepts in part-singing.]

If we do wrangle, what shall we get by it? Trouble & wrong ourselves, make sport to others. If I be convict of an error, I will yield, I will amend. *Si quid bonis moribus, si quid veritati dissentaneum, in sacris vel humanis literis, a me dictum sit, id nec dictum esto.*[5] In the mean time I require a favourable censure of all faults omitted, harsh compositions, pleonasms of words, tautological repetitions (though *Seneca*[6] bear me out, *nunquam nimis dicitur, quod nunquam satis dicitur*) perturbations of tenses, numbers, printers' faults, &c. My translations are sometimes rather paraphrases than interpretations, *non ad verbum*,[7] but, as an author, I use more liberty, and that's only taken which was to my purpose. Quotations are often inserted in the Text, which make the style more harsh, or in the margin, as it happened. *Greek* authors, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, *Athenæus*, &c. I have cited out of their interpreters, because the original was not so ready. I have mingled *sacra profanis*,[8] but I hope not profaned, and in repetition of authors' names, ranked them *per accidens*,[9] not according to Chro-

[1] Supra bis mille notabiles errores Laurentii demonstravi, &c. [2] A work.] [3] Philo de Con. [4] Virg. [Ecl. vii. 4, 5.] [5] If I have said anything contrary to good morals or truth, let it be supposed unsaid.] [6] Epistle 27, § 8.] [7] Not word for word.] [8] Sacred with profane things.] [9] As it happened.]

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nology; sometimes Neotericks before Ancients, as my memory suggested. Some things are here altered, expunged in this Sixth Edition, others amended, much added, because many good authors [1] in all kinds are come to my hands since, and 'tis no prejudice, no such *indecorum*, or oversight.

> [2] Nunquam ita quicquam bene subductâ ratione ad vitam fuit,
> Quin res, ætas, usus, semper aliquid apportent novi,
> Aliquid moneant, ut illa quæ scire te credas nescias,
> Et quæ tibi putaris prima, in experiendo ut repudias.
>
> Ne'er was ought yet at first contriv'd so fit,
> But use, age, or something would alter it;
> Advise thee better, and upon peruse,
> Make thee not say, and what thou takest refuse.

But I am now resolv'd never to put this treatise out again, *Ne quid nimis*,[3] I will not hereafter add, alter, or retract, I have done. The last and greatest exception is, that I being a divine have medled with physick,

> [4] —— tantumne ab re tua est otii tibi,
> Aliena ut cures, eaque nihil quæ ad te attinent?

which *Menedemus* objected to *Chremes;* have I so much leisure, or little business of mine own, as to look after other men's matters which concern me not? What have I to do with physick? *Quod medicorum est promittant medici.*[5] The [6] *Lacedaemonians* were once in counsel about state matters, a debauched fellow spake excellent well, and to the purpose, his speech was generally approved: a grave Senator steps up, and by all means would have it repealed, though good, because *dehonestabatur pessimo auctore*, it had no better an author; let some good man relate the same, and then it should pass. This counsel was embraced, *factum est*, and it was registered forthwith. *Et sic bona sententia mansit, malus auctor mutatus est.*[7] Thou sayest as much of me, stomachosus [8] as thou art, & grantest peradventure this which I have written in physick, not to be amiss, had another done it, a professed physician, or so; but why should I meddle with this tract? Hear me speak. There be many other subjects, I do easily grant, both in humanity and divinity, fit to be treated of, of which had I written *ad ostentationem*

[1] Frambesarius, Sennertus, [Famous Medical Writers,] Ferandus, &c. [2] Ter. Adelph. [A. v. Sc. iv. 1-4.] [3] Ter. And. i. i. 34. Not too much of anything.] [4] Heaut. i. i. [23, 24.] [5] Hor. Ep. ii. i. 115, 116. Let doctors attend to what concerns doctors.] [6] Gellius, lib. 18, cap. 3. [7] And so the good advice was taken, the bad adviser was changed.] [8] Peevish fellow.]

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only, to show myself, I should have rather chosen, and in which I have been more conversant, I could have more willingly luxuriated, and better satisfied myself and others; but that at this time I was fatally driven upon this rock of melancholy, and carried away by this by-stream, which, as a rillet, is deducted from the main channel of my studies, in which I have pleased and busied myself at idle hours, as a subject most necessary and commodious. Not that I prefer it before Divinity, which I do acknowledge to be the Queen of professions, and to which all the rest are as handmaids, but that in Divinity I saw no such great need. For had I written positively, there be so many books in that kind, so many commentators, treatises, pamphlets, expositions, sermons, that whole teams of oxen cannot draw them; and had I been as forward and ambitious as some others, I might have haply printed a Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, a Sermon in St. *Mary's Oxon*,[1] a Sermon in *Christ-Church*, or a Sermon before the Right Honourable, Right Reverend, a Sermon before the Right Worshipful, a Sermon in Latin, in English, a Sermon with a name, a Sermon without, a Sermon, a Sermon, &c. But I have been ever as desirous to suppress my labours in this kind, as others have been to press and publish theirs. To have written in controversy had been to cut off an *Hydra's* head,[2] *lis litem generat*,[3] one begets another, so many duplications, triplications, & swarms of questions, *in sacro bello hoc quod stili mucrone agitur*,[4] that, having once begun, I should never make an end. One had much better, as Pope [5] *Alexander* the Sixth long since observed, provoke a great Prince than a begging Friar, a Jesuit, or a Seminary Priest, I will add, for *inexpugnabile genus hoc hominum*, they are an irrefragable society, they must & will have the last word; and that with such eagerness, impudence, abominable lying, falsifying, and bitterness in their questions they proceed, that as [6] he said, *furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior, an culpa? responsum date.* Blind fury, or error, or rashness, or what it is that eggs them, I know not. I am sure many times, which *Austin*[7] perceived long since, *tempestate contentionis serenitas caritatis obnubilatur*, with this tempest of contention the serenity of charity

[1 = Oxford.] [2] Et inde catena quædam fit, quæ hæredes etiam ligat. Cardan. [De Utilitate. Lib. iii. cap. 15.] Heinsius. [3] See Erasmi Adagia, p. 693 B. "Litigation begets litigation."] [4] In this sacred war which is fought with the point of the pen. *Heinsius Primerio.*] [5] Malle se bellum cum magno principe gerere, quam cum uno ex fratrum mendicantium ordine. [6] Hor. Epod. [vii. 13, 14.] [7] Epist. 86, ad Casulam Presb

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is over-clouded, & there be too many spirits conjured up already in this kind in all sciences, and more than we can tell how to lay, which do so furiously rage, and keep such a racket, that as [1]*Fabius* said, *It had been much better for some of them to have been born dumb, and altogether illiterate, than so far to dote to their own destruction.*

> At melius fuerat non scribere, namque tacere
> Tutum semper erit.
>
> [It had been better not to write, for silence
> Is always safe.]

'Tis a general fault, so *Severinus* the *Dane* complains[2] in physick, *unhappy men as we are, we spend our days in unprofitable questions & disputations*, intricate subtleties, *de lanâ caprinâ*,[3] about moonshine in the water, *leaving in the mean time those chiefest treasures of nature untouched, wherein the best medicines for all manner of diseases are to be found, & do not only neglect them ourselves, but hinder, condemn, forbid, and scoff at others, that are willing to enquire after them.* These motives at this present have induced me to make choice of this medicinal subject.

If any physician in the mean time shall infer, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*,[4] and find himself grieved that I have intruded into his profession, I will tell him in brief, I do not otherwise by them, than they do by us. If it be for their advantage, I know many of their sect which have taken orders in hope of a benefice, tis a common transition, and why not a melancholy divine, that can get nothing but by Simony, profess physick? *Drusianus* an *Italian* (*Crusianus*, but corruptly, *Trithemius* calls him)[5] *because he was not fortunate in his practice, forsook his profession, and writ afterwards in divinity. Marcilius Ficinus* was *semel & simul*, a priest & a physician at once, & [6] *T. Linacre* in his old age took orders. The *Jesuits* profess both at this time, divers of them *permissu superiorum*,[7] chirurgeons, panders, bawds, and midwives, &c.

[1] Lib. 12. cap. 1. Mutos nasci, et omni scientia egere satius fuisset, quàm sic in propriam perniciem insanire. [2] Infelix mortalitas! Inutilibus quæstionibus ac disceptationibus vitam traducimus; naturæ principes thesauros, in quibus gravissimæ morborum medicinæ collocatæ sunt, interim intactos relinquimus. Nec ipsi solum relinquimus, sed et alios prohibemus, impedimus, condemnamus, ludibriisque afficimus. [3 Hor. Ep. i. 18. 15.] [4 Plin. 35. 10. 36. § 85. Let no cobbler go beyond his last.] [5 Quod in praxi minime fortunatus esset, medicinam reliquit, et ordinibus initiatus in Theologia postmodum scripsit. Gesner, Bibliotheca. [6 P. Jovius. [In Elogiis. cf. Descriptio Britanniae.] [7 By the permission of their superiors.]

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Many poor country-vicars, for want of other means, are driven to their shifts; to turn mountebanks, quacksalvers, empiricks, and if our greedy patrons hold us to such hard conditions, as commonly they do, they will make most of us work at some trade, as *Paul* did, at last turn taskers, malsters, costermongers, graziers, sell Ale as some have done, or worse. Howsoever, in undertaking this task, I hope I shall commit no great error or *indecorum*, if all be considered aright, I can vindicate myself with *Georgius Brunnius*, and *Hieronymus Henninges*, those two learned Divines; who (to borrow a line or two of mine [1] elder brother) drawn by a *natural love, the one of pictures and maps, prospectives and chorographical delights, writ that ample Theatre of Cities; the other to the study of genealogies, penned* Theatrum Genealogicum. Or else I can excuse my studies with [2] *Lessius* the *Jesuit* in like case. It is a disease of the soul on which I am to treat, and as much appertaining to a Divine as to a Physician; and who knows not what an agreement there is betwixt these two professions? A good Divine either is or ought to be a good physician, a spiritual physician at least, as our Saviour calls himself, and was indeed, *Mat.* 4. 23; *Luke* 5. 18; *Luke* 7. 21. They differ but in object, the one of the body, the other of the soul, and use divers medicines to cure: one amends *animam per corpus*,[3] the other *corpus per animam*,[4] as [5] our Regius Professor of Physick well informed us in a learned lecture of his not long since. One helps the vices and passions of the soul, anger, lust, desperation, pride, presumption, *&c.*, by applying the spiritual physick; as the other uses proper remedies in bodily diseases. Now this being a common infirmity of body and soul, and such a one that hath as much need of a spiritual as corporal cure, I could not find a fitter task to busy myself about, a more apposite theme, so necessary, so commodious, and generally concerning all sorts of men, that should so equally participate of both, and require a whole physician. A Divine in this compound mixed malady can do little alone, a Physician in some kinds of melancholy much less, both make an absolute cure.

[6] Alterius sic altera poscit opem.

[1] Mr. W. Burton, Preface to his Description of Leicestershire, printed at London by W. Jaggard for J. White, 1622. [2] In Hygiasticon. Neque enim hæc tractatio aliena videri debet à theologo, &c., agitur de morbo animæ. [3] The soul through the body.] [4] The body through the soul.] [5] D. Clayton in Comitiis, anno 1621. [6] Hor. [De Arte Poetica, 410, 411.]

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And 'tis proper to them both, and I hope not unbeseeming me, who am by my profession a Divine, and by mine inclination a Physician. I had *Jupiter* in my Sixth House; I say with[1] *Beroaldus. non sum medicus, nec medicinæ prorsus expers,*[2] in the theorick of physick I have taken some pains, not with an intent to practise, but to satisfy myself, which was a cause likewise of the first undertaking of this subject.

If these reasons do not satisfy thee, Good Reader, as *Alexander Munificus*, that bountiful Prelate sometime Bishop of *Lincoln*,[3] when he had built six Castles, *ad invidiam operis eluendam*, saith [4] Mr. *Camden*, to take away the envy of his work (which very words *Nubrigensis* hath of *Roger* the rich Bishop of *Salisbury*,[5] who in King *Stephen's* time built *Sherborne* Castle, and that of *Devizes*) to divert the scandal or imputation which might be thence inferred, built so many Religious Houses; if this my discourse be over medicinal, or savour too much of humanity, I promise thee that I will hereafter make thee amends in some treatise of divinity. But this I hope shall suffice, when you have more fully considered of the matter of this my subject, *rem substratam*, melancholy, madness, and of the reasons following, which were my chief motives, the generality of the disease, the necessity of the cure, and the commodity or common good that will arise to all men by the knowledge of it, as shall at large appear in the ensuing preface. And I doubt not but that in the end you will say with me, that to anatomize this humour aright through all the members of this our *Microcosmos*, is as great a task as to reconcile those chronological errors in the Assyrian monarchy, find out the quadrature of a circle, the creeks and sounds of the north-east or north-west passages, & all out as good a discovery as that hungry [6] *Spaniard's* of *Terra Australis Incognita*, as great a trouble as to perfect the motion of *Mars* & *Mercury*, which so crucifies our Astronomers, or to rectify the *Gregorian* Calendar. I am so affected for my part, and hope as [7] *Theophrastus* did by his Characters, *that our pos-*

[1] Lib. de pestil. [[2] I am not a physician, and yet not altogether without knowledge of physic.] [[3] Bp. of L. 1123-1147.] [4] In Newark in Nottinghamshire. Cum duo ædificâsset castella, ad tollendam structionis invidiam, et expiandam maculam, duo instituit cœnobia, et collegis religiosis implevit. [[5] Bp. of S. 1107-1142.] [6] Ferdinando de Quir. anno 1612. Amsterdami impress. [7] Præfat. ad Characteres. Spero enim (O Polycles) liberos nostros meliores inde futuros, quod istiusmodi memoriæ mandata reliquerimus, ex præceptis et exemplis nostris ad vitam accommodatis, ut se inde corrigant.

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terity, O friend Polycles, *shall be the better for this which we have written, by correcting and rectifying what is amiss in themselves by our examples, and applying our precepts and cautions to their own use.* As that great Captain *Zisca* would have a drum made of his skin when he was dead, because he thought the very noise of it would put his enemies to flight, I doubt not but that these following lines, when they shall be recited, or hereafter read, will drive away melancholy (though I be gone) as much as *Zisca's* drum could terrify his foes.[1] Yet one caution let me give by the way to my present or future reader, who is actually melancholy, that he read not the[2] symptoms or prognosticks in this following tract, lest by applying that which he reads to himself, aggravating, appropriating things generally spoken to his own person (as melancholy men for the most part do), he trouble or hurt himself, and get in conclusion more harm than good. I advise them therefore warily to peruse that tract, *lapides loquitur* (so said *Agrippa*[3] *de occ. Phil.*) *& caveant lectores ne cerebrum iis excutiat.*[4] The rest I doubt not they may securely read, and to their benefit. But I am over-tedious, I proceed.

Of the necessity and generality of this which I have said, if any man doubt, I shall desire him to make a brief survey of the world, as[5] *Cyprian* advised *Donatus, supposing himself to be transported to the top of some high mountain, and thence to behold the tumults and chances of this wavering world, he can't choose but either laugh at, or pity it.* S. *Hierom*, out of a strong imagination, being in the wilderness, conceived with himself that he then saw them dancing in *Rome;* and if thou shalt either conceive, or climb to see, thou shalt soon perceive that all the world is mad, that it is melancholy, dotes: that it is (which *Epichthonius Cosmopolites* expressed not many years since in a map) made like a fool's head (with that Motto, *Caput helleboro dignum*)[6] a crazed head, *cavea stultorum*, a fool's Paradise, or, as *Apollonius*, a common prison of gulls, cheaters, flatterers, &c., and needs to be reformed. *Strabo*, in the Ninth Book of his Geography, [7]compares *Greece* to the picture of a man,

[1 See Carlyle's Frederick the Great, Book ix. chap. iv.] [2 Part 1. sect. 3. 3 Præf. Lectori. [4 Cf. Plautus, Aulularia, ii. i. 29, 30. He speaks stones, and let his readers beware lest he break their heads.] [5 Ep. 2. l. 2. ad Donatum. Paulisper te crede subduci in ardui montis verticem celsiorem, speculare inde rerum jacentium facies, et oculis in diversa porrectis, fluctuantis mundi turbines intuere, jam simul aut ridebis aut misereberis, &c. [6 Cf. Plaut. Pseudol. iv. vii. 89. A head requiring hellebore.] [7 Cap. i. §§ 1, 2.]

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which comparison of his *Nic. Gerbelius*, in his exposition of *Sophianus'* map, approves; the breast lies open from those *Acroceraunian* hills in *Epirus* to the *Sunian* promontory in *Attica*; *Pagæ* & *Megara* are the two shoulders; that *Isthmus of Corinth* the neck; and *Peloponnesus* the head. If this allusion hold, tis sure a mad head, *Morea* may be *Moria*; and to speak what I think, the inhabitants of modern *Greece* swerve as much from reason & true religion at this day, as that *Morea* doth from the picture of a man. Examine the rest in like sort, and you shall find that Kingdoms and Provinces are melancholy, cities and families, all creatures, vegetal, sensible, and rational, that all sorts, sects, ages, conditions, are out of tune, as in *Cebes'* Table, [1] *omnes errorem bibunt*, before they come into the world, they are intoxicated by error's cup, from the highest to the lowest have need of physick, and those particular actions in *Seneca*,[2] where father & son prove one another mad, may be general; *Porcius Latro* shall plead against us all. For indeed who is not a fool, melancholy, mad?—[3] *Qui nil molitur inepte*, who is not brain-sick? Folly, melancholy, madness, are but one disease, *delirium* is a common name to all. *Alexander Gordonius*, *Jason Pratensis*, *Savanarola*, *Guianerius*, *Montaltus*, confound them as differing *secundum magis & minus*, so doth *David*, *Psal.* 37. 5, *I said unto the fools, deal not so madly*, & 'twas an old *Stoical* paradox, *omnes stultos insanire*,[4] all fools are mad, though some madder than others. And who is not a fool? Who is free from melancholy? Who is not touched more or less in habit or disposition? If in disposition, *ill disposition beget habits, if they persevere*, saith *Plutarch*,[5] habits either are or turn to diseases. 'Tis the same which *Tully* maintains in the Second of his *Tusculans*,[6] *omnium insipientum animi in morbo sunt, & perturbatorum*, fools are sick, and all that are troubled in mind: for what is sickness, but as [7] *Gregory Tholosanus* defines it, *a dissolution or perturbation of the bodily league which health combines.* And who is not sick, or ill disposed? In whom doth not passion, anger, envy, discontent, fear, and sorrow, reign? Who labours not of this disease? Give me but a little leave, & you shall see by what testimonies, confessions, arguments,

[1 V. 3.] [2] Controv. l. 2. cont. 7. & l. 6. cont. [3] Horatius, [A. P. 140.] [4] Hor. Sat. ii. 3. Damasippus Stoicus probat omnes stultos insanire. [5] Sympos. lib. 5. c. 6. Animi affectiones, si diutius inhæreant, pravos generant habitus. [6 Cap. v. memoriter.] [7] Lib. 28. cap. 1. Synt. art. mir. Morbus nihil est aliud quam dissolutio quædam ac perturbatio fœderis in corpore existentis, sicut et sanitas est consentientis bene corporis consummatio quædam.

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I will evince it, that most men are mad, that they had as much need to go a pilgrimage to the *Anticyræ* (as in [1] *Strabo's* time they did) as in our days they run to *Compostella*, our Lady of *Sichem*,[2] or *Loretto*, to seek for help; that it is like to be as prosperous a voyage as that of *Guiana*,[3] and that there is much more need of *Hellebore* than of *Tobacco*.

That men are so misaffected, melancholy, mad, giddy-headed, hear the testimony of *Solomon*, *Eccl.* 2. 12. *And I turned to behold wisdom, madness, and folly, &c.* And *ver.* 23. *All his days are sorrow, his travail grief, & his heart taketh not rest in the night.* So that take melancholy in what sense you will, properly or improperly, in disposition or habit, for pleasure or for pain, dotage, discontent, fear, sorrow, madness, for part, or all, truly, or metaphorically, 'tis all one. Laughter itself is madness according to *Solomon*, and, as S. *Paul* hath it, *worldly sorrow brings death.*[4] *The hearts of the sons of men are evil, & madness is in their hearts while they live*, *Eccl.* 9. 3. *Wise men themselves are no better*, *Ecc.* 1. 18. *In the multitude of wisdom is much grief, & he that increaseth wisdom increaseth sorrow*, *Cap.* 2. 17. He hated life itself, nothing pleased him, he hated his labour, all, as [5] he concludes, is *sorrow, grief, vanity, vexation of spirit.* And though he were the wisest man in the world, *sanctuarium sapientiæ*, & had wisdom in abundance, he will not vindicate himself, or justify his own actions. *Surely I am more foolish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man in me*, *Pro.* 30. 2. Be they *Solomon's* words, or the words of *Agur*, the son of *Jakeh*, they are canonical. *David*, a man after God's own heart, confesseth as much of himself, *Ps.* 73. 21, 22. *So foolish was I & ignorant, I was even as a beast before thee:* and condemns all for fools, *Ps.* 53. & 32. 9. & 49. 20. He compares them to *beasts, horses and mules, in which there is no understanding.* The Apostle *Paul* accuseth himself in like sort, 2 *Cor.* xi. 21. *I would you would suffer a little my foolishness, I speak foolishly. The whole head is sick*, saith *Esay, and the heart is heavy*, *Cap.* 1. 5; and makes lighter of them *than of oxen and asses, the ox knows his owner, &c.* Read [also] *Deut.* 32. 6; *Jer.* 4. *Amos*, 3. 1; *Ephes.* 5. 6. *Be not mad, be not deceived, foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?* [6] How often are they branded

[1] Lib. 9. Geogr. [cap. iii. § 3.] Plures olim gentes navigabant illuc sanitatis causâ. [2] In the Low Countries. See Lipsius, Diva Virgo Sichemiensis.] [3] Possibly Guinea.] [4] 2 Cor. vii. 10.] [5] Eccles. ii. 26. [6] Gal. iii. 1.]

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with this epithet of madness and folly! No word so frequent amongst the Fathers of the Church and Divines; you may see what an opinion they had of the world, and how they valued men's actions.

I know that we think far otherwise, and hold them most part wise men that are in authority, Princes, Magistrates, rich men,[1] they are wise men born, all Politicians and Statesmen must needs be so, for who dare speak against them? And on the other, so corrupt is our Judgement, we esteem wise and honest men fools. Which *Democritus* well signified in an Epistle of his to *Hippocrates*: the[2] *Abderites account virtue madness*, and so do most men living. Shall I tell you the reason of it? [3]*Fortune* and *Virtue*, *Wisdom* and *Folly*, their seconds, upon a time contended in the *Olympicks*; every man thought that *Fortune* and *Folly* would have the worst, and pitied their cases. But it fell out otherwise. *Fortune* was blind and cared not where she stroke, nor whom, without laws, *andabatarum instar*, &c.[4] *Folly*, rash and inconsiderate, esteemed as little what she said or did. *Virtue* and *Wisdom* gave[5] place, were hissed out, and exploded by the common people, *Folly* and *Fortune* admired, & so are all their followers ever since. Knaves and fools commonly fare and deserve best in worldlings' eyes & opinions. Many good men have no better fate in their ages. *Achish*, 1 *Sam.* 21. 14, held *David* for a mad man: [6]*Elisha* & the rest were no otherwise esteemed, *David* was derided of the common people, *Ps.* 71. 6. *I am become a monster to many.* And generally we are accounted fools for Christ, 1 *Cor.* iv. 10. *We fools thought his life madness, and his end without honour, Wisd.* 5. 4. Christ and his Apostles were censured in like sort, *Joh.* 10. *Mar.* 3. *Acts*, 26. And so were all Christians in [7]*Pliny's* time, *fuerunt & alii similis dementiæ*, &c., and called not long after,[8] *vesaniæ sectatores, eversores hominum, polluti novatores, fanatici, canes, malefici, venefici, Galilæi homunciones*, &c.[9] 'Tis an ordinary thing with us to account honest, devout, orthodox, divine, religious, plain-dealing men, idiots, asses, that cannot or will not lie and

[1] Jure hæreditario sapere jubentur. Euphormio Satyr. [Part iv. cap. iv. memoriter.] [2] Apud quos virtus insania & furor esse dicitur. [3] Calcagninus, Apol. Omnes mirabantur, putantes illisum iri stultitiam. Sed præter expectationem res evenit. Audax stultitia in eam irruit, &c. illa cedit irrisa, & plures hinc habet sectatores stultitia. [4] Hieron. adv. Helvidium, 3; contra Jovinianum, i. 21.] [5] Non est respondendum stulto secundum stultitiam. [Prov. xxvi. 4.] [6] 2 Reg. 7. [7] Lib. 10. ep. 97. [8] Aug. ep. 178. [9] Followers of madness, upsetters of men, vicious innovators, fanatics, dogs, evil-doers, poisoners, Galilæan mannikins.]

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dissemble, shift, flatter, *accommodare se ad eum locum ubi nati sunt*,[1] make good bargains, supplant, thrive, *patronis inservire, sollennes ascendendi modos apprehendere, leges, mores, consuetudines rectè observare, candidè laudare, fortiter defendere, sententias amplecti, dubitare de nullis, credere omnia, accipere omnia, nihil reprehendere, cetera-que quæ promotionem ferunt & securitatem, quæ sine ambage felicem reddunt hominem, & verè sapientem, apud nos;*[2] that cannot temporize as other men do,[3] hand and take bribes, &c, but fear God, and make a conscience of their doings. But the Holy Ghost, that knows better how to judge, he calls them fools. *The fool hath said in his heart, Ps.* 53. 1. *And their ways utter their folly, Ps.* 49. 13. *For what can be more mad, than for a little worldly pleasure to procure unto themselves eternal punishment?* As *Gregory* and others inculcate unto us.

Yea, even all those great philosophers the world hath ever had in admiration, whose works we do so much esteem, that gave precepts of wisdom to others, inventors of Arts and Sciences, *Socrates* [declared] the wisest man of his time by the Oracle of *Apollo*,[5] whom his two Scholars, [6]*Plato* and [7]*Xenophon*, so much extol and magnify with those honourable titles, *best and wisest of all mortal men, the happiest, and most just;* & as [8] *Alcibiades* incomparably commends him; *Achilles* was a worthy man, but *Brasidas* and others were as worthy as himself; *Antenor* and *Nestor* were as good as *Pericles*, and so of the rest; but none present, before or after *Socrates, nemo veterum neque eorum qui nunc sunt*, [9] were ever such, will match, or come near him. Those seven wise men of *Greece*, those *British Druids, Indian Brachmanni, Æthiopian Gymnosophists, Magi* of the *Persians, Apollonius*, of whom *Philostratus, non doctus, sed natus sapiens*, wise from his cradle, *Epicurus* so much admired by his Scholar *Lucretius;*

[1 Cut their coat according to their cloth.] [2 Fawn upon their patrons, practise the usual arts of climbing, duly observe laws, manners, customs, praise candidly, defend throngh thick and thin, assent to opinions, doubt about nothing, believe everything, stand everything, blame nothing, and do all the other things which bring promotion and security, and without roundabout ways make a man happy and truly wise amongst us.] [3 Quis nisi mentis inops, &c. [Ovid, A. A. i. 465.] [4 Quid insanius quam pro momentanea felicitate æternis te mancipare suppliciis? [St. Greg. Moralium, lib. v. cap. xl.] [5 Pausanias, i. 22.] [6 In fine Phædonis. Hic finis fuit amici nostri, o Echecrates, nostro quidem judicio omnium quos experti sumus optimi & apprime sapientissimi, & justissimi. [7 Xenop. l. 4. de dictis Socratis ad finem. Talis fuit Socrates, quem omnium optimum & felicissimum statuam. [8 Lib. 25. Platonis Convivio. [9 None of the ancients or of those who now are.]

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Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes
Perstrinxit Stellas, exortus ut ætherius Sol.[1]

Whose wit excell'd the wits of men as far
As the Sun rising doth obscure a Star,
Or that so much renowned Empedocles.

[2] Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus.

[That he scarce seems to be of mortal stock.]

All those of whom we read such [3]*hyperbolical eulogiums*, as of *Aristotle*, that he was wisdom itself in the abstract, [4]a miracle of nature, breathing libraries, as *Eunapius* of *Longinus*,[5] lights of nature, giants for wit, quintessence of wit, divine spirits, eagles in the clouds, fallen from heaven, gods, spirits, lamps of the world, dictators,

Nulla ferant talem secla futura virum :

[No future ages will produce such men :]

monarchs, miracles, superintendents of wit and learning, *Oceanus*, *Phœnix*, *Atlas*, *monstrum*, *portentum hominis*, *orbis universi museum*, *ultimus humanæ naturæ conatus*, *naturæ maritus*,[6]

———meritò cui doctior orbis
Submissis defert fascibus imperium.

[To whom the learned world deservedly
Lowering the fasces brings imperial sway.]

As *Ælian* writ of *Protagoras* and *Gorgias*, we may say of them all, *tantum à sapientibus abfuerunt*, *quantum à viris pueri*,[7] they were children in respect, infants, not eagles but kites, novices, illiterate, *eunuchi sapientiæ*. And although they were the wisest, and most admired in their age, as he censured *Alexander*, I do them, there were 10,000 in his army as worthy Captains (had they been in place of command) as valiant as himself; there were myriads of men wiser in those days, & yet all short of what they ought to be. [8] *Lactantius*, in his Book of Wisdom, proves them to be dizzards, fools, asses, mad-men, so full of absurd and ridiculous tenents and brain-sick positions, that to his thinking never any old woman or sick person

[1] Lucretius, iii. 1043, 1944.] [2] Lucretius, [i. 733.] [3] Anaxagoras olim mens dictus ab antiquis. [4] Regula naturæ, naturæ miraculum, ipsa eruditio, dæmonium hominis, sol scientiarum, mare, sophia, antistes literarum & sapientiæ, ut Scioppius olim de Scal. & Heinsius. Aquila in nubibus, Imperator literatorum, columen literarum, abyssus eruditionis, ocellus Europæ, Scaliger. [5] Porphyr. initio.] [6] Oceanus, Phœnix, Atlas, a marvel and wonder of a man, the museum of the whole world, the last effort of human nature, the husband of nature.] [7] Var. Hist. Lib. i. § 23, memoriter.] [8] Lib. 3. de sap. c. 17. & 20. Omnes Philosophi aut stulti aut insani; nulla anus, nullus æger, ineptiùs deliravit.

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doted worse. [1] *Democritus* took all from *Leucippus*, and left, saith he, *the inheritance of his folly to* Epicurus,[2] *insanientis dum sapientiæ, &c.* The like he holds of *Plato*, *Aristippus*, and the rest, making no difference [3] *betwixt them and beasts, saving that they could speak. Theodoret*[4] in his tract *De Cur. Græc. Affect.* manifestly evinces as much of *Socrates*, whom though that Oracle of *Apollo* confirmed to be the wisest man then living,[5] and saved him from the plague, whom 2,000 years have admired, of whom some will as soon speak evil as of *Christ*, yet *re vera*[6] he was an illiterate idiot, as *Aristophanes*[7] calls him, *irrisor & ambitiosus*,[8] as his Master *Aristotle* terms him, *scurra Atticus*,[9] as *Zeno*, an [10]enemy to all arts & sciences, as *Athenæus*, to Philosophers & Travellers, an opinionative ass, a caviller, a kind of Pedant; for his manners, as *Theod. Cyrensis* describes him, a [11] *Sodomite*, an *Atheist*, (so convict by *Anytus*) *iracundus & ebrius, dicax*,[12] *&c.* a pot companion, by *Plato's* own confession,[13] a sturdy drinker; and that of all others he was most sottish, a very mad-man in his actions and opinions. *Pythagoras* was part philosopher, part magician, or part witch. If you desire to hear more of *Apollonius*, a great wise man, sometime parallel'd by *Julian* the Apostate to Christ, I refer you to that learned tract of *Eusebius* against *Hierocles*, & for them all to *Lucian's Piscator*, *Icaromenippus*, *Necyomantia*: their actions, opinions, in general were so prodigious, absurd, ridiculous, which they broached and maintained, their books and elaborate treatises were full of dotage, which *Tully ad Atticum* long since observed, *delirant plerumque scriptores in libris suis*,[14] their lives being opposite to their words, they commended poverty to others, and were most covetous themselves, extolled love and peace, and yet persecuted one another with virulent hate and malice. They could give precepts for verse and prose, but not a man of them (as *Seneca*[15] tells them home) could moderate his affections. Their musick did shew us *flebiles modos, &c.* how to rise and fall, but they could not so contain themselves as in adversity not to make a

[1] Democritus, à Leucippo doctus, hæreditatem stultitiæ reliquit Epicuro. [2] Hor. Od. i. 34. 2. [3] Nihil interest inter hos & bestias nisi quod loquantur. De Sap. l. 26. c. 8. [4] Cap. de virt. [5] See Pausanias, i. 22.] [6] In reality.] [7] Neb. [104, 1465.] & Ranis, [1491.] [8] A mocker and ambitious.] [9] An Attic buffoon.] [10] Omnium disciplinarum ignarus. [11] Pulchrorum adolescentum causâ frequenter gymnasium obibat, &c. [12] Hot-tempered, and a drunkard, and prater.] [13] Convivium, ad fin.] [14] Writers generally rave in their books.] [15] Seneca. Scis rotunda metiri, sed non tuum animum. [Epistle 88, § 11.]

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lamentable tone. They will measure ground by Geometry, set down limits, divide and subdivide, but cannot yet prescribe *quantum homini satis*,[1] or keep within compass of reason and discretion. They can square circles, but understand not the state of their own souls, describe right lines and crooked, &c., but know not what is right in this life, *quid in vitâ rectum sit ignorant;* so that, as he said,

Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem,[2]

I think all the *Anticyræ* will not restore them to their wits. [3] If these men now that held [4] *Zenodotus'* heart, *Crates'* liver, *Epictetus'* lanthorn,[5] were so sottish, and had no more brains than so many beetles, what shall we think of the commonalty? what of the rest?

Yea, but will you infer, that is true of *heathens*, if they be conferred with Christians, 1 *Cor.* 3. 19. *The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, earthly and devilish*, as *James* calls it, 3. 15. *They were vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was full of darkness, Rom.* 1. 21, 22. *When they professed themselves wise, [they] became fools.* Their witty works are admired here on earth, whilst their souls are tormented in hell fire. In some sense *Christiani Crassiani*, Christians are Crassians, and if compared to that wisdom, no better than fools. *Quis est sapiens?* [6] *Solus deus*,[7] *Pythagoras* replies, *God is only wise, Rom.* 16. [27.] *Paul* determines *only good*, as *Austin* well contends, *and no man living can be justified in his sight. God looked down from heaven upon the children of men to see if any did understand, Psalm* 53. 2, 3, but all are corrupt, err. *Rom.* 3. 12. *None doth good, no not one.. Job* aggravates this, 4. 18. *Behold he found no stedfastness, in his servants, and laid folly upon his angels*, 19. *How much more on them that dwell in houses of clay!* In this sense we are all as fools, and the [8] Scripture alone is *arx Minervae*,[9] we and our writings are shallow and imperfect. But I do not so mean; even in our ordinary dealings we are no better than fools. All our actions, as [10] *Pliny* told *Trajan, upbraid us of folly*, our whole course of life is but matter of laughter: we are not soberly wise;

[1 What is sufficient for a man.] [2 Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 83.] [3 Ab uberibus sapientia lactati cæcutire non possunt. [4 Cor Zenodoti & jecur Cratetis. [5 See Lucian, Adversus Indoctum, § 13.] [6 Who is wise?] [7 Lib. de nat. boni. [8 Hic profundissimæ Sophiæ fodinæ. [9 Minerva's tower.] [10 Panegyr. Trajano. Omnes actiones exprobrare stultitiam videntur.

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and the world itself, which ought at least to be wise by reason of his antiquity, as [1]*Hugo de Prato Florido* will have it, *semper stultizat, is every day more foolish than other; the more it is whipped, the worse it is, and as a child, will still be crowned with roses and flowers.* We are apish in it, *asini bipedes*,[2] & every place is full *inversorum Apuleiorum*, of metamorphosed and two-legged asses, *inversorum Silenorum*,[3] childish, *pueri instar bimuli, tremulâ patris dormientis in ulnâ.*[4] *Jovianus Pontanus, Antonio Dial.* brings in some laughing at an old man, that by reason of his age was a little fond, but as he admonisheth there, *ne mireris, mî hospes, de hoc sene*, marvel not at him only, for *tota hæc civitas delirium*, all our town dotes in like sort, [5]we are a company of fools. Ask not with him in the Poet, [6]*Larvæ hunc intemperiæ insaniæque agitant senem?* What madness ghosts this old man, but what madness ghosts us all? For we are, *ad unum omnes*, all mad, *semel insanivimus omnes*,[7] not once, but always so, *& semel, & simul, & semper*, ever and altogether as bad as he; & not *senex bis puer*,[8] *delira anus*,[9] but say it of us all, *semper pueri*, young & old, all dote, as *Lactantius* proves out of *Seneca;* & no difference betwixt us and children, saving that, *majora ludimus, & grandioribus pupis*, they play with babies of clouts & such toys, we sport with greater baubles. We cannot accuse or condemn one another, being faulty ourselves, *deliramenta loqueris*,[10] you talk idly, or as [11]*Micio* upbraided *Demea, insanis, aufer te*,[12] for we are as mad our own selves, and it is hard to say which is the worst. Nay, tis universally so,

[13] Vitam regit fortuna, non sapientia.

When [14]*Socrates* had taken great pains to find out a wise man, and to that purpose had consulted with philosophers, poets, artificers, he concludes all men were fools; and though it procured him both anger and much envy, yet in all companies

[1] Ser. 4. in domi. Pal. Mundus qui ob antiquitatem deberet esse sapiens, semper stultizat, et nullis flagellis alteratur, sed, ut puer, vult rosis et floribus coronari. [2] Asses on two legs.] [3] Of Apuleiuses and Silenuses that have been metamorphosed.] [4] Catullus, xvii. 12, 13. Like a two year old baby-boy, sleeping on his father's trembling arm.] [5] Insanum te omnes pueri clamantque puellæ. Hor. [Sat. ii. iii. 130.] [6] Plautus Aulular. [iv. iv. 15.] [7] Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. i.] [8] Cratin. in Meineke Fr. 5. 16. An old man is twice a boy.] [9] An old woman is mad.] [10] Plaut. Capt. iii. iv. 66.] [11] Adelph. act 5, scen. 8, [14.] [12] You are mad, take yourself off.] [13] Tully Tusc. 5. [cap. 9. Fortune, not wisdom, governs our lives.] [14] Plato, Apologia Socratis, [22 A.]

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he would openly profess it. When *Supputius*, in *Pontanus*,[1] had travelled all over *Europe* to confer with a wise man, he returned at last without his errand, and could find none. *Cardan*[2] concurs with him, *Few there are (for ought I can perceive) well in their wits.* So doth[3] *Tully*, *I see every thing to be done foolishly and unadvisedly.*

> Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum, unus utrique
> Error, sed variis illudit partibus omnes.[4]
>
> One reels to this, another to that wall,
> 'Tis the same error that deludes them all.

[5]They dote all, but not alike, Μανία γὰρ οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμοία, not in the same kind. *One is covetous, a second lascivious, a third ambitious, a fourth envious*, etc., as *Damasippus* the *Stoick* hath well illustrated in the poet,

> [6] Desipiunt omnes æquè ac tu.
>
> [All dote as much as you]

Tis an inbred malady in every one of us, there is *seminarium stultitiæ*, a seminary of folly, *which, if it be stirred up, or get ahead, will run* in infinitum, & *infinitely varies, as we ourselves are severally addicted*, saith [7]*Balthasar Castilio:* & cannot so easily be rooted out, it takes such fast hold, as *Tully* holds, *altæ radices stultitiæ*,[8] so[9] we are bred, and so we continue. Some say there be two main defects of wit, error and ignorance, to which all others are reduced; by ignorance we know not things necessary, by error we know them falsely. Ignorance is a privation, error a positive act. From ignorance comes vice, from error heresy, &c. But make how many kinds you will, divide and subdivide, few men are free, or that do not impinge on some one kind or other. [10]*Sic plerumque agitat stultos inscitia*, as he that examines his own and other men's actions shall find.

[1] Ant. Dial. [2] Lib. 3. de sap. Pauci ut video sanæ mentis sunt. [3] Stultè & incaute omnia agi video. [Ad Atticum, vii. 10.] [4] Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 50, 51.] [5] Insania non omnibus eadem, Erasm. [Adag. 949, 950.] Nemo mortalium qui non aliqua in re desipit, licet alius alio morbo laboret, hic libidinis, ille avaritiæ, ambitionis, invidiæ. [6] Hor. Sat. 2. 3. [47.] [7] Lib. 1. De Aulico. [p. 24, ed. 1603.] Est in unoquoque nostrum seminarium aliquod stultitiæ, quod si quando excitetur, in infinitum facilè excrescit. [8] Tusc. iii. 6. 13. [Cic. has *stirpes* not *r*. N.B.] Deep are the roots of folly.] [9] Primaque lux vitæ prima erroris erat. [10] Tibullus. Stulti praetereunt dies, [i. 4, 34.] Their wits are a wool-gathering. So fools commonly dote.

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Charon[1] in *Lucian*, as he wittily feigns, was conducted by *Mercury* to such a place, where he might see all the world at once; after he had sufficiently viewed, and looked about, *Mercury* would needs know of him what he had observed. He told him that he saw a vast multitude, and a promiscuous, their habitations like mole-hills, the men as emmets, *he could discern Cities like so many hives of Bees, wherein every Bee had a sting, & they did nought but sting one another, some dominering like Hornets, bigger than the rest, some like filching wasps, others as drones.* Over their heads were hovering a confused company of perturbations, hope, fear, anger, avarice, ignorance, &c. and a multitude of diseases hanging, which they still pulled on their pates. Some were brawling, some fighting, riding, running, *sollicitè ambientes, callidè litigantes*,[2] for toys, and trifles, and such momentany things; their Towns and Provinces mere factions, rich against poor, poor against rich, nobles against artificers, they against nobles, and so the rest. In conclusion, he condemned them all for mad-men, fools, idiots, asses, *O stulti, quænam hæc est amentia?* O fools, O mad-men, he exclaims, *insana studia, insani labores, &c.* Mad endeavours, mad actions, mad, mad, mad, [3]*O seclum insapiens & infacetum*, a giddy headed age. *Heraclitus* the Philosopher, out of a serious meditation of men's lives, fell a weeping, and with continual tears bewailed their misery, madness, and folly. *Democritus* on the other side burst out a laughing, their whole life seemed to him so ridiculous, and he was so far carried with this ironical passion, that the citizens of *Abdera* took him to be mad, and sent therefore Embassadors to *Hippocrates* the physician, that he would exercise his skill upon him. But the story is set down at large by *Hippocrates*, in his Epistle to *Damagetus*, which because it is not impertinent to this discourse, I will insert *verbatim* almost, as it is delivered by *Hippocrates* himself, with all the circumstances belonging unto it.

When *Hippocrates* was now come to *Abdera*, the people of the City came flocking about him, some weeping, some intreating of him that he would do his best. After some little repast, he went to see *Democritus*, the people following him, whom he found (as before) in his garden in the suburbs all alone,[4] *sitting upon a stone*

[1] Dial. [Charon, vel] Contemplantes. [2] Anxiously canvassing, cunningly litigating.] [3] Catullus, [xliii. 8.] [4] Sub ramosa platano sedentem, solum, discalceatum, super lapidem, valde pallidum ac macilentum, promissa barba, librum super genibus habentem.

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under a plane tree, without hose or shoes, with a book on his knees, cutting up several beasts, and busy at his study. The multitude stood gazing round about to see the congress. *Hippocrates*, after a little pause, saluted him by his name, whom he resaluted, ashamed almost that he could not call him likewise by his, or that he had forgot it. *Hippocrates* demanded of him what he was doing. He told him that he was [1] *busy in cutting up several beasts, to find out the cause of madness and melancholy. Hippocrates* commended his work, admiring his happiness and leisure. And why, quoth *Democritus*, have not you that leisure? Because, replied *Hippocrates*, domestic affairs hinder, necessary to be done for ourselves, neighbours, friends,—expenses, diseases, frailties and mortalities which happen,—wife, children, servants, & such businesses that deprive us of our time. At this speech *Democritus* profusely laughed, (his friends and the people standing by weeping in the mean time, and lamenting his madness.) *Hippocrates* asked the reason why he laughed. He told him at the vanity and fopperies of the time, to see men so empty of all virtuous actions, to hunt so far after gold, having no end of ambition; to take such infinite pains for a little glory, and to be favoured of men; to make such deep mines into the earth for gold, and many times to find nothing, with loss of their lives and fortunes. Some to love dogs, others horses, some to desire to be obeyed in many provinces,[2] and yet themselves will know no obedience. [3] Some to love their wives dearly at first, and after a while to forsake and hate them, begetting children with much care & cost for their education, yet when they grow to man's estate,[4] to despise, neglect, and leave them naked to the world's mercy. [5] Do not these behaviours express their intolerable folly? When men live in peace, they covet war, detesting quietness, [6] deposing Kings, and advancing others in their stead, murdering some men to beget children of their wives. How many strange humours are in men! When they are poor and needy, they seek riches, and when they have them, they do not enjoy them, but hide them under ground, or else wastefully spend them. O wise *Hippocrates*, I laugh at such

[1] De furore, mania, melancholia scribo, ut sciam quo pacto in hominibus gignatur, fiat, crescat, cumuletur, minuatur; hæc, inquit, animalia quæ vides propterea seco, non Dei opera perosus sed fellis bilisque naturam disquirens. [2] Aust. l. 1. in Gen. Jumenti & servi tui obsequium rigide postulas, & tu nullum præstas aliis, nec ipsi Deo. [3] Uxores ducunt mox foras ejiciunt, [4] Pueros amant, mox fastidiunt. [5] Quid hoc ab insania deest? [6] Reges eligunt, deponunt.

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things being done, but much more when no good comes of them, & when they are done to so ill purpose. There is no truth or justice found amongst them, for they daily plead one against another,[1] the son against the father and the mother, brother against brother, kindred and friends of the same quality, and all this for riches, whereof after death they cannot be possessors. And yet notwithstanding they will defame & kill one another, commit all unlawful actions, contemning God & men, friends & country. They make great account of many senseless things, esteeming them as a great part of their treasure, statues, pictures, and such like moveables, dear bought, & so cunningly wrought, as nothing but speech wanteth in them,[2] & yet they hate living persons speaking to them.[3] Others affect difficult things; if they dwell on firm land, they will remove to an island, and thence to land again, being no way constant to their desires. They commend courage & strength in wars, & let themselves be conquered by lust and avarice; they are in brief, as disordered in their minds, as *Thersites* was in his body.[4] And now, methinks, O most worthy *Hippocrates*, you should not reprehend my laughing, perceiving so many fooleries in men; for no[5] man will mock his own folly, but that which he seeth in a second, & so they justly mock one another. The drunkard calls him a glutton, whom he knows to be sober. Many men love the sea, others husbandry; briefly they cannot agree in their own trades & professions, much less in their lives and actions.

When *Hippocrates* heard these words so readily uttered, without premeditation, to declare the world's vanity, full of ridiculous contrariety, he made answer, that necessity compelled men to many such actions, and divers wills ensuing from divine permission, that we might not be idle, being nothing is so odious to them as sloth & negligence. Besides, men cannot foresee future events, in this uncertainty of human affairs; they would not so marry, if they could foretell the causes of their dislike and separation; or parents, if they knew the hour of their children's death, so tenderly provide for them; or an husbandman sow, if he thought there would be no increase; or a merchant adventure to

[1] Contra parentes, fratres, cives perpetuo rixantur, & inimicitias agunt. [2] Idola inanimata amant, animata odio habent, sic pontificii. [3] Credo equidem vivos ducent è marmore vultus [Virg. Æn. vi. 849.] [4] See Homer, Iliad, ii. 212-219.] [5] Suam stultitiam perspicit nemo, sed alter alterum deridet.

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sea, if he foresaw shipwreck; or be a magistrate, if presently to be deposed. Alas, worthy *Democritus*, every man hopes the best, and to that end he doth it, and therefore no such cause, or ridiculous occasion, of laughter!

Democritus, hearing this poor excuse, laughed again aloud, perceiving he wholly mistook him, and did not well understand what he had said concerning perturbations and tranquillity of the mind; insomuch that, if men would govern their actions by discretion and providence, they would not declare themselves fools, as now they do, and he should have no cause of laughter; but (quoth he) they swell in this life, as if they were immortal and demi-gods, for want of understanding. It were enough to make them wise, if they would but consider the mutability of this world, and how it wheels about, nothing being firm and sure. He that is now above, to-morrow is beneath; he that sate on this side to-day, to-morrow is hurled on the other: and, not considering these matters, they fall into many inconveniences and troubles, coveting things of no profit, and thirsting after them, tumbling headlong into many calamities. So that if men would attempt no more than what they can bear, they should lead contented lives, &, learning to know themselves, would limit their ambition,[1] they would perceive then that Nature hath enough without seeking such superfluities, & unprofitable things, which bring nothing with them but grief and molestation. As a fat body is more subject to diseases, so are rich men to absurdities and fooleries, to many casualties and cross inconveniences. There are many that take no heed what happeneth to others by bad conversation, & therefore overthrow themselves in the same manner through their own fault, not foreseeing dangers manifest. These are things (O more than mad, quoth he) that give me matter of laughter, by suffering the pians of your impieties, as your avarice, envy, malice, enormous villanies, mutinies, unsatiable desires, conspiracies, and other incurable vices, besides your[2] dissimulation and hypocrisy, bearing deadly hatred one to the other, and yet shadowing it with a good face, flying out into all filthy lusts, and transgressions of all laws, both of nature and civility. Many things, which they have left off,

[1] Denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus, Pauperiem metuas minus, & finire laborem Incipias, partis quod avebas, utere. Hor. [Sat. i. i. 92-94.] [2] Astutam vapido servas sub pectore vulpem. [Pers. v. 117.] Et cum vulpe positus pariter vulpinarier. Cretizandum cum Crete. [Erasm. Adag. 81, 82.]

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after a while they fall to again, husbandry, navigation, and leave again, fickle and unconstant as they are. When they are young, they would be old, and old, young. [1] Princes commend a private life, private men itch after honour: a magistrate commends a quiet life, a quiet man would be in his office, and obeyed as he is: and what is the cause of all this, but that they know not themselves? Some delight to destroy, [2] one to build, another to spoil one country to enrich another and himself. [3] In all these things they are like children, in whom is no judgment or counsel, and resemble beasts, saving that beasts are better than they, as being contented with nature.[4] When shall you see a Lion hide gold in the ground, or a Bull contend for a better pasture? When a Boar is thirsty, he drinks what will serve him, and no more; and when his belly is full, he ceaseth to eat, but men are immoderate in both; as in lust, they covet carnal copulation at set times, men always, ruinating thereby the health of their bodies. And doth it not deserve laughter to see an amorous fool torment himself for a wench; weep, howl for a mis-shapen slut, a dowdy, sometimes, that might have his choice of the finest beauties? Is there any remedy for this in physick? I do anatomize and cut up these poor beasts,[5] to see these distempers, vanities, and follies, yet such proof were better made on man's body, if my kind nature would endure it: [6] who from the hour of his birth is most miserable, weak, and sickly; when he sucks he is guided by others, when he is grown great practiseth unhappiness, [7] and is sturdy, and when old, a child again, and repenteth him of his life past. And here being interrupted by one that brought books, he fell to it again, that all were mad, careless, stupid. To prove my former speeches, look into courts, or private houses. [8] Judges give judgement according to their own advantage, doing manifest wrong to poor innocents to please others. Notaries alter sentences, and for money lose their deeds. Some make false monies, others counter-

[1] Qui fit, Mæcenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem, Seu ratio dederit, seu sors objecerit, illâ Contentus vivat, &c. Hor. [Sat. i. i. 1-3.] [2] Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis. [Hor. Ep. i. i. 100.] Trajanus pontem struxit super Danubium, quem successor ejus Adrianus statim demolitus. [3] Quâ quid in re ab infantibus differunt, quibus mens & sensus sine ratione inest, quicquid sese his offert volupe est? [Plutarch's *Gryllus*, passim.] [4] Idem Plut. [Plutarch's *Gryllus*, § 8.] [5] Ut insaniæ causam disquiram, bruta macto & seco, cum hoc potius in hominibus investigandum esset. [6] Totus à nativitate morbus est. [7] In vigore furibundus, quum decrescit insanabilis. [8] Cyprian. ad Donatum. Qui sedet crimina judicaturus, &c.

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feit false weights. Some abuse their parents, yea corrupt their own sisters, others make long libels and pasquils, defaming men of good life, and extol such as are lewd and vicious. Some rob one, some another; [1] magistrates make laws against thieves, and are the veriest thieves themselves. Some kill themselves, others despair, not obtaining their desires. Some dance, sing, laugh, feast and banquet, whilst others sigh, languish, mourn and lament, having neither meat, drink, nor clothes. [2] Some prank up their bodies, and have their minds full of execrable vices. Some trot about [3] to bear false witness, and say any thing for money; and though judges know of it, yet for a bribe they wink at it, and suffer false contracts to prevail against equity. Women are all day a dressing, to pleasure other men abroad, and go like sluts at home, not caring to please their own husbands whom they should. Seeing men are so fickle, so sottish, so intemperate, why should not I laugh at those, to whom [4] folly seems wisdom, will not be cured, and perceive it not?

It grew late, *Hippocrates* left him, and no sooner was he come away, but all the citizens came about flocking, to know how he liked him. He told them in brief, that, notwithstanding those small neglects of his attire, body, diet, [5] the world had not a wiser, a more learned, a more honest man, and they were much deceived to say that he was mad.

Thus *Democritus* esteemed of the world in his time, and this was the cause of his laughter: and good cause he had.

[6] Olim jure quidem, nunc plus, Democrite, ride;
Quin rides? vita hæc nunc magè ridicula est.

Democritus did well to laugh of old,
Good cause he had, but now much more,
This life of ours is more ridiculous
Than that of his, or long before.

Never so much cause of laughter as now, never so many fools and mad-men. 'Tis not one [7] *Democritus* will serve [the] turn to

[1] Tu pessimus omnium latro es, as a thief told Alexander in Curtius. [Lib. 7. c. 8.] Damnat foras judex, quod intus operatur. Cyprian [ad Donatum.] [2] Vultûs magna cura, magna animi incuria. Am. Marcel. [xvi. 5, memoriter.] [3] Horrenda res est, vix duo verba sine mendacio proferuntur: & quamvis solenniter homines ad veritatem dicendam invitentur, pejerare tamen non dubitant, ut ex decem testibus vix unus verum dicat. Calv. in 8 John, Serm. 1. [4] Sapientiam insaniam esse dicunt. [5] Siquidem sapientiæ suæ admiratione me complevit, offendi sapientissimum virum, qui salvos potest omnes homines reddere. [6] E Græc epig. [7] Plures Democriti nunc non sufficiunt; opus Democrito qui Democritum rideat. Eras. Moria.

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laugh in these days, we have now need of a *Democritus to laugh at Democritus*, one jester to flout at another, one fool to fleer at another: a great *Stentorian Democritus*, as big as that *Rhodian Colossus*. For now, as[1] *Sarisburiensis* said in his time, *totus mundus histrionem agit*, the whole world plays the fool; we have a new theatre, a new scene, a new Comedy of Errors, a new company of personate actors; *Volupiæ sacra*,[2] (as *Calcagninus* wittily feigns in his Apologues) are celebrated all the world over, [3]where all the actors were mad-men and fools, and every hour changed habits, or took that which came next. He that was a mariner to-day, was an apothecary to morrow; a smith one while, a philosopher another, *in his Volupiæ ludis*;[4] a king now with his crown, robes, sceptre, attendants, by and by drove a loaded ass before him like a carter, &c. If *Democritus* were alive now, he should see strange alterations, a new company of counterfeit vizards, whifflers, [5] *Cuman* asses, maskers, mummers, painted puppets, outsides, phantastick shadows, gulls, monsters, giddy-heads, butterflies. And so many of them are indeed ([6]if all be true that I have read). For when *Jupiter* and *Juno's* wedding was solemnized of old, the Gods were all invited to the feast, and many noble men besides. Amongst the rest came *Chrysalus*, a *Persian* Prince, bravely attended, rich in golden attires, in gay robes, with a majestical presence, but otherwise an ass. The Gods, seeing him come in such pomp and state, rose up to give him place, *ex habitu hominem metientes*;[7] [8]but *Jupiter* perceiving what he was, a light, phantastick, idle fellow, turned him and his proud followers into butterflies: and so they continue still (for ought I know to the contrary) roving about in pied coats, and are called *Chrysalides* by the wiser sort of men: that is, golden outsides, drones, flies, and things of no worth. Multitudes of such, &c.

[1] Polycrat. lib. 3. cap. 8, e Petron. [Fr.] [2] The rites of the Goddess of Pleasure.] [3] Ubi omnes delirabant, omnes insani, &c. hodie nauta, cras philosophus; hodie faber, cras pharmacopola; hic modo regem agebat multo satellitio, tiara, & sceptro ornatus, nunc vili amictus centiculo, asinum clitellarium impellit. [4] In these games of the Goddess of Pleasure.] [5] See Erasmus, Moriæ Encomium, Opera, Tom. iv. 457 B. Cf. Adagia, p. 206. B. C. D. Cf. also Æsop, 333 b, ed. Halm.] [6] Calcagninus, Apol. Chrysalus è cæteris auro dives, manicato peplo & tiara conspicuus, levis alioquin & nullius consilii, &c. magno fastu ingredienti assurgunt dii, &c. [7] Judging the man by his dress.] [8] Sed hominis levitatem Jupiter perspiciens, at tu (inquit) esto bombilio, &c. protinusque vestis illa manicata in alas versa est; & mortales inde Chrysalides vocant hujusmodi homines.

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——ubique invenies
Stultos avaros, sycophantas prodigos.[1]

Many additions, much increase of madness, folly, vanity, should *Democritus* observe, were he now to travel, or could get leave of *Pluto* to come see fashions, as *Charon* did in *Lucian*,[2] to visit our cities of *Moronia Pia* and *Moronia Felix*,[3] sure I think he would break the rim of his belly with laughing.

[4]Si foret in terris rideret Democritus, seu, &c.

A satirical *Roman* in his time thought all vice, folly, and madnesse were all at full sea,

[5]Omne in præcipiti vitium stetit.——

[6]*Josephus* the Historian taxeth his country-men [the] *Jews* for bragging of their vices, publishing their follies, and that they did contend amongst themselves who should be most notorious in villanies but we flow higher in madness, far beyond them,

[7] Mox daturi progeniem vitiosiorem,
Soon sure a faultier offspring to produce,]

and the latter end (you know whose oracle it is),[8] is like to be worst. 'Tis not to be denied, the world alters every day, *ruunt urbes, regna transferuntur*,[9] *&c. variantur habitus, leges innovantur*, as[10] *Petrarch* observes, we change language, habits, laws, customs, manners, but not vices, not diseases, not the symptoms of folly and madness, they are still the same. And as a River, we see, keeps the like name and place, but not water, and yet ever runs,

[11] Labitur & labetur in omne volubilis ævum;

our times and persons alter, vices are the same, and ever will be. Look how nightingales sang of old, cocks crowed, kine lowed, sheep bleated, sparrows chirped, dogs barked, so they do still; we keep our madness still, play the fools still, *nec dum finitus Orestes*,[12] we are of the same humours and inclinations as our predecessors were, you shall find us all alike, much at one, we and our sons,

[1 You will meet avaricious fools and prodigal sycophants everywhere.] [2 See Lucian's Charon.] [3 See infra, Part 2. Sec. 3. Mem. 7. Burton got these names from Bp. Joseph Hall's Mundus alter et idem, Book iii.] [4 Hor. Ep. ii. i. 194 sq.] [5 Juven. [i. 149.] [6 De bello Jud. L. 8. c. 11. Iniquitates vestræ neminem latent, inque dies singulos certamen habetis quis pejor sit. [7 Hor. [Od. iii. 6. 47, 48.] [8 Matt. xii. 45.] [9 Cities fall, kingdoms are transferred,] [10 Lib. 5. Epist. 8. [11 Hor. [Ep. i. ii. 43.] [12 Juv. i. 6.]

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Et nati natorum, & qui nascuntur ab illis,[1]

and so shall our posterity continue to the last. But to speak of times present.

If *Democritus* were alive now, and should but see the superstition of our age, our [2]religious madness, as [3] *Meteran* calls it, *religiosam insaniam*, so many professed Christians, yet so few imitators of *Christ*, so much talk of Religion, so much science, so little conscience, so much knowledge, so many preachers, so little practise, such variety of sects, such have and hold of all sides,

——[4] Obvia signis Signa, &c.,

such absurd and ridiculous traditions and ceremonies. If he should meet a [5] *Capuchin*, a *Franciscan*, a *Pharisaical Jesuit*, a man-serpent, a shave-crowned *Monk* in his robes, a begging Friar, or see their three-crown'd Sovereign Lord the Pope, poor *Peter's* successor, *servus servorum Dei*,[6] to depose Kings with his foot, to tread on Emperor's necks, make them stand bare-foot and bare-legg'd at his gates, hold his bridle and stirrup, &c., (O that *Peter* and *Paul* were alive to see this!) if he should observe a [7] Prince creep so devoutly to kiss his toe, and those Red-cap Cardinals, poor parish priests of old, now Princes' companions, what would he say? *Cœlum ipsum petitur stultitia.*[8] Had he met some of our devout pilgrims going barefoot to *Jerusalem*, Our Lady of *Loretto*, *Rome*, *S. Iago*, *S. Thomas' Shrine*, to creep to those counterfeit and maggot-eaten Reliques; had he been present at a Mass, and seen such kissing of Paxes, Crucifixes, cringes, duckings, their several attires and ceremonies, pictures of saints, [9] indulgences, pardons, vigils, fastings, feasts, crossing, knocking, kneeling at *Ave-Marias*, bells, with many such;

——jucunda rudi spectacula plebi,[10]

[1 Virg. Æn. iii. 98.] [2] Superstitio est insanus error. [3] Lib. 8. Hist. Belg. [4] Lucan. [i. 6, 7.] [5] Father Angelo, the Duke of Joyeux, going barefoot over the Alps to Rome, &c. [6 The slave of the slaves of God.] [7] Si cui intueri vacet quæ patiuntur superstitiosi, invenies tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos, si cum paucioribus furerent. Senec. [8 Hor. Odes, i. iii. 38. Heaven itself is sought by our folly.] [9] Quid dicam de eorum indulgentiis, oblationibus, votis, solutionibus, jejuniis, cœnobiis, somniis, horis, organis, cantilenis, campanis, simulacris, missis, purgatoriis, mitris, breviariis, bullis, lustralibus, aquis, rasuris, unctionibus, candelis, calicibus, crucibus, mappis, cereis, thuribulis, incantationibus, exorcismis, sputis, legendis, &c. Baleus, de actis Rom. Pont. [Appendices.] [10 Pleasing spectacles to the ignorant people.]

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praying in gibberish, and mumbling of beads. Had he heard an old woman say her prayers in Latin, their sprinkling of holy water, and going a procession,

——[1] incedunt monachorum agmina mille;
Quid memorem vexilla, cruces, idolaque culta, &c.;

[A thousand bands of monks go on procession;
Why should I mention banners, crosses, idols?]

their breviaries, bulls, hallowed beans, exorcisms, pictures, curious crosses, fables, and baubles. Had he read the *Goiden Legend*, the *Turks' Alcoran*, or *Jews' Talmud*, the *Rabbins' Comments*, what would he have thought? How dost thou think he might have been affected? Had he more particularly examined a *Jesuit's* life amongst the rest, he should have seen an hypocrite profess poverty,[2] and yet possess more goods and lands than many Princes, to have infinite treasures & revenues; teach others to fast, and play the gluttons themselves; like watermen, that row one way and look another. [3] Vow virginity, talk of holiness, and yet indeed a notorious bawd, and famous fornicator, *lascivum pecus*,[4] a very goat. Monks by profession,[5] such as give over the world and the vanities of it, and yet a *Machiavellian* rout [6] interested in all matters of state: holy men, peace-makers, and yet composed of envy, lust, ambition, hatred and malice, fire-brands, *adulta patriæ pestis*,[7] traitors, assassinates, *hâc itur ad astra*,[8] and this is to supererogate, and merit heaven for themselves and others. Had he seen, on the adverse side, some of our nice and curious schismaticks in another extreme abhor all ceremonies, and rather lose their lives and livings than do or admit anything Papists have formerly used, though in things indifferent (they alone are the true Church, *sal terræ, cum sint omnium insulsissimi*:)[9] formalists, out of fear and base flattery, like so many weather-cocks turn round, a rout of temporisers, ready to embrace and maintain all that is or shall be proposed in hope of preferment: another Epicurean

[1] Th. Nauger. [2] Dum simulant spernere, acquisiverunt sibi 30 annorum spatio bis centena millia librarum annua. Arnold. [3] Et quum interdiu de virtute locuti sunt, sero in latibulis clunes agitant labore nocturno. Agrippa. [De vanitate scientiarum, cap. 64.] [4] Mart. xiii. 39. 1.] [5] 1 Tim. iii. 13. But they shall prevail no longer, their madness shall be known to all men. [6] Benignitatis sinus solebat esse, nunc litium officina, curia Romana. Budæus. [7] Cic. Sest. 14. 33.] [8] Virg. Æn. ix. 641. Thus do men reach the stars.] [9] The salt of the earth, whereas they have the least savour of all. An allusion to Matt. v. 13.]

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company, lying at lurch as so many vultures, watching for a prey of Church goods, and ready to rise by the down-fall of any: as [1] *Lucian* said in like case, what dost thou think *Democritus* would have done, had he been spectator of these things; or had he but observed the common people follow like so many sheep, one of their fellows drawn by the horns over a gap, some for zeal, some for fear, *quo se cunque rapit tempestas*,[2] to credit all, examine nothing, and yet ready to die before they will abjure any of those ceremonies to which they have been accustomed; others out of hypocrisy frequent sermons, knock their breasts, turn up their eyes, pretend zeal, desire reformation, and yet professed usurers, gripers, monsters of men, harpies, devils in their lives, to express nothing less?

What would he have said to see, hear, and read so many bloody battles, so many thousand slain at once, such streams of blood able to turn mills: *unius ob noxam furiasque*,[3] or to make sport for princes, without any just cause,[4] *for vain titles* (saith *Austin*), *precedency, some wench, or such like toy, or out of desire of domineering, vain-glory, malice, revenge, folly, madness*, (goodly causes all *ob quas universus orbis bellis & cædibus misceatur!*)[5] whilst statesmen themselves in the mean time are secure at home, pampered with all delights & pleasures, take their ease, and follow their lusts, not considering what intolerable misery poor soldiers endure, their often wounds, hunger, thirst, &c., the lamentable cares, torments, calamities & oppressions, that accompany such proceedings, they feel not, take no notice of it. *So wars are begun, by the persuasion of a few debauched, hair-brain, poor, dissolute, hungry captains, parasitical fawners, unquiet Hotspurs, restless innovators, green heads, to satisfy one man's private spleen, lust, ambition, avarice, &c.; tales rapiunt scelerata in prælia causæ.*[6] *Flos hominum*, proper men, well proportioned, carefully brought up, able both in body and mind, sound, led like so many[7] beasts to the slaughter, in the flower of their years, pride, and full strength, without all re-

[1] Quid tibi videtur facturus Democritus, si horum spectator contigisset? [De morte Peregrini, §§ 7, 8.] [2] Hor. Ep. i. i. 15: wherever the storm hurries them.] [3] Virg. Æn. i. 41. On account of the mad offence of one person.] [4] Ob inanes ditionum titulos, ob præreptum locum, ob interceptam mulierculam, vel quod e stultitia natum, vel e malitia, quod cupido dominandi, libido nocendi, &c. [5] For which the whole world should be devastated with blood and slaughter.] [6] Lucan, ii. 251. Such causes lead folk to accursed battles.] [7] Bellum rem plane belluinam vocat Morus. Utop. lib. 2.

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morse and pity, sacrificed to *Pluto*, killed up as so many sheep, for devil's food, 40,000 at once. At once, said I?—that were tolerable, but these wars last always, and for many ages; nothing so familiar as this hacking and hewing, massacres, murders, desolations;

——ignoto cœlum clangore remugit,

[The sky re-echoes with the unknown clangor,]

they care not what mischief they procure, so that they may enrich themselves for the present; they will so long blow the coals of contention, till all the world be consumed with fire. The [1] siege of *Troy* lasted ten years eight months, there died 870,000 *Grecians*, 670,000 *Trojans*, at the taking of the City, and after were slain 276,000 men, women, and children, of all sorts. *Cæsar* killed a million, [2] *Mahomet* the Second *Turk* 300,000 persons: *Sicinius Dentatus* fought in an hundred battles, eight times in single combat he overcame, had forty wounds before, was rewarded with 140 crowns, triumphed nine times for his good service. *M. Sergius* had 32 wounds; *Scæva*, the Centurion, I know not how many; every nation hath their *Hectors*, *Scipios*, *Cæsars*, and *Alexanders*. Our [3] *Edward* the Fourth was in 26 battles afoot: and as they do all, he glories in it, 'tis related to his honour. At the siege of *Jerusalem* 1,100,000 died with sword and famine. At the battle of *Cannæ* 70,000 men were slain, as [4] *Polybius* records, and as many at Battle *Abbey* with us; and tis no news to fight from sun to sun, as they did, as *Constantine* and *Licinius*, &c. At the siege of *Ostend* (the Devil's Academy) a poor town in respect, a small fort, but a great grave, 120,000 men lost their lives, besides whole towns, dorps, and hospitals, full of maimed soldiers; there were engines, fire-works, and whatsoever the Devil could invent to do mischief with 2,500,000 iron bullets shot of 40 pound weight, three or four millions of gold consumed. [5] *Who* (saith mine Author) *can be sufficiently amazed at their flinty hearts, obstinacy, fury, blindness, who, without any likelihood of good success, hazard poor soldiers, and lead them without pity to the slaughter, which may justly be called the rage of furious beasts, that run without reason upon their own deaths:* [6] *quis malus genius, quæ furia, quæ pestis, &c.*, what plague, what

[1] Munster. Cosmog. l. 5. c. 3. E. Dict. Cretens. [2] Jovius, vit. ejus. [3] Commines. [Book iii. ch. iv. But C. says only 9 battles.] [4] Lib. 3. [c. 117.] [5] Hist. of the siege of Ostend, fol. 23. [6] Erasmus de bello. [Pacis Querela.] Ut placidum illud animal benevolentiæ natum tam ferina vecordia in mutuam rueret perniciem.

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fury brought so devilish, so brutish a thing as war first into men's minds? Who made so soft and peaceable a creature, born to love, mercy, meekness, so to rave, rage like beasts, & run on to their own destruction? How may Nature expostulate with mankind, *Ego te divinum animal finxi, &c.* / I made thee a harmless, quiet, a divine creature! How may God expostulate, and all good men! Yet *horum facta* (as [1] one condoles) *tantum admirantur, & heroum numero habent:* these are the brave spirits, the gallants of the world, these admired alone, triumph alone, have statues, crowns, pyramids, obelisks, to their eternal fame, that immortal *Genius* attends on them, *hâc itur ad astra.*[2] When *Rhodes* was besieged, [3] *fossæ urbis cadaveribus repletæ sunt*, the ditches were full of dead carcasses; and as when the said *Solyman*, [the] great *Turk*, beleaguered *Vienna*, they lay level with the top of the walls. This they make a sport of, and will do it to their friends and confederates, against oaths, vows, promises, by treachery or otherwise; [4]

—— dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? [5]

leagues and laws of arms ([6] *silent leges inte arma,*[7]) for their advantage *omnia jura, divina, humana, proculcata plerumque sunt;* God's and men's laws are trampled under foot, the sword alone determines all; to satisfy their lust and spleen, they care not what they attempt, say, or do.

[8] Rara fides, probitasque, viris qui castra sequuntur.

Nothing so common as to have *father fight against the son, brother against brother, kinsman against kinsman, kingdom against kingdom, province against province, Christians against Christians: à quibus nec unquam cogitatione fuerunt læsi,* of whom they never had offence in thought, word, or deed. Infinite treasures consumed, towns burned, flourishing cities sacked and ruinated, *quodque animus meminisse horret,*[10] goodly countries depopulated and left desolate, old inhabitants expelled, trade and traffick decayed,

[1] Rich. Dinoth. præfat. Belli civilis Gal. [2] Virg. Æn. ix. 641. Thus do men reach the stars.] [3] Jovius. [4] Dolus, asperitas, injustitia, propria bellorum negotia. Tertul. [5] Virg. Æn. ii. 390. Who asks an enemy whether he acts guilefully or virtuously?] [6] Tully. [Milo. 4. 10.] [7] For the laws are silent in war.] [8] Lucan. [9] Pater in filium, affinis in affinem, amicus in amicum, &c. Regio cum regione, regnum regno colliditur. Populus populo in mutuam perniciem, belluarum instar sanguinolente ruentium. [10] Virg. Æn. ii. 12. And what the mind shudders to remember.]

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maids deflowered, *Virgines nondum thalamis jugatæ, Et comis nondum positis ephœbi;*[1] chaste matrons cry out with *Andromache,*[2] *Concubitum mox cogar pati ejus, qui interemit Hectorem,* they shall be compelled peradventure to lie with them that erst killed their husbands: to see rich, poor, sick, sound, Lords, servants, *eodem omnes incommodo macti,* consumed all or maimed, &c. *et quicquid gaudens scelere animus audet, & perversa mens,* saith *Cyprian,* and whatsoever torment, misery, mischief, hell itself, the devil,[3] fury and rage, can invent to their own ruin and destruction! So abominable a thing is[4] war, as *Gerbelius* concludes, *adeo fœda & abominanda res est bellum, ex quo hominum cædes, vastationes, &c.,* the scourge of God, cause, effect, fruit and punishment of sin, and not *tonsura humani generis,*[5] as *Tertullian* calls it,[6] but *ruina.*[7] Had *Democritus* been present at the late Civil Wars in *France,* those abominable wars,

——bellaque matribus detestata,[8]

[9] *where, in less than ten years, ten hundred thousand men were consumed,* saith *Collignius,* 20 thousand Churches overthrown; nay, the whole kingdom subverted (as [10]*Richard Dinoth* adds:) so many myriads of the Commons were butchered up, with sword, famine, war, *tanto odio utrinque ut barbari ad abhorrendam lanienam obstupescerent,* with such feral hatred, the world was amazed at it: or at our late *Pharsalian* fields, in the time of *Henry* the Sixth, between the houses of *Lancaster* and *York,* an hundred thousand men slain,[11] one writes,[12] another, ten thousand families were rooted out, *that no man can but marvel,* saith *Commines, at that barbarous immanity, feral madness, committed betwixt men of the same nation, language, and religion!* [13] *Quis furor, O cives? Why do the Gentiles so furiously rage,* saith the Prophet *David,*

[1] Seneca, Herc. Fur. 852, 853. Unmarried maids and lads with unshorn locks.] [2] Libanii Declam. [Ad finem.] [3] Ira enim et furor Bellonæ consultores, &c., dementes sacerdotes sunt. [4] Bellum quasi bellua et ad omnia scelera furor immissus. [5] The shearing of the human race.] [6] De Animâ cap. xxx.] [7] Absolute ruin.] [8] Hor. Od. i. i. 24, 25, hated by mothers.] [9] Gallorum decies centum millia ceciderunt. Ecclesiarum 20 millia fundamentis excisa. [10] Belli civilis Gal. l. i. Hoc ferali bello et cædibus omnia repleverunt, et regnum amplissimum à fundamentis pene everterunt, plebis tot myriades gladio, bello, fame miserabiliter perierunt. [11] Pont. Heuterus. [12] Commines. [Book v. c. xx.] Ut nullus non execretur et admiretur crudelitatem, et barbaram insaniam, quæ inter homines eodem sub cœlo natos, ejusdem linguæ, sanguinis, religionis, exercebatur. [13] Lucan [i. 18. What fury moves you, citizens?]

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Psal. 2. 1. But we may ask, why do the Christians so furiously rage?

[1] Arma volunt, quare, poscunt, rapiuntque juventus?

Unfit for Gentiles, much less for us so to tyrannize, as the *Spaniards* in the West *Indies*, that killed up in 42 years (if we may believe [2] *Bartholomæus à Casa*, their own Bishop) 12 millions of men, with stupend & exquisite torments; neither should I lie (said he) if I said 50 millions. I omit those *French* Massacres, *Sicilian* Evensongs,[3] the Duke of *Alva's* tyrannies, our gunpowder machinations, and that fourth fury, as [4] one calls it, the *Spanish* Inquisition, which quite obscures those ten persecutions,

——[5] sævit toto Mars impius orbe.

Is not this [6] *mundus furiosus*, a mad world, as he terms it, *insanum bellum?* [7] are not these madmen, as [8] *Scaliger* concludes, *qui in prælio, acerbâ morte, insaniæ suæ memoriam pro perpetuo teste relinquunt posteritati;* which leave so frequent battles as perpetual memorials of their madness to all succeeding ages? Would this, think you, have enforced our *Democritus* to laughter, or rather made him turn his tune, alter his tone, and weep with [9] *Heraclitus*, or rather howl, [10] roar, and tear his hair in commiseration, stand amazed; or as the Poets feign, that *Niobe* was for grief quite stupified, and turned to a stone? I have not yet said the worse, that which is more absurd and [11] mad, in their tumults, seditions, civil and unjust wars, [12] *quod stultè suscipitur, impiè geritur, miserè finitur;* [13] such wars I mean, for all are not to be condemned, as those fantastical *Anabaptists* vainly conceive. Our Christian Tacticks are all out as necessary as the *Roman Acies*, or *Grecian* Phalanx; to be a soldier is a most noble and honourable profession (as the world is) not to be spared, they are our best walls and bulwarks, and I do therefore acknowledge that of [14] *Tully* to

[1] Virg. [Æn. vii. 340.] [2] Bishop of Cusco, an eye-witness. [3] Read Meteran of his stupend cruelties. [4] Heinsius, Austriaco. [5] Virg. Georg. [i. 511. "Impious war rages throughout the whole world."] [6] Jansenius, Gallobelgicus, 1596. Mundus furiosus, inscriptio libri. [7] Is not war madness?] [8] Exercitat. 250. serm. 4. [9] Fleat Heraclitus, an rideat Democritus? [10] Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. [Seneca, Hippolytus, 607.] [11] Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis. [Virg. Æn. ii. 314.] [12] Erasmus. [Pacis Querela.] [13] [That it is foolishly begun, impiously carried on, wretchedly finished.] [14] Pro Murena [10. 22.] Omnes urbanæ res, omnia studia, omnis forensis laus et industria latet in tutela et præsidio bellicæ virtutis, et simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultûs, artes illico nostræ conticescunt.

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be most true, *all our civil affairs, all our studies, all our pleading, industry, and commendation, lies under the protection of warlike virtues, and whensoever there is any suspicion of tumult, all our arts cease.* Wars are most behoveful, *& bellatores agricolis civitati sunt utiliores,*[1] as [2] *Tyrius* defends: and valour is much to be commended in a wise man, but they mistake most part, *auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus virtutem vocant, &c.* ('twas *Galgacus'* observation in *Tacitus*[3]) they term theft, murder, and rapine, virtue, by a wrong name; rapes, slaughters, massacres, &c., *jocus & ludus,* are pretty pastimes, as *Ludovicus Vives* notes. [4] *They commonly call the most hair-brain blood-suckers, strongest thieves, the most desperate villains, treacherous rogues, inhuman murderers, rash, cruel and dissolute caitiffs, courageous and generous spirits, heroical and worthy Captains,* [5] *brave men at arms, valiant and renowned soldiers, possessed with a brute persuasion of false honour,* as *Pontus Heuter* in his *Burgundian* History complains. By means of which it comes to pass that daily so many voluntaries offer themselves, leaving their sweet wives, children, friends, for six pence (if they can get it) a day, prostitute their lives and limbs, desire to enter upon breaches, lie sentinel, perdu, give the first onset, stand in the fore-front of the battle, marching bravely on, with a cheerful noise of drums and trumpets, such vigour and alacrity, so many banners streaming in the air, glittering armours, motions of plumes, woods of pikes and swords, variety of colours, cost and magnificence, as if they went in triumph, now victors to the Capitol, and with such pomp, as when *Darius'* army marched to meet *Alexander* at *Issus.* Void of all fear they run into eminent dangers, *cannon's* mouth, &c., *ut vulneribus suis ferrum hostium hebetent,*[6] saith [7] *Barletius,* to get a name of valour, honour and applause, which lasts not neither, for it is but a mere flash this fame, and like a rose, *intra diem unum extinguitur,* tis gone in an instant.[8] Of 15,000 proletaries slain in a battle, scarce fifteen are recorded in history, or one alone, the General perhaps, and after a

[1 And warriors are more useful to a state than husbandmen.] [2 Ser. 13. [3 Agric. 30.] [4 Crudelissimos sævissimosque latrones, fortissimos propugnatores, fidissimos duces habent, bruta persuasione donati. [5 Eobanus Hessus. Quibus omnis in armis Vita placet, non ulla juvat nisi morte, nec ullam Esse putant vitam, quæ non assueverit armis. [6 That they may blunt the sword of their enemies by their own wounds.] [7 Lib. 10. vit. Scanderbeg. [8 I can't help thinking in this sentence that Burton remembered Shakespeare's *As You Like It,* A. ii. Sc. vii. 152, 153, "Seeking the bubble reputation Even in the cannon's mouth."]

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while his and their names are likewise blotted out, the whole battle itself is forgotten. Those *Grecian* Orators, *summa vi ingenii & eloquentiæ*,[1] set out the renowned overthrows at *Thermopylæ*, *Salamis*, *Marathon*, *Mycale*, *Mantinea*, *Chaeronea*, *Platæa*. The *Romans* record their battle at *Cannæ*, & *Pharsalian* fields, but they do but record, & we scarce hear of them. And yet this supposed honour, popular applause, desire of immortality by this means, pride and vain-glory spurs them on many times rashly and unadvisedly to make away themselves and multitudes of others. *Alexander* was sorry because there were no more worlds for him to conquer, he is admired by some for it, *animosa vox videtur, & regia*, 'twas spoken like a Prince, but as wise[2] *Seneca* censures him, twas *vox iniquissima & stultissima*, 'twas spoken like a bedlam fool: and that sentence which the same[3] *Seneca* appropriates to his father *Philip* and him, I apply to them all, *non minores fuêre pestes mortalium quàm inundatio, quàm conflagratio, quibus, &c.*, they did as much mischief to mortal men as fire and water, those merciless elements when they rage. [4] Which is yet more to be lamented, they persuade them this hellish course of life is holy, they promise heaven to such as venture their lives *bello sacro*, and that by these bloody wars, (as *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* of old, as modern *Turks* do now their Commons, to encourage them to fight, *ut cadant infeliciter*,)[5] *if they die in the field, they go directly to heaven, & shall be canonized for saints*, (O diabolical invention!) put in the Chronicles, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, to their eternal memory: when as in truth, as [6] some hold it, it were much better (since wars are the scourge of God for sin, by which he punisheth mortal mens' peevishness & folly) such brutish stories were suppressed, because *ad morum institutionem nihil habent*, they conduce not at all to manners, or good life. But they will have it thus nevertheless, & so they put a note of [7] *divinity upon the most cruel*,

[1 With the greatest force of genius and eloquence.] [2] Nulli beatiores habiti, quàm qui in prœliis cecidissent. Brisonius, de rep. Persarum. l. 3. fol. 3. 44. Idem Lactantius de Romanis et Græcis. Idem Ammianus, lib. 23. de Parthis. Judicatur is solus beatus apud eos, qui in prœlio fuderit animam. De Benef. lib. 2. c. 1. [3] Nat, quæst. lib. 3. [Præf. 5.] [4] Boterus Amphitridion. Busbequius, Turc. Hist. Per cædes et sanguinem parare hominibus ascensum in cœlum putant, Lactant. de falsa relig. l. 1. cap. 8. [5 Qu. feliciter?] [6] Quoniam bella cerbissima Dei flagella sunt quibus hominum pertinaciam punit, ea perpetuâ oblivione sepelienda potius quam memoriæ mandanda plerique judicant. Rich. Dinoth. præf. hist. Gall. [7] Cruentam humani generis pestem et perniciem, divinitatis notâ insigniunt.

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& pernicious plague of human kind, adore such men with grand titles, degrees, statues, images, [1] honour, applaud, & highly reward them for their good service, no greater glory than to die in the field! So *Africanus* is extolled by *Ennius: Mars*, and [2] *Hercules*, and I know not how many besides of old, were deified, went this way to heaven, that were indeed bloody butchers, wicked destroyers, and troublers of the world, prodigious monsters, hell-hounds, feral plagues, devourers, common executioners of human kind, as *Lactantius* truly proves, & *Cyprian* to *Donatus*, such as were desperate in wars, & precipitately made away themselves (like those *Celts* in *Damascene*, with ridiculous valour, *ut dedecorosum putarent muro ruenti se subducere*, [so that they thought it] a disgrace to run away for a rotten wall, now ready to fall on their heads). Such as will not rush on a sword's point, or seek to shun a cannon's shot, are base cowards, & no valiant men. By which means, *madet orbis mutuo sanguine*,[3] the earth wallows in her own blood, [4] *sævit amor ferri & scelerati insania belli*,[5] & for that which, if it be done in private, a man shall be rigorously executed,[6] *and which is no less than murder itself, if the same fact be done in publick in wars, it is called manhood, and the party is honoured for it.*— [7] *Prosperum & felix scelus Virtus vocatur*——We measure all, as *Turks* do, by the event, and most part, as *Cyprian* notes, in all ages, countries, places, *sævitiæ magnitudo impunitatem sceleris acquirit*, the foulness of the fact vindicates the offender. One is crowned for that for which another is tormented:

[8] Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema;

made a Knight, a Lord, an Earl, a great Duke, (as [9] *Agrippa* notes) for which another should have hung in gibbets, as a terror to the rest,

[10] & tamen alter,
Si fecisset idem, caderet sub judice morum

A poor sheep-stealer is hanged for stealing of victuals, compelled

[1] Et quod dolendum, applausum habent et occursum viri tales. [2] Herculi eadem porta ad cœlum patuit, qui magnam generis humani partem perdidit. [3] Cf. Virg. Æn. xii. 691. Rather St. Cyprian ad Donatum.] [4] Virg. Æneid. 7. [461.] [5] The love of the sword and madness of accursed war rages.] [6] Homicidium quum committunt singuli, crimen est, quum publicè geritur virtus vocatur. Cyprianus [ad Donatum.] [7] Seneca. [Herc. Furens. 251, 252. A prosperous and successful crime is called virtue.] [8] Juven. [xiii. 105.] [9] De vanit. scient. (de princip. nobilitatis.) [cap. 80.] [10] Juven. Sat. 4 [12.]

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peradventure by necessity of that intolerable cold, hunger, and thirst, to save himself from starving: but a [1] great man in office may securely rob whole provinces, undo thousands, pill and poll, oppress *ad libitum*, flea, grind, tyrannize, enrich himself by the spoils of the Commons, be uncontrollable in his actions, and, after all, be recompensed with turgent titles, honoured for his good service, and no man dare to find fault, or [2] mutter at it.

How would our *Democritus* have been affected, to see a wicked caitiff or [3] *fool, a very idiot, a funge, a golden ass, a monster of men, to have many good men, wise men, learned men, to attend upon him with all submission, as an appendix to his riches, for that respect alone, because he hath more wealth and money,* [4] *and to honour him with divine titles and bombast epithets*, to smother him with fumes & eulogies, whom they know to be a dizzard, a fool, a covetous wretch, a beast, &c., *because he is rich!* To see *sub exuviis leonis onagrum*, [5] a filthy loathsome carcass, a *Gorgon's* head puffed up by parasites, assume this unto himself, glorious titles, in worth an infant, a Cuman [6] ass, a painted sepulchre, an *Egyptian* Temple! To see a withered face, a diseased, deformed, cankered complexion, a rotten carcass, a viperous mind, and Epicurean soul, set out with orient pearls, jewels, diadems, perfumes, curious elaborate works, as proud of his clothes as a child of his new coats; and a goodly person, of an angel-like divine countenance, a Saint, an humble mind, a meek spirit, clothed in rags, beg, and now ready to be starved! To see a silly contemptible sloven in apparel, ragged in his coat, polite in speech, of a divine spirit, wise; another neat in clothes, spruce, full of courtesy, empty of grace, wit, talk nonsense!

To see so many lawyers, advocates, so many tribunals, so little justice; so many magistrates, so little care of the common good; so many laws, yet never more disorders; *Tribunal litium segetem*, the Tribunal a Labyrinth, so many thousand suits in one court

[1] Pansa rapit, quod Natta reliquit. Tu pessimus omnium latro es, as Demetrius the Pirate told Alexander in Curtius. [Lib. 7. c. 8.] [2] Non ausi muttire, &c. Æsop. [See Phaedr. Fab. i. 5. cf. Æsop, 258, ed. Halm.] [3] Improbum et stultum, si divitem, multos bonos viros in servitute habentem, ob id duntaxat quod ei contingat aureorum numismatum cumulus, ut appendices et additamenta numismatum. Morus, Utopia. [Lib. ii.] [4] Eorumque detestantur Utopienses insaniam, qui divinos honores iis impendunt, quos sordidos et avaros agnoscunt; non alio respectu honorantes quam quod dites sint. Idem. lib. 2. [5] Æsop, 333, ed. Halm. an ass dressed in a lion's skin.] [6] See Erasmus, Moriae Encomium, Opera, Tom. iv. 457 B. cf. Adagia, p. 206. B. C. D. Cf. also Æsop, 333 b, ed. Halm.]

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sometimes, so violently followed! To see *injustissimum saepè juri præsidentem, impium religioni, imperitissimum eruditioni, otiosissimum labori, monstrosum humanitati!*[1] To see a lamb [2] executed, a wolf pronounce sentence, *latro* [3] arraigned, and *fur* [4] sit on the bench, the Judge severely punish others, and do worse himself, [5] *eundem furtum facere & punire,* [6] *rapinam plectere, quum sit ipse raptor!* Laws altered, misconstrued, interpreted *pro* and *con*, as the [7] Judge is made by friends, bribed, or otherwise affected as a nose of wax, good to-day, none to-morrow; or firm in his opinion, cast in his! Sentence prolonged, changed, [8] *ad arbitrium judicis*, still the same case, [9] *one thrust out of his inheritance, another falsely put in by favour, false forged deeds or wills. Incisæ leges negliguntur*, laws are made and not kept; or if put in execution, [10] they be some silly ones that are punished. As put case it be fornication, the father will disinherit or abdicate his child, quite cashier him (out, villain, begone, come no more in my sight): a poor man is miserably tormented with loss of his estate perhaps, goods, fortunes, good name, for ever disgraced, forsaken, and must do penance to the utmost; a mortal sin, and yet make the worst of it, *numquid aliud fecit*, saith *Tranio* in the [11] Poet, *nisi quod faciunt summis nati generibus;* he hath done no more than what Gentlemen usually do.

[12] Neque novum, neque mirum, neque secus quam alii solent.

For in a great person, Right Worshipful Sir, a Right Honourable Grandee, 'tis not a venial sin, no not a *peccadillo*, 'tis no offence at all, a common and ordinary thing, no man takes notice of it; he justifies it in publick, and peradventure brags of it,

[13] Nam quod turpe bonis, Titio, Seioque, dicebat
Crispinum——

[1] To see often a most unjust man preside over justice, an unholy man over religion, a most ignorant man decide questions of learning, a most lazy man questions of labour, a monster questions of humanity.] [2] Cyp. 2. ad Donat. Ep. Ut reus innocens pereat, fit nocens. Judex damnat foras, quod intus operatur. [3] A robber.] [4] A thief.] [5] Sidonius Apo. [6] Salvianus l. 3. de providen. [7] Ergo judicium nihil est nisi publica merces. Petronius. [cap. 14.] Quid faciant leges ubi sola pecunia regnat? Ibidem. [8] At the judge's caprice.] [9] Hic arcentur hæreditatibus liberi, hic donatur bonis alienis, falsum consulit, alter testamentum corrumpit, &c. . [10] Vexat censura columbas. [Juv. ii. 63.] [11] Plaut. Mostell. [v. ii. 20.] [12] Plaut. Mostell. [i. iv. 31, memoriter.] [13] Juven. [iv. 13, 14.] [For what would be base in good men, in Titius, and Seius, became Crispinus.]

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'Many poor men, younger brothers, &c., by reason of bad policy and idle education (for they are likely brought up in no calling), are compelled to beg or steal, and then hanged for theft; than which what can be more ignominious? *non minus enim turpe principi multa supplicia, quàm medico multa funera,*[2] 'tis the governor's fault; *libentiùs verberant quàm docent,*[3] as Schoolmasters do rather correct their pupils, than teach them when they do amiss. [4] *They had more need provide there should be no more thieves and beggars, as they ought with good policy, and take away the occasions, than let them run on, as they do, to their own destruction:* root out likewise those causes of wrangling, a multitude of lawyers, and compose controversies, *lites lustrales & seculares*, by some more compendious means. Whereas now for every toy and trifle they go to law, [5] *mugit litibus insanum forum, & sævit invicem discordantium rabies*, they are ready to pull out one another's throats; and for commodity [6] *to squeeze blood*, saith *Hierome, out of their brothers' heart*, defame, lie, disgrace, backbite, rail, bear false witness, swear, forswear, fight and wrangle, spend their goods, lives, fortunes, friends, undo one another, to enrich an *Harpy* Advocate, that preys upon them both, and cries *eia, Socrates! eia, Xanthippe!*[7] or some corrupt Judge, that like the [8] kite in *Æsop*, while the mouse & frog fought, carried both away. Generally they prey one upon another, as so many ravenous birds, brute beasts, devouring fishes, no medium, *omnes* [10] *hic aut captantur aut captant, aut cadavera quæ lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant*, [all] either deceive or be deceived; tear others, or be torn in pieces themselves; like so many buckets in a well, as one riseth another falleth, one's empty, another's full, his ruin is a ladder to the third; such are our ordinary proceedings. What's the market? A place, according to [11] *Anacharsis*, wherein they cozen one another, a trap, nay, what's the world itself? [12] A vast *Chaos*, a

[1] Quod tot sint fures et mendici, magistratuum culpa fit, qui malos emitantur præceptores, qui discipulos libentius verberant quam docent. Morus. Utop. lib. 1. [2] For many punishments are not less a disgrace to the governor than many funerals to a physician.] [3] Morus. Utop. lib. 1.] [4] Decernuntur furi gravia et horrenda supplicia, quum potius providendum multo foret ne fures sint, ne cuiquam tam dira furandi aut pereundi sit necessitas. Idem. [Lib. i.] [5] Boterus de augment. urb. lib. 3. cap. 3. [6] E fraterno corde sanguinem eliciunt. [7] Burton got this from Cardan, De Consolatione, Lib. iii. Go it, S. Go it, X.] [8] Milvius rapit ac deglubit. [Æsop, 298, ed. Halm.] [9] Petronius de Crotone civit. [cap. 116.] [10] Quid forum? Locus quo alius alium circumvenit. [11] Vastum chaos, larvarum emporium, theatrum hypocrisios, &c.

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confusion of manners, as fickle as the air, *domicilium insanorum*,[1] a turbulent troop full of impurities, a mart of walking spirits, goblins, the theatre of hypocrisy, a shop of knavery, flattery, a nursery of villainy, the scene of babbling, the school of giddiness, the academy of vice; a warfare, *ubi velis nolis pugnandum, aut vincas aut succumbas*,[2] in which kill or be killed; wherein every man is for himself, his private ends, & stands upon his own guard. No charity,[3] love, friendship, fear of God, alliance, affinity, consanguinity, Christianity, can contain them, but if they be any ways offended, or that string of commodity be touched, they fall foul. Old friends become bitter enemies on a sudden for toys and small offences, and they that erst were willing to do all mutual offices of love and kindness, now revile, & persecute one another to death, with more than *Vatinian* hatred,[4] & will not be reconciled. So long as they are behoveful, they love, or may bestead each other, but when there is no more good to be expected, as they do by an old dog, hang him up or cashier him: which [5] *Cato* counts a great *indecorum*, to use men like old shoes or broken glasses, which are flung to the dunghill; he could not find in his heart to sell an old ox, much less to turn away an old servant: but they instead of recompense, revile him, and when they have made him an instrument of their villainy, as [6] *Bajazet* the Second, Emperor of the *Turks*, did by *Achmet Bassa*, make him away, or, instead of [7] reward, hate him to death, as *Silius* was served by *Tiberius*. In a word, every man for his own ends. Our *summum bonum* is commodity, and the goddess we adore *Dea Moneta*, Queen Money, to whom we daily offer sacrifice, which steers our hearts, hands, [8] affections, all: that most powerful Goddess, by whom we are reared, depressed, elevated, [9] esteemed the sole commandress of our actions, for which we pray, run, ride, go, come,

[1 A habitation of mad people.] [2 Where willing or unwilling one must fight, and either conquer or succumb.] [3 Nemo cœlum, nemo jusjurandum, nemo Jovem pluris facit, sed omnes apertis oculis bona sua computant. Petron. [cap. 82.] [4 See Catullus, xiv. 3; Seneca, Const. Sap. xvii. § 3.] [5 Plutarch. vit. ejus. [§ 5.] Indecorum animatis ut calceis uti aut vitris, quæ ubi fracta abjicimus, nam, ut de meipso dicam, nec bovem senem vendiderim, nedum hominem natu grandem laboris socium. [6 Jovius. Cum innumera illius beneficia rependere non posset aliter, interfici jussit. [Hist. sui temporis, Lib. xiv. p. 151. ed. 1598.] [7 Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur solvi posse, ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. Tac. [Ann. iv. 18.] [8 Paucis carior est fides quam pecunia. Sallust. [De Bello Jugurthino, cap. 16.] [9 Prima fere vota et cunctis. &c. [Juv. x. 23.]

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labour, and contend as fishes do for a crumb that falleth into the water. It's not worth, virtue, (that's *bonum theatrale*)[1] wisdom, valour, learning, honesty, religion, or any sufficiency for which we are respected, but money, [2] greatness, office, honour, authority; honesty is accounted folly; knavery, policy; [3] men admired out of opinion, not as they are, but as they seem to be: such shifting, lying, cogging, plotting, counter-plotting, temporizing, flattering, cozening, dissembling, [4] *that of necessity one must highly offend God, if he be conformable to the world*, Cretizare cum Crete,[5] *or else live in contempt, disgrace, and misery.* One takes upon him temperance, holiness, another austerity, a third an affected kind of simplicity, when as indeed he, and he, and he, and the rest are [6] *hypocrites, ambodexters*,[7] out-sides, so many turning pictures, a lion on the one side, a lamb on the other.[8] How would *Democritus* have been affected to see these things!

To see a man turn himself into all shapes like a Chameleon, or as *Proteus, omnia transformans sese in miracula rerum*,[9] to act twenty parts & persons at once for his advantage, to temporize & vary like *Mercury* the Planet, good with good, bad with bad; having a several face, garb, & character, for every one he meets; of all religions, humours, inclinations; to fawn like a spaniel, *mentitis & mimicis obsequiis*,[10] rage like a lion, bark like a cur, fight like a dragon, sting like a serpent, as meek as a lamb, & yet again grin like a tiger, weep like a crocodile, insult over some, & yet others domineer over him, here command, there crouch, tyrannize in one place, be baffled in another, a wise man at home, a fool abroad to make others merry!

To see so much difference betwixt words and deeds, so many parasangs betwixt tongue and heart, men like stage-players act variety of parts, [11] give good precepts to others, soar aloft, whilst they themselves grovel on the ground!

[1 A theatrical good.] [2 Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat. [Hor. Ep. i. vi. 37.] Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca, Tantum habet et fidei. [Juv. iii. 143-4.] [3 Non à peritiâ, sed ab ornatu et vulgi vocibus habemur excellentes. Cardan. l. 2. de consolat. [4 Perjurata suo postponit numina lucro, Mercator. Ut necessarium sit vel Deo displicire, vel ab hominibus contemni, vexari, negligi. [5 Erasm. Adagia, 81 F. To do at Rome as Romans do.] [6 Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt. [Juv. ii. 3.] [7 People who keep fair with both of two parties, Vicars of Bray.] [8 Tragelapho similes vel Centauris, sursum homines, deorsum equi. [9 Virg. G. iv. 441.] [10 With lying and feigned obsequiousness.] [11 Præceptis suis cœlum promittunt, ipsi interim pulveris terreni vilia mancipia.

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To see a man protest friendship, kiss his hand, [1] *quem mallet truncatum videre*,[2] [3] smile with an intent to do mischief, or cozen him whom he salutes, [4] magnify his friend unworthy with hyperbolical elogiums; his enemy, albeit a good man, to vilify and disgrace him, yea, all his actions, with the utmost livor and malice can invent!

To see a [5] servant able to buy out his master, him that carries the mace more worth than the magistrate, which *Plato, lib.* 11. *de leg.*[6] absolutely forbids, *Epictetus* abhors. An horse that tills the [7] land fed with chaff, an idle jade have provender in abundance; him that makes shoes go barefoot himself, him that sells meat almost pined; a toiling drudge starve, a drone flourish!

To see men buy smoke for wares, castles built with fools' heads, men like apes follow the fashions in tires, gestures, actions: if the King laugh, all laugh;

> [8] Rides? majore cachinno
> Concutitur; flet, si lachrymas conspexit amici.

[9] *Alexander* stooped, so did his Courtiers; *Alphonsus* turned his head, and so did his parasites. [10] *Sabina Poppæa*, *Nero's* wife, wore amber-colour'd hair, so did all the *Roman* Ladies in an instant, her fashion was theirs.

To see men wholly led by affection, admired and censured out of opinion without judgement; an inconsiderate multitude, like so many dogs in a village, if one bark, all bark without a cause: as fortune's fan turns, if a man be in favour, or commended by some great one, all the world applauds him; if in disgrace, [11] in an instant all hate him, & as at the Sun when he is eclipsed, that erst took no notice, now gaze, and stare upon him!

To see a man [12] wear his brains in his belly, his guts in his head, an hundred oaks on his back, to devour 100 oxen at a meal, nay

[1] Æneas Sylv. [De Curial. miser. Ep. 166.] [2] Whom he would wish slain.] [2] Arridere homines ut sæviant, blandiri ut fallant. Cyp. ad Donatum. [4] Love and hate are like the two ends of a perspective glass, the one multiplies, the other makes less. [5] Ministri locupletiores iis quibus ministratur, servus majores opes habens quam patronus. [6] P. 915 A, B.] [7] Qui terram colunt equi paleis pascuntur, qui otiantur caballi avenâ saginantur, discalceatus discurrit qui calces aliis facit. [8] Juven. [iii. 100, 101. Do you laugh? he is shaken by still greater laughter: he weeps also, if he has beheld the tears of his friend.] [9] Bodine, lib. 4. de repub. cap. 6. [10] Plinius l. 37. cap. 3. Capillos habuit succineos, exinde factum ut omnes puellæ Romanæ colorem illum affectarent. [11] Odit damnatos. Juv. [x. 73, 74.] [12] Agrippa Ep. 28. l. 7. Quorum cerebrum est in ventre ingenium in patinis.

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more, to devour houses and towns, or as those *Anthropophagi*,[1] [2] to eat one another!

To see a man roll himself up, like a snow ball, from base beggary to Right Worshipful and Right Honourable titles, unjustly to screw himself into honours and offices; another to starve his *genius*, damn his soul, to gather wealth, which he shall not enjoy, which his prodigal son melts and consumes in an instant![3]

To see the *κακοζηλίαν*[4] of our times, a man bend all his forces, means, time, fortunes, to be a favourite's favourite's favourite, &c., a parasite's parasite's parasite, that may scorn the servile world as having enough already!

To see an hirsute beggar's brat, that lately fed on scraps, crept and whin'd, crying to all, and for an old jerkin ran on errands, now ruffle in silk and satin, bravely mounted, jovial and polite, now scorn his old friends and familiars, neglect his kindred, insult over his betters, domineer over all!

To see a scholar crouch and creep to an illiterate peasant for a meal's meat; a scrivener better paid for an obligation; a falconer receive greater wages than a student: a lawyer get more in a day than a philosopher in a year, better reward for an hour than a scholar for a twelvemonth's study; him that can[5] paint *Thais*, play on a fiddle, curl hair, &c., sooner get preferment than a philologer or a poet!

To see a fond mother, like *Æsop's* ape,[6] hug her child to death, a [7] wittol wink at his wife's honesty, and too perspicuous in all other affairs; one stumble at a straw, and leap over a block; rob *Peter*, and pay *Paul*; scrape unjust sums with one hand, purchase great manors by corruption, fraud, and cozenage, and liberally to distribute to the poor with the other, give a remnant to pious uses, &c.; penny wise, pound foolish; blind men judge of colours; wise men silent, fools talk; [8] find fault with others, and do worse themselves; [9] denounce that in publick

[1] Cannibals. See Shakespeare, Othello, i. iii. 144.] [2] Psal. [liii. 4.] They eat up my people as bread. [3] Absumit hæres Cæcuba dignior Servata centum clavibus, et mero Tinguet pavimentis superbo, Pontificum potiore cœnis. Hor. [Od. ii. 14. 25-28.] [4] Unhappy rivalry.] [5] Qui Thaidem pingere, inflare tibiam, crispare crines. [6] Fab. 366. ed. Halm.] [7] Doctus spectare lacunar. [Juv. i. 56.] [8] Tullius. [Tusc. iii. 30.] Est enim proprium stultitiæ aliorum cernere vitia, oblivisci suorum. Idem Aristippus Charidemo, apud Lucianum. [Charidemus, § 14.] Omnino stultitiæ cujusdam esse puto, &c. [9] Execrari publice quod occultè agat. Salvianus lib. [iii.] de Prov. Acres ulciscendis vitiis quibus ipsi vehementer indulgent.

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which he doth in secret; and which *Aurelius Victor* gives out of *Augustus*, severely censure that in a third, of which he is most guilty himself![1]

To see a poor fellow, or an hired servant, venture his life for his new master, that will scarce give him his wages at year's end; a country colone toil and moil, till and drudge, for a prodigal idle drone, that devours all the gain, or lasciviously consumes with phantastical expences; a noble man in a bravado to encounter death, and for a small flash of honour to cast away himself; a worldling tremble at an executioner, and yet not fear hell-fire; to wish and hope for immortality, desire to be happy, and yet by all means avoid death, a necessary passage to bring him to it!

To see a fool-hardy fellow like those old *Danes, qui decollari maiunt quam verberari*, [who would] die rather than be punished, in a sottish humour embrace death with alacrity, yet [2] scorn to lament his own sins and miseries, or his dearest friends' departures!

To see wise men degraded, fools preferred, one govern towns and cities, and yet a silly woman over-rules him at home; [3] command a Province, and yet his own servants or children prescribe laws to him, as *Themistocles'* son did in *Greece; [4] What I will* (said he) *my mother wills, and what my mother wills, my father doth.* To see horses ride in a coach, men draw it; dogs devour their masters; towers build masons; children rule; old men go to school; women wear the breeches, [5] sheep demolish towns, devour men, &c.; and in a word, the world turned upside downward! *O viveret Democritus!*[6]

[7] To insist in every particular were one of *Hercules' Labours*, there's so many ridiculous instances, as motes in the Sun. *Quantum est in rebus inane!*[8] And who can speak of all? *Crimine ab uno disce omnes*,[9] take this for a taste.

But these are obvious to sense, trivial and well-known, easy to be discerned. How would *Democritus* have been moved, had he

[1 A. V. Epitome, cap. 1.] [2] Adamus, Eccl. Hist. cap. 212. Siquis damnatus fuerit, lætus esse gloria est; nam lachrymas et planctum cæteraque compunctionum genera quæ nos salubria censemus, ita abominantur Dani, ut nec pro peccatis nec pro defunctis amicis ulli flere liceat. [3] Orbi dat leges foras, vix famulum regit sine strepitu domi. [4] Quicquid ego volo hoc vult mater mea, et quod mater vult, facit pater. [Plutarch, On Education, § ii.] [5] Oves, olim mite pecus, nunc tam indomitum et edax ut homines devorent, &c. Morus, Utop. lib. 1. [6] O that Democritus were but alive again!] [7] Diversos variis tribuit natura furores. [8 Pers. i. 1.] [9 Virg. Æn. ii. 65, 66.]

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seen [1] the secrets of their hearts! If every man had a window in his breast, which *Momus* would have had in *Vulcan's* man, or, that which *Tully* so much wished, it were written in every man's forehead, *quid quisque de Republicâ sentiret*, what he thought [about the Republic]; or that it could be effected in an instant, which *Mercury* did by *Charon* in *Lucian*,[2] by touching of his eyes, to make him discern *semel & simul rumores & susurros*,

> Spes hominum cæcas, morbos, votumque, labores,
> Et passim toto volitantes æthere curas:
>
> Blind hopes and wishes, their thoughts and affairs,
> Whispers and rumours, and those flying cares:

that he could *cubiculorum obductas fores reludere, & secreta cordium penetrare*, which [3] *Cyprian* desired, open doors and locks, shoot bolts, as *Lucian's Gallus* [4] did with a feather of his tail: or *Gyges'* invisible ring,[5] or some rare perspective glass, or *Otacousticon*, which would so multiply *species*, that a man might hear and see all at once (as [6] *Martianus Capella's Jupiter* did in a spear which he held in his hand, which did present unto him all that was daily done upon the face of the earth), observe cuckolds' horns, forgeries of alchemists, the philosopher's stone, new projectors, &c., and all those works of darkness, foolish vows, hopes, fears, and wishes, what a deal of laughter would it have afforded! He should have seen wind-mills in one man's head, an hornet's nest in another! Or had he been present with *Icaromenippus*, in *Lucian*,[7] at *Jupiter's* whispering place, [8] and heard one pray for rain, another for fair weather, one for his wife's, another for his father's, death, &c. *to ask that at God's hand which they are abashed any man should hear:* how would he have been confounded! Would he, think you, or any man else, say that these men were well in their wits?

> Hæc sani esse hominis quis sanus juret Orestes? [9]

[1] Democrit. ep. præd. Hos dejerantes et potantes deprehendet, hos vomentes, illos litigantes, insidias molientes, suffragantes, venena miscentes, in amicorum accusationem subscribentes, hos gloria, illos ambitione, cupiditate, mente captos, &c. [2] Dial. Charon, vel Contemplantes. § 15.] [3] Ad Donat. Ep. 2. l. 1. O si posses in specula sublimi constitutus, &c. [4] Lucian, Gallus, § 28.] [5] Erasmi Adagia, pp. 65, 66.] [6] Lib. 1, de nup. Philol. in qua, quid singuli nationum populi quotidianis motibus agitarent, relucebat. [7] Icaromenippus, § 25.] [8] O Jupiter! contingat mihi aurum, hæreditas, &c. Multos da, Jupiter, annos! Dementia quanta est hominum, turpissima vota diis insusurrant: si quis admoverit aurem, conticescunt; et quod scire homines nolunt, Deo narrant. Senec. Ep. 10. 5. [9] Pers. iii. 118.]

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Can all the *Hellebore* in the *Anticyræ*[1] cure these men? No, sure,[2] *an acre of Hellebore will not do it!*

That which is more to be lamented, they are mad like *Seneca's* blind woman,[3] and will not acknowledge, or [4] seek for any cure of it, for *pauci vident morbum suum, omnes amant.*[5] If our leg or arm offend us, we covet by all means possible to redress it; [6] and if we labour of a bodily disease, we send for a physician; but for the diseases of the mind we take no notice of them: [7] lust harrows us on the one side, envy, anger, ambition, on the other. We are torn in pieces by our passions, as [by] so many wild horses, one in disposition, another in habit; one is melancholy, another mad; [8] and which of us all seeks for help, doth acknowledge his error, or knows he is sick? As that stupid fellow put out the candle, because the biting fleas should not find him; he shrouds himself in an unknown habit, borrowed titles, because nobody should discern him. Every man thinks with himself, *Egomet videor mihi sanus,*[9] I am well, I am wise, and laughs at others. And 'tis a general fault amongst them all, that [10] which our forefathers have approved, diet, apparel, opinions, humours, customs, manners, we deride and reject in our time as absurd. Old men account juniors all fools, when they are mere dizzards; and as to sailors,

——terræque urbesque recedunt—— [11]

they move, the land stands still, the world hath much more wit, they dote themselves. *Turks* deride us, we them; *Italians Frenchmen,* accounting them light-headed fellows; the *French* scoff again at *Italians,* and at their several customs; *Greeks* have condemned all the world but themselves of *barbarism,* the world as much vilifies them now; we account *Germans* heavy, dull, fellows, explode many of their fashions; they as contemptibly think of us; *Spaniards* laugh at all, and all again at them. So are we fools

[1 Pers. iv. 16.] [2] Plautus Menaech. [v. v. 15.] Non potest hæc res Hellebori jugere obtinerier. [3 Epistle, L. § 2.] [4] Eoque gravior morbus quo ignotior periclitanti. [5 Few see their disease, all love it.] [6] Quæ lædunt oculos, festinas demere; si quid Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum. Hor. [Ep. i. ii. 38, 39.] [7] Si caput, crus, dolet, brachium, &c., medicum accersimus, recte et honeste, si par etiam industria in morbis poneretur. Joh. Peletius, Jesuita. lib. 2. de hum. affec. morborumque cura. [8] Et quotusquisque tamen est, qui contra tot pestes medicum requirat, vel ægrotare se agnoscat? Ebullit ira, &c. Et nos tamen ægros esse negamus. Incolumes medicum recusant. Præsens ætas stultitiam priscis exprobrat. Bud. de affec. lib. 5. [9 Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 302.] [10] Senes pro stultis habent juvenes. Balth. Cast. [De Aulico, Lib. ii. Initio.] [11 Virg. Æn. iii. 72.]

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and ridiculous, absurd in our actions, carriages, diet, apparel, customs, and consultations; we [1] scoff and point one at another, when as in conclusion all are fools, [2] *and they the veriest asses that hide their ears most.* A private man, if he be resolved with himself, or set on an opinion, accounts all idiots and asses that are not affected as he is,

> [3] ——nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducit,

that are not so minded, [4] (*quodque volunt homines se bene velle putant*) [5] all fools that think not as he doth. He will not say with *Atticus*, *suam cuique sponsam, mihi meam*,[6] let every man enjoy his own spouse; but his alone is fair, *suus amor*, &c., and scorns all in respect of himself, [7] will imitate none, hear none, but himself, as *Pliny* said, [be] a law and example to himself.[8] And that which *Hippocrates*, in his Epistle to *Dionysius*, reprehended of old, is verified in our times, *Quisque in alio superfluum esse censet quod ipse non habet nec curat*, that which he hath not himself, or doth not esteem, he accounts superfluity, an idle quality, a mere foppery, in another: like *Æsop's* fox, when he had lost his tail, would have all his fellow foxes cut off theirs.[9] The *Chinese* say, that we *Europeans* have one eye, they themselves two, all the world else is blind (though [10] *Scaliger* accounts them brutes too, *merum pecus*); so thou and thy sectaries are only wise, others indifferent, the rest beside themselves, mere idiots and asses. Thus, not acknowledging our own errors and imperfections, we securely deride others, as if we alone were free, and spectators of the rest, accounting it an excellent thing, as indeed it is, *alienâ optimum frui insaniâ*,[11] to make ourselves merry with other men's obliquities, when as he himself is more faulty than the rest, *mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*,[12] he may take himself by the nose for a fool; and which one calls *maximum stultitiæ specimen*,[13] to be ridiculous to others, and not to perceive or take notice of it, as *Marsyas* was

[1] Clodius accusat moechos. [Juv. ii. 27.] [2] Omnium stultissimi qui auriculas studiosè tegunt. Sat. Menip. [3] Hor. Epist. 2. [I. 83.] [4] Prosper. [5] For what men wish they think they wisely wish.] [6] Cic. ad Atticum. 14. 20, 3.] [7] Statim sapiunt, statim sciunt, neminem reverentur, neminem imitantur, ipsi sibi exemplo. Plin. Epist. lib. 8. [Ep. 23.] [8] Nulli alteri sapere concedit, ne desipere videatur. Agrip. c. 1. [9] Æsop, 46, ed. Halm.] [10] Omnis orbis percaecus a Persis ad Lusitaniam. [11] Pliny, Nat. Hist. 18. 5.] [12] Hor. Sat. i. i. 69, 70. If the name be changed, the story is told about you.] [13] The greatest exhibition of folly.]

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when he contended with *Apollo, non intelligens se deridiculo haberi,*[1] saith[2] *Apuleius*; 'tis his own cause, he is a convict madman, as[3] *Austin* well infers, *In the eyes of wise men and Angels he seems like one, that to our thinking walks with his heels upward.* So thou laughest at me, and I at thee, both at a third; and he returns that of the Poet upon us again, [4] *Hei mihi, insanire me aiunt, quum ipsi ultrò insaniant.* We accuse others of madness, of folly, and are the veriest dizzards ourselves. For it is a great sign and property of a fool (which Eccl. 10. 3, points at) out of pride and self-conceit to insult, vilify, condemn, censure, and call other men fools (*Non videmus manticæ quod à tergo est*)[5] to tax that in others of which we are most faulty; teach that which we follow not our selves: for an inconstant man to write of constancy, a profane liver prescribe rules of sanctity and piety, a dizzard himself make a treatise of wisdom, or with *Sallust* to rail down right at spoilers of countries, and yet in[6] office to be a most grievous[7] poller himself. This argues weakness, and is an evident sign of such parties' indiscretion. [8] *Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius?*[9] *Who is the fool now?* Or else peradventure in some places we are all mad for company, and so 'tis not seen, *societas erroris & dementiæ pariter absurditatem & admirationem tollit.*[10] 'Tis with us, as it was of old (in[11] *Tully's* censure at least) with *C. Fimbria* in *Rome*, a bold, hair-brain, mad fellow, and so esteemed of all, such only excepted, that were as mad as himself: now in such a case there is[12] no notice taken of it.

> Nimirum insanus paucis videatur; eo quod
> Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.[13]
>
> When all are mad, where all are like opprest,
> Who can discern one mad man from the rest?

[1] Not understanding that he was being made game of.] [2] Florid. [l. 2.] [3] August. Qualis in oculis hominum qui inversis pedibus ambulat, talis in oculis sapientum et angelorum qui sibi placet, aut cui passiones dominantur. [De Civitate Dei. Book xiv. c. 9.] [4] Plautus Menæchmi. [v. ii. 78.] [5] Cat. xxii. 21.] [6] Governor of Africa by Cæsar's appointment. [See Dion Cassius, xliii. 9.] [7] Cf. Holland's Suetonius, p. 169. "Likewise to get, to pill and poll by hook and crook." N. and Q. i. 237.] [8] Nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba. Sen. [Fragmenta. Quoted by St. Augustine.] [9] Hor. Sat. ii. vii. 47.] [10] The frequency of error and madness removes alike its absurdity and the wonder excited by it.] [11] Pro [Sex.] Roscio Amerino. Et quod inter omnes constat, insanissimus, nisi inter eos, qui ipsi quoque insaniunt. [c. 12.] [12] Necesse est cum insanientibus furere, nisi solus relinquaris. Petronius. [cap. 3.] [13] Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 120, 121.]

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But put case they do perceive it, and some one be manifestly convict of madness,[1] he now takes notice of his folly, be it in action, gesture, speech, a vain humour he hath in building, bragging, jangling, spending, gaming, courting, scribbling, prating, for which he is ridiculous to others,[2] on which he dotes, he doth acknowledge as much: yet with all the Rhetorick thou hast, thou canst not so recall him, but to the contrary notwithstanding, he will persevere in his dotage? 'Tis *amabilis insania*,[3] *& mentis gratissimus error*,[4] so pleasing, so delicious, that he [5] cannot leave it. He knows his error, but will not seek to decline it, tell him what the event will be, beggary, sorrow, sickness, disgrace, shame, loss, madness, yet [6] *an angry man will prefer vengeance, a lascivious his whore, a thief his booty, a glutton his belly, before his welfare.* Tell an Epicure, a covetous man, an ambitious man, of his irregular course, wean him from it a little, *pol, me occidistis, amici*,[7] he cries anon, you have undone him, and, as [8] a *dog to his vomit*, he returns to it again: no persuasion will take place, no counsel, say what thou canst,

Clames licet, & mare cælo
——Confundas,[9] surdo narras,[10] [11]

demonstrate as *Ulysses* did to [12] *Elpenor* and *Gryllus*, and the rest of his companions, *those swinish men*, he is irrefragable in his humour, he will be a hog still; bray him in a mortar, he will be the same. If he be in an heresy, or some perverse opinion, settled as some of our ignorant Papists are, convince his understanding, shew him the several follies, and absurd fopperies, of that sect, force him to say, *veris vincor*,[13] make it as clear as the sun,[14] he will err still, peevish and obstinate as he is; and as he said,[15] *si in hoc erro, libenter erro, nec hunc errorem auferri mihi volo*,[16] I will do as I have done, as my predecessors have done,[17] and as

[1] Quoniam non est genus unum stultitiæ qua me insanire putas. [Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 301, 2.] [2] Stultum me fateor, liceat concedere verum, Atque etiam insanum. Hor. [Sat. ii. 3. 305, 306.] [3] Hor. Od. iii. iv. 5.] [4] Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 140.] [5] Odi; nec possum cupiens non esse quod odi. Ovid. [Amores ii. iv. 5.] Errore grato libenter omnes insanimus. [6] Amator scortum vitæ præponit, iracundus vindictam, fur prædam, parasitus gulam, ambitiosus honores, avarus opes, &c., odimus hæc et accersimus. Cardan. l. 2. de consolat. [7] Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 138.] [8] Prov. xxvi. 11. [9] Juv. vi. 283, 284.] [10] Cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 199, 200.] [11] Although you call out, and confound the sea and sky, you address a deaf man.] [12] Plutarch, Gryllo. [§ 5.] Suilli homines, sic Clem. Alex. vo. [13] I am convinced by the truth.] [14] Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris. [Erasm. Ad. p. 627.] [15] Tully. [De Senectute, c. xxiii. § 85.] [16] If I err in this, I willingly err, nor will I have this error taken away from me.] [17] Malo cum illis insanire, quam cum aliis bene sentire. [An echo of the famous saying about Plato in Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 15. § 39.]

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my friends now do, I will dote for company. Say now, are these men[1] mad or no? [2]*Heus age, responde*, are they ridiculous? *cedo quemvis arbitrum*,[3] are they *sanæ mentis*, sober, wise, and discreet? have they common sense?

——[4]uter est insanior horum?

I am of *Democritus*' opinion for my part, I hold them worthy to be laughed at; a company of brain-sick dizzards as mad as[5] *Orestes* and *Athamas*,[6] that they may go *ride the ass*, and all sail along to the *Anticyræ*[7] in the *ship of fools* for company together. I need not much labour to prove this which I say otherwise than thus, make any solemn protestation, or swear, I think you will believe me without an oath; say at a word, are they fools? I refer it to you, though you be likewise fools and madmen yourselves, and I as mad to ask the question; for what said our comical *Mercury?*

[8]Justum ab injustis petere insipientia est.

I'll stand to your censure yet, what think you?

But, forasmuch as I undertook at first, that Kingdoms, Provinces, families, were melancholy as well as private men, I will examine them in particular, and that which I have hitherto dilated at random, in more general terms, I will particularly insist in, prove with more special and evident arguments, testimonies, illustrations, and that in brief.

[9]Nunc accipe quare desipiant omnes æque ac tu.

[Now hear why all are fools as much as you.]

My first argument is borrowed from *Solomon*, an arrow drawn out of his sententious quiver, *Pro.* 3. 7. *Be not wise in thine own eyes.* And 26. 12. *Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? more hope is of a fool than of him. Isaiah* pronounceth a woe against such men, cap. 5. 21, *that are wise in their own eyes and prudent in their own sight.* For hence we may gather, that it is a great offence, and men are much deceived that think too well of themselves, an especial argument to convince them of folly. Many

[1] Qui inter haec nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quàm bene olere qui in culinâ [habitant.] Petron. [2.] [2] Persius. [ii. 17.] [3] Ter. Adelp. i. ii. 43. Bring any judge.] [4] Hor. [Sat. ii. 3. 102. Which of these is the more mad?] [5] Vesanum exagitant pueri, innuptæque puellæ. [6] Cf. Athamante dementior, Cic. Pis. 20, 47.] [7] Pers. iv. 16.] [8] Plautus. [Amphitryon, Prol. 36.] [9] Hor. Sat. ii. [3. 46, 47.] Superbam stultitiam Plinius vocat. 7. epist. 21. quod semel dixi, fixum ratumque sit.

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men (saith [1] *Seneca*) *had been without question wise, had they not had an opinion that they had attained to perfection of knowledge already, even before they had gone halfway,* too forward, too ripe, *præproperi,* too quick and ready,[2] *citò prudentes, citò pii, citò mariti, citò patres, citò sacerdotes, citò omnis officii capaces & curiosi,*[3] they had too good a conceit of themselves, and that marred all; of their worth, valour, skill, art, learning, judgement, eloquence, their good parts; all their geese are swans, and that manifestly proves them to be no better than fools. In former times they had but seven wise men, now you can scarce find so many fools. *Thales* sent the golden *Tripos,* which the Fisherman found, and the oracle commanded to be [4] *given to the wisest,* to *Bias, Bias* to *Solon,* &c. If such a thing were now found, we should all fight for it, as the three Goddesses did for the golden apple, we are so wise: we have women politicians, children metaphysicians; every silly fellow can square a circle, make perpetual motions, find the philosopher's stone, interpret *Apocalypsis,* make new Theoricks, a new system of the world, new Logick, new Philosophy, &c. *Nostra utique regio,* saith [5] *Petronius, our country is so full of deified spirits, divine souls, that you may sooner find a God than a man amongst us,* we think so well of ourselves, and that is an ample testimony of much folly.

My second argument is grounded upon the like place of Scripture, which though before mention'd in effect, yet for some reasons is to be repeated (and by *Plato's* good leave, I may do it,[6] δὶς τὸ καλὸν ῥηθὲν οὐδὲν βλαπτει).[7] *Fools* (saith *David*) *by reason of their transgressions, &c. Psal.* 107. 17. Hence *Musculus* infers all transgressors must needs be fools. So we read *Rom.* 2.[9.] *Tribulation and anguish on the soul of every man that doth evil;* but all do evil. And *Isaiah* 65. 14. *My servants shall sing for joy,* and [8] *ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and vexation of mind.* 'Tis ratified by the common consent of all philosophers. *Dishonesty* (saith *Cardan*) *is nothing else but folly and madness.*[9] *Probus quis nobiscum vivit?*[10] Shew me an honest man. *Nemo malus qui non*

[1] Multi sapientes proculdubio fuissent, si se non putâssent ad sapientiæ summum pervenisse. [De Tranquillitate Animi, i. § 11, memoriter.] [2] Idem. [cap. 4.] [3] Consolatio ad Marciam, 12. § 3.] [4] Plutarchus, Solone. Detur sapientiori. [5] Tam præsentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire. [cap. 17.] [6] Pulchrum bis dicere non nocet. [Erasmi Adagia, pp. 89, 90.] [7] A good thing is none the worse for being said twice.] [8] Malefactors. [9] Who can find a faithful man? Prov. xx. 6. [[10] Hor. Sat. i. iii. 56, 57.]

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stultus,[1] tis *Fabius'* aphorism to the same end. If none honest, none wise, then all fools. And well may they be so accounted: for who will account him otherwise, *qui iter adornat in occidentem, cuum properaret in orientem?* that goes backward all his life, westward, when he is bound to the east? or hold him a wise man (saith[2] *Musculus*) *that prefers momentany pleasures to eternity, that spends his Master's goods in his absence, forthwith to be condemned for it? Nequicquam sapit qui sibi non sapit.*[3] Who will say that a sick man is wise, that eats & drinks to overthrow the temperature of his body? Can you account him wise or discreet that would willingly have his health, and yet will do nothing that should procure or continue it? [4] *Theodoret*, out of *Plotinus the Platonist, holds it a ridiculous thing for a man to live after his own laws, to do that which is offensive to God, and yet to hope that He should save him; and when he voluntarily neglects his own safety, and contemns the means, to think to be delivered by another.* Who will say these men are wise?

A third argument may be derived from the precedent. [5]All men are carried away with passion, discontent, lust, pleasures, &c.; they generally hate the virtues they should love, and love such vices they should hate. Therefore more than melancholy, quite mad, brute beasts, and void of reason, so *Chrysostom* contends; *or rather dead and buried alive*, as [6] *Philo Judaeus* concludes it for a certainty, *of all such that are carried away with passions, or labour of any disease of the mind. Where is fear and sorrow*, there, [7] *Lactantius* stiffly maintains, *wisdom cannot dwell.*

> ———Qui cupiet, metuet quoque porrò,
> Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.[8]
>
> [He who desires will, certes, also fear,
> And he who lives in fear will ne'er be free
> In my opinion.]

Seneca & the rest of the *Stoicks* are of opinion, that, where is any the least perturbation, wisdom may not be found. *What more*

[1 There is no bad man who is not a fool.] [2] In Psal. xlix. Qui momentanea sempiternis [præponit,] qui dilapidat heri absentis bona, mox in jus vocandus et damnandus. [3] Erasmi Adagia, p. 229. He is by no means wise who is not wise for himself.] [4] Perquam ridiculum est homines ex animi sententia vivere, et quæ diis ingrata sunt exequi, et tamen à solis diis velle salvos fieri, quum propriæ salutis curam abjecerint. Theod. c. 6, de provid. lib. de curat. græc. affect. [5] Sapiens sibi qui imperiosus, &c. Hor. Sat. ii. 7. [83.] [6] Conclus. lib. de vic. offer. Certum est animi morbis laborantes pro mortuis censendos. [7] Lib. de sap. Ubi timor adest, sapientia adesse nequit. [8] Hor. Epist. i. 16. ℓc, 66.]

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ridiculous, as [1]*Lactantius* urgeth, than to hear how *Xerxes* whipped the *Hellespont*, threatened the Mountain *Athos*, and the like? To speak *ad rem*, [pointedly], who is free from passion? [2]*Mortalis nemo est quem non attingat dolor morbusve*, as [3] *Tully* determines out of an old Poem, no mortal man can avoid sorrow & sickness; and sorrow is an inseparable companion of melancholy. [4]*Chrysostom* pleads farther yet, that they are more than mad, very beasts, stupefied, and void of common sense. *For how* (saith he) *shall I know thee to be a man, when thou kickest like an ass, neighest like a horse after women, ravest in lust like a bull, ravenest like a bear, stingest like a scorpion, rakest like a wolf, as subtle as a fox, as impudent as a dog? Shall I say thou art a man, that hast all the symptoms of a beast? How shall I know thee to be a man? By thy shape? That affrights me more, when I see a beast in likeness of a man.*

[5] *Seneca* calls that of *Epicurus*, *magnificam vocem*, an heroical speech, *A fool still begins to live*, and accounts it a filthy lightness in men, every day to lay new foundations of their life, but who doth otherwise? One travels, another builds; one for this, another for that business; and old folks are as far out as the rest; *O dementem senectutem*,[6] *Tully* exclaims. Therefore young, old, middle age, all are stupid, and dote.

[7] *Æneas Sylvius*, amongst many others, sets down three special ways to find a fool by. He is a fool that seeks that he cannot find: he is a fool that seeks that, which being found will do him more harm than good: he is a fool, that, having variety of ways to bring him to his journey's end, takes that which is worst. If so, methinks most men are fools; examine their courses, and you shall soon perceive what dizzards and mad men the major part are.

[1] Quid insanius Xerxe Hellespontum verberante? &c. [See Herodotus, vii. 35.] [2] Eccl. xxi. 12. Where is bitterness, there is no understanding. Prov. xii. 16. An angry man is a fool. [3] Iii. Tusc. [c. 25.] Injuria in sapientem non cadit. [4] Hom. 6. in 2 Epist. ad. Cor. Hominem te agnoscere nequeo, cum tanquam asinus recalcitres, lascivias ut taurus, hinnias ut equus post mulieres, ut ursus ventri indulgeas, quum rapias ut lupus, &c. At, inquis, formam hominis habeo. Id magis terret, quum feram humanâ specie videre me putem. [5] Epist. lib. 2. Ep. 13. Stultus semper incipit vivere. Fœda hominum levitas, nova quotidie fundamenta vitæ ponere, novas spes, &c. [6] O mad old age! Epist. ad Brutum, Lib. ii. ep. 8. memoriter.] [7] De Curial. miser. [Ep. 166.] Stultus, qui quærit quod nequit invenire, stultus qui quærit quod nocet inventum, stultus qui cum plures habet calles deteriorem deligit. Mihi videntur omnes deliri, amentes, &c.

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Beroaldus will have drunkards, afternoon men, and such as more than ordinarily delight in drink, to be mad. The first pot quencheth thirst, so *Panyasis* the Poet determines in *Athenæus*,[1] *secunda Gratiis, Horis, & Dionyso*, the second makes merry, the third for pleasure, *quarta ad insanium*, the fourth makes them mad. If this position be true, what a catalogue of mad men shall we have! what shall they be that drink four times four? *Nonne supra omnem furorem, supra omnem insaniam reddunt insanissimos?*[2] I am of his opinion, they are more than mad, much worse than mad.

The[3] *Abderites* condemned *Democritus* for a mad man, because he was sometimes sad, and sometimes again profusely merry. *Hâc patriâ* (saith *Hippocrates*) *ob risum furere & insanire dicunt*, his countrymen hold him mad because he laughs;[4] and therefore *he desires him to advise all his friends at Rhodes, that they do not laugh too much, or be over-sad.* Had those *Abderites* been conversant with us, and but seen what[5] fleering and grinning there is in this age, they would certainly have concluded, we had been all out of our wits!

Aristotle in his *Ethicks*[6] holds *felix idemque sapiens*, to be wise and happy are reciprocal terms. *Bonus idemque sapiens honestus.* Tis[7] *Tully's* paradox, *wise men are free, but fools are slaves*, liberty is a power to live according to his own laws, as we will ourselves. Who hath this liberty? Who is free?

> ——[8] "Sapiens sibique imperiosus,
> Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,
> Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
> Fortis, & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus."
>
> "He is wise that can command his own will,
> Valiant and constant to himself still,
> Whom poverty nor death, nor bands can fright,
> Checks his desires, scorns honours, just and right."

But where shall such a man be found? If no where, then *è diametro*,[9] we are all slaves, senseless, or worse. *Nemo malus felix.*[10]

[1 This is a good instance of how loosely Burton quotes. The actual words are, Παυύασις δὲ ὁ ἐποποιὸς τὴν μὲν πρώτην πόσιν ἀπονέμει Χάρισιν Ὡραις καὶ Διονύσῳ, τὴν δὲ δευτεράν Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ πάλιν Διονύσῳ, Τὴν δὲ καὶ Ἄτῃ τὴν τρίτην. *Deipnos.* Book ii. p. 36 D.] [2 Does not drink make men insane above all fury and madness?] [3 Ep. Damageto. [4 Amicis nostris Rhodi dicito, ne nimium rideant, aut nimium tristes sint. [5 Per multum risum poteris cognoscere stultum. Offic. 3. c. 9. [6 Book x. capp. 6, 7.] [7 Sapientes liberi, stulti servi, libertas est potestas &c. Paradoxon v.] [8 Hor. [Sat. ii. 7. 83-86.] [9 Diametrically.] [10 Juv. iv. 8. No bad man is happy.]

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But no man is happy in this life, none good, therefore no man wise.

[1] Rari quippe boni——

For one virtue you shall find ten vices in the same party; *pauci Promethei, multi Epimethei.*[2] We may peradventure usurp the name, or attribute it to others for favour, as *Carolus Sapiens, Philippus Bonus, Lodovicus Pius, &c.* and describe the properties of a wise man, as *Tully* doth an Orator, *Xenophon Cyrus, Castilio* a *Courtier, Galen Temperament,* an Aristocracy is described by Politicians. But where shall such a man be found?

> Vir bonus & sapiens, qualem vix repperit unum
> Millibus è multis hominum consultus Apollo.[3]
>
> A wise, a good man in a million,
> *Apollo* consulted could scarce find one.

A man is a miracle of himself, but *Trismegistus* adds *maximum miraculum homo sapiens,* a wise man is [the greatest] wonder: *multi Thyrsigeri, pauci Bacchi.*[4] *Alexander* when he was presented with that rich and costly casket of King *Darius,* and every man advised him what to put in it, he reserved it to keep *Homer's* works, as the most precious jewel of human wit, and yet [5] *Scaliger* upbraids *Homer's* Muse, *nutricem insanæ sapientiæ,* [as] a nursery of madness, [6] impudent as a Court Lady, that blushes at nothing. *Jacobus Mycillus, Gilbertus Cognatus, Erasmus,* and almost all posterity admire *Lucian's* luxuriant wit, yet *Scaliger* rejects him in his censure, and calls him the *Cerberus* of the *Muses. Socrates,* whom all the world so much magnified, is by *Lactantius* and *Theodoret* condemned for a fool. *Plutarch*[7] extols *Seneca's* wit beyond all the *Greeks, nulli secundus,*[8] yet [9] *Seneca* saith of himself, *when I would solace myself with a fool, I reflect upon myself, and there I have him. Cardan,* in his 16th Book of *Subtleties,* reckons up twelve supereminent, acute Philosophers, for worth, subtlety, and wisdom: *Archimedes, Galen, Vitruvius, Archytas Tarentinus, Euclid, Geber,* that first inventor of *Algebra, Alkindus* the Mathe-

[1] Juven, [xiii. 26. Good people are scarce.] [2] See Plato, Protag. 320 D. sqq. There are few Prometheuses, many Epimetheuses.] [3] Ausonius, Idyllia, xvi. 1, 2.] [4] This is the famous Prov. πολλοὶ τοι ναρθηκοφόροι, Βάκχοι δέ τε παῦροι. Plato, Phaedo, p. 69 c. There are many Bacchantes, but few Bacchuses.] [5] Hypocrit. [6] Ut mulier aulica nullius pudens. [7] Burton writes this only on Petrarch's authority. Plutarch does indeed twice mention Seneca, but without any special eulogy. See Lipsius' Seneca, Antverpiae, 1652, pp. xxvii, xxviii.] [8] As second to nobody.] [9] Epist. 33. Quando fatuo delectari volo, non est longe quærendus, me video.

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matician, both *Arabians*, with others. But his *triumviri terrarum*,[1] far beyond the rest, are *Ptolemæus*, *Plotinus*, *Hippocrates*. *Scaliger*, *exercitat.* 224, scoffs at this censure of his, calls some of them carpenters and mechanicians, he makes *Galen fimbriam Hippocratis*, a skirt of *Hippocrates:* & the said [2] *Cardan* himself elsewhere condemns both *Galen* and *Hippocrates* for tediousness, obscurity, confusion. *Paracelsus* will have them both mere idiots, infants in physick and philosophy. *Scaliger* and *Cardan* admire *Suisset* the *Calculator, qui paene modum excessit humani ingenii*,[3] and yet [4] *Lod. Vives* calls them *nugas Suisseticas:*[5] and *Cardan*, opposite to himself in another place, contemns those ancients in respect of times present, [6] *majoresque nostros ad praesentes collatos justè pueros appellari.*[7] In conclusion, the said [8] *Cardan* and Saint *Bernard* will admit none into this Catalogue of wise men, [9] but only Prophets and Apostles; how they esteem themselves, you have heard before. We are worldly-wise, admire ourselves, and seek for applause: but hear Saint [10] *Bernard, quantò magis foras es sapiens, tanto magis intus stultus efficeris, &c. in omnibus es prudens, circa teipsum insipiens:* the more wise thou art to others, the more fool to thyself. I may not deny but that there is some folly approved, a divine fury, a holy madness, even a spiritual drunkenness, in the Saints of God themselves; *sanctam insaniam Bernard* calls it (though not as blaspheming [11] *Vorstius*, [who] would infer it as a passion incident to God himself, but) familiar to good men, as that of *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* [xi.] *he was a fool, &c.* and *Rom.* 9. [3], he wisheth himself *to be anathematized for them.* Such is that drunkenness which *Ficinus* speaks of, when the soul is elevated and ravished with a divine taste of that heavenly Nectar, which poets deciphered by the sacrifice of *Dionysus*, and in this sense with the Poet,[12] *insanire lubet*, as *Austin* exhorts us, *ad ebrietatem se quisque paret*, let's all be mad and [13] drunk. But we commonly mistake, and go beyond our commission, we reel to the opposite part,[14] we are not capable

[1 Three great men in the world.] [2 Primo contradicentium. [3 Who almost exceeded the bounds of human genius.] [4 Lib. de causis corrupt. artium. [5 Suisset's trifles.] [6 Actione ad subtil. in Scal. fol. 1226. [7 And says our ancestors compared with our contemporaries are justly called boys.] [8 Lib. 1. de sap. [9 Vide, miser homo, quia totum est vanitas, totum stultitia, totum dementia, quicquid facis in hoc mundo, præter hoc solum quod propter Deum facis. Ser. de miser. hom. [10 In 2 Platonis dial. l. de justo. [11 Dum iram et odium in Deo revera ponit. [12 Virg. Ecl. 3. [36.] [13 Ps. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domûs. [14 In Psal. civ. Austin.

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of it,[1] and as he said of the *Greeks, vos Græci semper pueri, vos Britanni, Galli, Germani, Itali,*[2] *&c.* you are a company of fools.

Proceed now *à partibus ad totum*, or from the whole to [the] parts, and you shall find no other issue, the parts shall be sufficiently dilated in this following Preface. The whole must needs follow by a *Sorites* or Induction. Every multitude is mad,[3] *bellua multorum capitum*, precipitate and rash, without judgement, *stultum animal*, a roaring rout. [4] *Roger Bacon* proves it out of *Aristotle, vulgus dividi in oppositum contra sapientes, quod vulgo videtur verum falsum est;* that which the commonalty accounts true is most part false, they are still opposite to wise men, but all the world is of this humour (*vulgus*), and thou thyself art *de vulgo*, one of the commonalty, and he, and he, and so are all the rest; and therefore, as *Phocion* concludes, to be approved in nought you say or do, mere idiots and asses. Begin then where you will, go backward or forward, choose out of the whole pack, wink and choose, you shall find them all alike, *never a barrel better herring.*

Copernicus, Atlas his successor, is of opinion the earth is a planet, moves and shines to others, as the moon doth to us. *Digges, Gilbert, Keplerus, Origanus*, and others, defend this *hypothesis* of his in sober sadness, and [hold] that the moon is inhabited: if it be so that the earth is a moon, then are we also giddy, vertiginous and lunatick within this sublunary maze.

I could produce such arguments till dark night: if you should hear the rest,

Ante diem clauso componat vesper Olympo: [5]

[The night would come upon us ere 'twas finished:]

but, according to my promise, I will descend to particulars. This melancholy extends itself not to men only, but even to vegetals and sensibles. I speak not of those creatures which are *saturnine*, melancholy by nature, (as lead, and such like minerals, or those plants, rue, cypress, &c. and hellebore itself, of which [6] *Agrippa* treats, fishes, birds, and beasts, hares, conies, dormice, &c. owls, bats, nightbirds,) but that artificial, which is perceived in them all. Remove a plant, it will pine away, which is especially perceived

[1] In Platonis Tim. sacerdos Ægyptius. [22 b.] [2] You Greeks, British, Gauls, Germans, Italians, are all boys.] [3] Hor. [ep. i. 1. 76.] Vulgus insanum. [4] Patet ea divisio probabilis, &c. ex Arist. Top. lib. 1. c. 8. Rog. Bac. Epist. de secret. art. et nat. c. 8. non est judicium in vulgo. [5] Virg. Æn. i. 374.] [6] De occult. Philosoph. l. 1. c. 25 et 19. ejusd. l. lib. 10. cap. 4.

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in date trees, as you may read at large in *Constantine's* husbandry, that antipathy betwixt the vine and the cabbage, wine and oil. Put a bird in a cage, he will die for sullenness, or a beast in a pen, or take his young ones or companions from him, and see what effect it will cause. But who perceives not these common passions of sensible creatures, fear, sorrow, &c.? Of all other, dogs are most subject to this malady, insomuch some hold they dream as men do, and through violence of melancholy run mad; I could relate many stories of dogs that have died for grief, and pined away for loss of their masters, but they are common in every[1] author.

Kingdoms, provinces, and politick bodies are likewise sensible and subject to this disease, as [2]*Boterus* in his Politicks hath proved at large. *As in human bodies* (saith he) *there be divers alterations proceeding from humours, so there be many diseases in a common-wealth, which do as diversely happen from several distempers*, as you may easily perceive by their particular symptoms. For where you shall see the people civil, obedient to God and Princes, judicious, peaceable and quiet, rich, fortunate,[3] and flourish, to live in peace, in unity and concord, a country well tilled, many fair built and populous cities, *ubi incolæ nitent*, [where,] as old [4]*Cato* said, the people are neat, polite and terse, *ubi bene beateque vivunt*,[5] which our politicians make the chief end of a common-wealth; and which [6]*Aristotle, Polit. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. calls *commune bonum*,[7] *Polybius lib.* 6.[8] *optabilem & selectum statum*, that country is free from melancholy; as it was in *Italy* in the time of *Augustus*, now in *China*, now in many other flourishing kingdoms of *Europe*. But whereas you shall see many discontents, common grievances, complaints, poverty, barbarism, beggary, plagues, wars, rebellions, seditions, mutinies, contentions, idleness, riot, epicurism, the land lie untilled, waste, full of bogs, fens, deserts, &c., cities decayed, base and poor towns, villages depopulated, the people squalid, ugly, uncivil; that kingdom, that country, must needs be discontent, melancholy, hath a sick body, and had need to be reformed.

[1] See Lipsius, epist. De politia illustrium, lib. 1. cap. 4. Ut in humanis corporibus variæ accidunt mutationes corporis animique, sic in republica, &c. [3] Ubi reges philosophantur, Plato. [Rep. v. p. 473 D.] [4] Lib. de re rust. [5] Where they live well and happily.] [6] Vel publicam utilitatem. "Salus publica suprema lex esto." [Cic. de Legibus, iii. 3.] Beata civitas non ubi pauci beati, sed tota civitas beata. Plato [Laws, Bk. v. p. 743, memoriter.] [7] A general blessing.] [8] Cap. 10 A desirable and favourable condition.]

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Now that cannot well be effected, till the causes of these maladies be first removed, which commonly proceed from their own default, or some accidental inconvenience: as to be sited in a bad clime, too far North, sterile, in a barren place, as the desert of *Libya*, deserts of *Arabia*, places void of waters, as those of *Lop* and *Belgian* in *Asia*, or in a bad air, as at *Alexandretta*, *Bantam*, *Pisa*, *Durazzo*, *S. John de Ullua*, *&c.*, or in danger of the sea's continual inundations, as in many places of the Low Countries, and elsewhere, or near some bad neighbours, as *Hungarians* to *Turks*, *Podolians* to *Tartars*, or almost any bordering countries, they live in fear still, and by reason of hostile incursions are oftentimes left desolate. So are cities by reason [1] of wars, fires, plagues, inundations,[2] wild beasts, decay of trades, barred havens, the sea's violence, as *Antwerp* may witness of late, *Syracuse* of old, *Brundusium* in *Italy*, *Rye* & *Dover* with us, and many that at this day suspect the sea's fury and rage, and labour against it, as the *Venetians*, to their inestimable charge. But the most frequent maladies are such as proceed from themselves, as first when religion & God's service is neglected, innovated or altered, where they do not fear God, obey their Prince, where Atheism, Epicurism, Sacrilege, Simony, &c., and all such impieties are freely committed, that country cannot prosper. When *Abraham* came to *Gerar*, and saw a bad land, he said, sure the fear of God was not in that place. [3] *Cyprian Echovius*, a *Spanish* Chorographer, above all other Cities of *Spain* commends *Borcino, in which there was no beggar, no man poor, &c. but all rich and in good estate, and he gives the reason, because they were more religious than their neighbours.* Why was *Israel* so often spoiled by their enemies, led into captivity, &c., but for their idolatry, neglect of God's word, for sacrilege, even for one *Achan's* fault? And what shall we expect that have such multitudes of *Achans*, Church-robbers, Simoniacal Patrons, *&c.*? How can they hope to flourish, that neglect divine duties, that live most part like Epicures?

Other common grievances are generally noxious to a body politick; alteration of laws and customs, breaking privileges, general oppressions, seditions, &c., observed by [4] *Aristotle*, *Bodine*,

[1] Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ. [Virg. Ecl. ix. 28.] [2] Interdum à feris, ut olim Mauritania, &c. [3] Deliciis Hispaniæ anno 1604. Nemo malus, nemo pauper, optimus quisque atque ditissimus. Pie sancteque vivebant, summaque cum veneratione et timore, divino cultui, sacrisque rebus incumbebant. [4] Polit. l. 5. c. 3.

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Boterus, Junius, Arniscus, &c. I will only point at some of the chiefest. [1] *Impotentia gubernandi, ataxia,* confusion, ill government, which proceeds from unskilful, slothful, griping, covetous, unjust, rash, or tyrannizing magistrates, when they are fools, idiots, children, proud, wilful, partial, indiscreet, oppressors, giddy heads, tyrants, not able or unfit to manage such offices.[2] Many noble cities and flourishing kingdoms by that means are desolate, the whole body groans under such heads, and all the members must needs be misaffected, as at this day those goodly provinces in *Asia Minor, &c.*, groan under the burden of a *Turkish* government; and those vast kingdoms of *Muscovia, Russia,*[3] under a tyrannizing Duke. Who ever heard of more civil and rich populous countries than those of *Greece, Asia Minor, abounding with all*[4] *wealth, multitude of inhabitants, force, power, splendour, and magnificence?* and that miracle of countries, the [5] Holy Land, that in so small a compass of ground could maintain so many towns, cities, produce so many fighting men? *Egypt,* another Paradise, now barbarous and desert, and almost waste, by the despotical government of an imperious *Turk, intolerabili servitutis jugo premitur* ([6] one saith); not only fire and water, goods or lands, *sed ipse spiritus ab insolentissimi victoris pendet nutu,* [but] such is their slavery, their lives and souls depend upon his insolent will and command: a tyrant that spoils all wheresoever he comes, insomuch that an [7] Historian complains, *if an old inhabitant should now see them, he would not know them, if a traveller, or stranger, it would grieve his heart to behold them.* Where, as [8] *Aristotle* notes, *novæ exactiones, nova onera imposita,* new burdens and exactions daily come upon them, like those of which *Zosimus* [speaks], *lib. 2,*[9] so grievous, *ut viri uxores, patres filios prostituerent, ut exactoribus è quaestu, &c.* they must needs be discontent, *hinc civitatum gemitus & ploratus,* as [10] *Tully* holds, hence come those complaints and tears of cities, *poor, miserable,*

[1] Boterus Polit. lib. 1. c. 1. Cum nempe princeps rerum gerendarum imperitus, segnis, oscitans, suique muneris immemor, aut fatuus est. [2] Non viget respublica cujus caput infirmatur. Sarisburiensis, c. 22. [3] See Dr. Fletcher's Relation, and Alexander Gagninus' History. [4] Abundans omni divitiarum affluentia, incolarum multitudine, splendore ac potentia. [5] Not above 200 miles in length, 60 in breadth, according to Adricomius. [6] Romulus Amaseus. [7] Sabellicus. Si quis incola vetus, non agnosceret, si quis peregrinus, ingemisceret. [8] Polit. l. 5. c. 6. Crudelitas principum, impunitas scelerum, violatio legum, peculatus pecuniæ publicæ, etc. [9] Cap. 38.] [10] Epist. [Ad Atticum, ii. 18, § 1.]

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rebellious, and desperate subjects, as [1]*Hippolytus* adds: and [2]as a judicious countryman of ours observed not long since in a survey of that great Duchy of *Tuscany*, the people lived much grieved and discontent, as appeared by their manifold and manifest complainings in that kind; *that the State was like a sick body which had lately taken physick, whose humours were not yet well settled, and weakened so much by purging, that nothing was left but melancholy.*

Whereas the Princes and Potentates are immoderate in lust, hypocrites, epicures, of no religion, but in show: *quid hypocrisi fragilius?* what so brittle and unsure? what sooner subverts their estates than wandering & raging lusts on their subjects' wives, daughters, to say no worse? They that should *facem præferre*,[3] lead the way to all virtuous actions, are the ringleaders oftentimes of all mischief and dissolute courses, and by that means their countries are plagued,[4] *and they themselves often ruined, banished or murdered by conspiracy of their subjects*, as *Sardanapulus* was, *Dionysius Junior, Heliogabalus, Periander, Pisistratus, Tarquinius, Timocrates, Childericus, Appius Claudius, Andronicus, Galeazzo Sforza*,[5] *Alexander de Medici, &c.*

Whereas the Princes or great men are malicious, envious, factious, ambitious, emulators, they tear a common-wealth asunder, as so many *Guelphs* and *Ghibelines*, disturb the quietness of it,[6] and with mutual murders let it bleed to death. Our histories are too full of such barbarous inhumanities, and the miseries that issue from them.

Whereas they be like so many horse-leeches, hungry, griping, corrupt, [7]covetous, *avaritiæ mancipia*, ravenous as wolves, (for as *Tully* writes, *qui præest prodest, & qui pecudibus præest, debet eorum utilitati inservire*,[8]) or such as prefer their private before the publick good (for as[9] he said long since, *res privatæ publicis semper officere*[10])—or whereas they be illiterate, ignorant, empiricks

[1] De increm. urb. cap. 20. Subditi miseri, rebelles, desperati, &c. R. Dallington, 1596. conclusio libri. [3] Cic ii. Verr. 4. 34. 74.] [4] Boterus l.9, c. 4. Polit. Quo fit ut aut rebus desperatis exulent, aut conjuratione subditorum crudelissime tandem trucidentur. [5] Duke of Milan, who was assassinated Decr. 26, 1476.] [6] Mutuis odiis et cædibus exhausti, &c. [7] Lucra ex malis, sceleratisque causis. [8] He who rules is a benefit, and he who rules cattle should study their interests.] [9] Sallust. Burton must have made one of his common slips in reference here, for this passage is not in the exhaustive Index of Dietsch.] [10] Private interests always stand in the way of public ones.]

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in policy, *ubi deest facultas,* [1] *virtus,* (*Aristot. Pol.* 5, *cap.* 8) & *scientia,* wise only by inheritance, and in authority by birth-right, favour, or for their wealth and titles; there must needs be a fault,[2] a great defect: because, as an [3] old Philosopher affirms, such men are not always fit: *of an infinite number few alone are Senators, and of those few fewer good, and of that small number of honest good and noble men, few that are learned, wise, discreet and sufficient, able to discharge such places;* it must needs turn to the confusion of a State.

For as the [4] Princes are, so are the people; *qualis Rex, talis grex*: and which [5] *Antigonus* right well said of old, *qui Macedoniæ regem erudit, omnes etiam subditos erudit,* he that teacheth the King of *Macedon,* teacheth all his subjects, is a true saying still.

> For Princes are the glass, the school, the book,
> Where subjects' eyes do learn, do read, do look.[6]
>
> ——————Velocius & citius nos
> Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
> Cum subeant animos auctoribus.[7]——————

Their [8] examples are soonest followed, vices entertained; if they be profane, irreligious, lascivious, riotous, epicures, factious, covetous, ambitious, illiterate, so will the commons most part be idle, unthrifts, prone to lust, drunkards, and therefore poor and needy (ἡ πενία στάσιν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ κακουργίαν, for poverty begets sedition and villainy) upon all occasions ready to mutiny and rebel, discontent still, complaining, murmuring, grudging, apt to all outrages, thefts, treasons, murders, innovations, in debt, shifters, cozeners, outlaws, *profligatæ famæ ac vitæ.*[9] It was an old [10] Politician's Aphorism, *they that are poor and bad envy rich, hate*

[1] For most part we mistake the name of Politicians, accounting such as read Machiavel and Tacitus great statesmen, that can dispute of political precepts, supplant and overthrow their adversaries, enrich themselves, get honours, dissemble; but what is this to the *bene esse,* or preservation of a Commonwealth? [2] Imperium suapte sponte corruit. [3] Apul. Prim. Flor. [cap. 8, memoriter.] Ex innumerabilibus pauci Senatores genere nobiles, è consularibus pauci boni, è bonis adhuc pauci eruditi. [4] Non solum vitia concipiunt ipsi principes, sed etiam infundunt in civitatem, plusque exemplo quam peccato nocent. Cic. De legibus. [Lib. iii. c. xiv. § 32.] [5] Epist. ad Zen. Juven. Sat. 4. Paupertas seditionem gignit et maleficium. Arist. Pol. 2. c. 7. [6] Shak. Rape of Lucrece, 615, 616.] [7] Juvenal, xiv. 31-33. Swifter and sooner do the home examples Of vice corrupt us, when they move our passions Backed by the force of power and authority.] [8] Princes'.] [9] Men of bad reputation and life.] [10] Sallust. [Catiline, cap. 37. § 3.] Semper in civitate quibus opes nullæ sunt bonis invident, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia petunt.

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good men, abhor the present government, wish for a new, and would have all turned topsy turvy. When *Catiline* rebelled in *Rome*, he got a company of such debauched rogues together, they were his familiars and coadjutors; and such have been your rebels most part in all ages, *Jack Cade, Tom Straw, Kett,*[1] and his companions.

Where they be generally riotous and contentious, where there be many discords, many laws, many law-suits, many lawyers, and many physicians, it is a manifest sign of a distempered, melancholy state, as [2] *Plato* long since maintained: for where such kind of men swarm, they will make more work for themselves, and that body politick diseased, which was otherwise sound. A general mischief in these our times, an insensible plague, and never so many of them: *which are now multiplied* (saith *Mat. Geraldus,*[3] a Lawyer himself,) *as so many locusts, not the parents, but the plagues of the Country, & for the most part a supercilious, bad, covetous, litigious generation of men;* [4] *crumenimulga natio, &c.*, a purse-milking nation, a clamorous company, gowned vultures, [5] *qui ex injuriâ vivunt & sanguine civium,* thieves and seminaries of discord; worse than any pollers by the high-way side, *auri accipitres, auri exterebronides, pecuniarum hamiolæ, quadruplatores, curiæ harpagones, fori tintinnabula, monstra hominum, mangones, &c.*, that take upon them to make peace, but are indeed the very disturbers of our peace, a company of irreligious Harpies, scraping, griping catchpoles (I mean our common hungry pettifoggers, *rabulas forenses,* [I] love and honour in the mean time all good laws, and worthy lawyers, that are so many [6] oracles and pilots of a well-governed commonwealth), without art, without judgement, that do more harm, as [7] *Livy* said, *quam bella externa, fames, morbive,* than sickness, wars, hunger, diseases; *and cause a most incredible destruction of a Common-wealth,* saith [8] *Sesellius,* a famous Civilian sometime in *Paris.* As ivy doth by an oak, embrace it so long, until it hath got the heart out of it, so do they by such places they inhabit, no

[1] As to Kett, see Bloomfield's "History of Norfolk," or "Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk," by the Rev. F. W. Russell, M.A.] [2] Plat. Rep. p. 373. memoriter.] Profligatæ in repub. disciplinæ est indicium jurisperitorum numerus, et medicorum copia. [3] In Præf. Stud. Juris. Multiplicantur nunc in terris ut locustæ non, patriæ parentes, sed pestes, pessimi homines, majore ex parte superciliosi, contentiosi, &c., licitum latrocinium exercent. [4] Dousa, epid. Loquax turba, vultures togati. [5] Barc. Argen. [Book iii. p. 322. ed. 1673.] [6] Jurisconsulti domus oraculum civitatis. Tully. [De Or. i. 45. 200.] [7] Lib. 3. [8] Lib. 1. De rep. Gallorum. Incredibilem reipub. perniciem afferunt.

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counsel at all, no justice, no speech to be had, *nisi eum præmulseris*, he must be fee'd still, or else he is as mute as a fish, better open an oyster without a knife. *Experto crede* (saith [1]*Sarisburiensis*) *in manus eorum millies incidi*, & Charon immitis, qui nulli pepercit unquam, his longé clementior est, *I speak out of experience, I have been a thousand times amongst them, & Charon himself is more gentle than they;* [2]*he is contented with his single pay, but they multiply still, they are never satisfied:* besides, they have *damnificas linguas*, as he terms it, *nisi funibus argenteis vincias*, they must be fee'd to say nothing, and [3]get more to hold their peace than we can to say our best. They will speak their clients fair, and invite them to their tables, but, as he follows it, [4]*of all injustice there is none so pernicious as that of theirs, which, when they deceive most, will seem to be honest men.* They take upon them to be peace-makers, *& fovere causas humilium*,[5] to help them to their right, *patrocinantur afflictis*,[6] [7]but all is for their own good, *ut loculos pleniorum exhauriant*,[8] they plead for poor men *gratis*, but they are but as a stale to catch others. If there be no jar, [9]they can make a jar, out of the law itself find still some quirk or other, to set them at odds, and continue causes so long, *lustra aliquot*, I know not how many years before the cause is heard, and when 'tis judged and determined, by reason of some tricks and errors it is as fresh to begin, after twice seven years sometimes, as it was at first; and so they prolong time, delay suits, till they have enriched themselves, and beggared their clients. And as [10]*Cato* inveighed against *Isocrates'* scholars, we may justly tax our wrangling lawyers, they do *consenescere in litibus*,[11] are so litigious and busy here on earth, that I think they will plead their clients' causes hereafter, some of them in hell. [12]*Simlerus* complains, amongst the *Suissers*, of the Advocates in his time, that when they should make an end, they

[1] Polycrat. lib. [1. Prologue.] [2] Is stipe contentus; at hi asses integros sibi multiplicari jubent. [3] Plus accipiunt tacere, quam nos loqui. [4] Totius injustitiæ nulla capitalior, quàm eorum qui cum maxime decipiunt, id agunt ut boni viri esse videantur. [5] And to espouse the cause of the humble.] [6] They play the part of patrons to the afflicted.] [7] Nam quocunque modo causa procedat, hoc semper agitur, ut loculi impleantur, etsi avaritia nequit satiari. [8] That they may drain the money bags of the rich.] [9] Camden in Norfolk [Initio.] Qui si nihil sit litium, è juris apicibus lites tamen serere callent. [10] Plutarch, Vit. Cat. [cap. 23.] Causas apud inferos quas in suam fidem receperunt, patrocinio suo tuebuntur. [11] Grow old in lawsuits.] [12] Lib. 2. De Helvet. Repub. Non explicandis, sed moliendis controversiis operam dant, ita ut lites in multos annos extrahantur, summâ cum molestiâ utriusque partis, et dum interea patrimonia exhauriantur.

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begin controversies, and *protract their causes many years, persuading them their title is good, till their patrimonies be consumed, and that they have spent more in seeking than the thing is worth, or they shall get by the recovery.* So he that goes to law, as the proverb is,[1] holds a wolf by the ears, or, as a sheep in a storm runs for shelter to a briar, if he prosecute his cause he is consumed, if he surcease his suit he loseth all;[2] what difference? They had wont, heretofore, saith *Austin*, to end matters *per communes arbitros*;[3] and so in *Switzerland*, (we are informed by [4]*Simlerus*,) *they had some common arbitrators, or daysmen in every town, that made a friendly composition betwixt man and man; and he much wonders at their honest simplicity, that could keep peace so well, and end such great causes by that means.* At [5]*Fez*, in *Africa*, they have neither lawyers nor advocates; but if there be any controversies amongst them, both parties, plaintiff and defendant, come to their *Alfakins* or chief Judges, *& at once, without any further appeals or pitiful delays, the cause is heard and ended.* Our forefathers, as [6]a worthy Chorographer of ours observes, had wont *pauculis cruculis aureis*, with a few golden crosses, and lines in verse, [to] make all conveyances, assurances. And such was the candour & integrity of succeeding ages, that a Deed (as I have oft seen), to convey a whole Manor, was *implicité* contained in some twenty lines or thereabouts; like that Schede or *Scytala Laconica*, so much renowned of old in all contracts, which [7]*Tully* so earnestly commends to *Atticus*, *Plutarch* in his *Lysander*,[8] *Aristotle, Polit. Thucydides lib.* 1,[9] [10]*Diodorus*, and *Suidas*, approve and magnify for that *Laconick* brevity in this kind; and well they might, for, according to [11]*Tertullian, certa sunt paucis*, there is much more certainty in fewer words. And so was it of old throughout: but now many skins of parchment will scarce serve turn; he that buys and sells a house, must have a house full of writings, there be so many circumstances, so many words, such tautological repetitions of all particulars (to avoid cavillation, they say), but we find, by our woful experience, that to subtle wits it is

[1] Lupum auribus tenent. [Ter. Ph. iii. ii. 21.] [2] Hor. [[3] By common arbitrators.] [4] Lib. De Helvet. Repub. Judices quocunque pago constituunt, qui amicâ aliquâ transactione, si fieri possit, lites tollant. Ego majorum nostrorum simplicitatem admiror, qui sic causas gravissimas composuerint; &c. [5] Clenard l. 1. ep. Si quæ controversiæ utraque pars judicem adit, is semel et simul rem transigit, audit: nec quid sit appellatio, lachrymosæque moræ, noscunt. [6] Camden. [In Essex. From Ingulphus.] [7] Lib. 10. epist. ad Atticum, epist. 10 [3.] [[8] § 19.] [[9] Cap. 131.] [10] Biblioth. l. 3. [11] Lib. de Anim. [cap. ii.]

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a cause of much more contention and variance, and scarce any conveyance so accurately penned by one, which another will not find a crack in, or cavil at; if any one word be misplaced, any little error, all is disannulled. That which is law to-day is none to-morrow, that which is sound in one man's opinion, is most faulty to another; that, in conclusion, here is nothing amongst us but contention and confusion, we band one against another. And that which long since [1]*Plutarch* complained of them in *Asia*, may be verified in our times. *These men here assembled, come not to sacrifice to their gods, to offer Jupiter their first fruits, or merriments to Bacchus; but a yearly disease exasperating Asia hath brought them hither, to make an end of their controversies and law suits.* 'Tis *multitudo perdentium & pereuntium*, a destructive rout that seek one another's ruin. Such most part are our ordinary suiters, termers, clients; new stirs every day, mistakes, errors, cavils, and at this present, as I have heard, in some one Court, I know not how many thousand causes: no person free, no title almost good, with such bitterness in following, so many slights, procrastinations, delays, forgery, such cost (for infinite sums are inconsiderately spent), violence and malice, I know not by whose fault, lawyers, clients, laws, both or all: but as *Paul* reprehended the [2]*Corinthians* long since, I may more appositely infer now: *There is a fault amongst you, & I speak it to your shame; is there not a* [3]*wise man amongst you, to judge between his brethren; but that a brother goes to law with a brother?* And [4]Christ's counsel concerning law-suits was never so fit to be inculcated, as in this age: [5]*Agree with thine adversary quickly, &c. Matth.* 5. 25.

I could repeat many such particular grievances, which must disturb a body politick. To shut up all in brief, where good government is, prudent and wise Princes, there all things thrive and prosper, peace and happiness is in that land: where it is otherwise, all things are ugly to behold, incult, barbarous, uncivil, a Paradise is turned to a wilderness. This Island amongst the rest, our next neighbours the *French* and *Germans*, may be a sufficient witness, that in a short time, by that prudent policy of the

[1] Lib. major morb. corp. an animi. [§ iv.] Hi non conveniunt ut Diis more majorum sacra faciant, non ut Jovi primitias offerant, aut Baccho comissationes, sed anniversarius morbus exasperans Asiam huc eos coegit, ut contentiones hic peragant. [2] 1 Cor. vi. 5, 6. [3] Stulti quando demum sapietis? Ps. xlix. 8. [4] So intituled, and preached by our Regius Professor, D. Prideaux; printed at London, by Fœlix Kingston, 1621. [5] Of which Text read two learned Sermons.

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Romans, was[1] brought from barbarism; see but what *Cæsar* reports of us, and *Tacitus* of those old *Germans*; they were once as uncivil as they in *Virginia*, yet by planting of colonies and good laws, they became, from barbarous outlaws, [2]to be full of rich and populous cities, as now they are, and most flourishing kingdoms. Even so might *Virginia*, and those wild *Irish*, have been civilized long since, if that order had been heretofore taken, which now b·gins, of planting colonies, &c. I have read a [3]discourse, printed *Anno* 1612, *discovering the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, or brought under obedience to the Crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign.* Yet if his reasons were thoroughly scanned by a judicious politician, I am afraid he would not altogether be approved, but that it would turn to the dishonour of our nation, to suffer it to lie so long waste. Yea, and if some travellers should see (to come nearer home) those rich United Provinces of *Holland, Zealand, &c.*, over against us; those neat cities and populous towns, full of most industrious artificers, [4]so much land recovered from the sea, and so painfully preserved by those artificial inventions, so wonderfully approved, as that of *Bemster* in *Holland*, *ut nihil huic par aut simile invenias in toto orbe*,[5] saith *Bertius* the Geographer, all the world cannot match it,[6] so many navigable channels from place to place, made by men's hands, &c., and on the other side so many thousand acres of our fens lie drowned, our cities thin, and those vile, poor, and ugly to behold in respect of their's, our trades decayed, our still running rivers stopped, and that beneficial use of transportation wholly neglected, so many havens void of ships and towns, so many parks and forests for pleasure, barren heaths, so many villages depopulated, &c., I think sure he would find some fault.

I may not deny but that this nation of ours doth *bene audire apud exteros*,[7] is a most noble, a most flourishing kingdom, by common consent of all [8]Geographers, Historians, Politicians, 'tis *unica velut arx*,[9] and which *Quintius* in *Livy*[10] said of the inhabi-

[1 *Qu.* were.] [2 Sæpius bona materia cessat sine artifice. Sabellicus de Germania. Si quis videret Germaniam urbibus hodie excultam, non diceret ut olim tristem cultu, asperam cœlo, terram informem. [3 By his Majesty's Attorney General there. [4 As Zeipland, Bemster in Holland, &c. [5 So that you would find nothing equal to it or like it in the whole world.] [6 From Gaunt to Sluce, from Bruges to the sea, &c. [7 Hath a very good name amongst foreigners.] [8 Ortelius, Boterus, Mercator, Meteranus, &c. [9 As it were a unique stronghold.] [10 xxxvi. 32.]

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tants of *Peloponnesus*, may be well applied to us, we are *testudines testâ suâ inclusi*, like so many tortoises in our shells, safely defended by an angry sea, as a wall on all sides. Our Island hath many such honorable elogiums; and as a learned countryman of ours right well hath it, [1]*Ever since the Normans first coming into England, this country both for military matters, and all other of civility, hath been paralleled with the most flourishing kingdoms of Europe & our Christian world*, a blessed, a rich country, and one of the fortunate Isles: and for some things [2]preferred before other countries, for expert seamen, our laborious discoveries, art of navigation, true merchants, they carry the bell away from all other nations, even the *Portugals* and *Hollanders* themselves; [3]*without all fear*, saith *Boterus, furrowing the ocean winter and summer, and two of their captains, with no less valour than fortune, have sailed round about the world.* [4]We have besides many particular blessings, which our neighbours want, the Gospel truly preached, Church discipline established, long peace and quietness, free from exactions, foreign fears, invasions, domestical seditions, well manured, [5]fortified by art and nature, and now most happy in that fortunate union of *England* and *Scotland*, which our forefathers have laboured to effect, and desired to see. But in which we excel all others, a wise, learned, religious King, another *Numa*, a second *Augustus*, a true *Josiah*, most worthy senators, a learned clergy, an obedient commonalty, &c. Yet amongst many roses some thistles grow, some bad weeds and enormities, which much disturb the peace of this body politick, eclipse the honour and glory of it, fit to be rooted out, and with all speed to be reformed.

The first is idleness, by reason of which we have many swarms of rogues and beggars, thieves, drunkards, and discontented persons (whom *Lycurgus* in *Plutarch*[6] calls *morbos reipublicæ*, the boils of the commonwealth), many poor people in all our towns; *civitates ignobiles*, as [7]*Polydore* calls them, base built cities, inglorious, poor, small, rare in sight, ruinous, and thin of inhabitants. Our land is fertile, we may not deny, full of all good things, and

[1] Jam inde non minus belli gloriâ, quàm humanitatis cultu inter florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruit. Camden, Brit. de Normannis. [2] Geog. Kecker. [3] Tam hieme quàm æstate intrepidè sulcant Oceanum, et duo illorum duces non minore audaciâ quàm fortunâ totius orbem terræ circumnavigârunt. Amphitheatro Boterus. [4] A fertile soil, good air, &c. Tin, Lead, Wool, Saffron, &c. [5] Tota Britannia unica velut arx. Boter. [6] Vita Lycurgi, § v.] [7] Lib. 1. hist.

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why then doth it not abound with cities, as well as *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, the Low Countries? Because their policy hath been otherwise, and we are not so thrifty, circumspect, industrious. Idleness is the *malus Genius*[1] of our nation. For as [2]*Boterus* justly argues, fertility of a country is not enough, except art and industry be joined unto it. According to *Aristotle*, riches are either natural or artificial; natural are good land, fair mines, &c.; artificial are manufactures, coins, &c. Many kingdoms are fertile, but thin of inhabitants, as that Duchy of *Piedmont* in *Italy*, which *Leander Albertus* so much magnifies for corn, wine, fruits, &c., yet nothing near so populous as those which are more barren. [3]*England*, saith he (*London only excepted*), *hath never a populous city, and yet a fruitful country.* I find 46 cities and walled towns in *Alsatia*, a small province in *Germany*, 50 castles, an infinite number of villages, no ground idle, no not rocky places nor tops of hills are untilled, as [4]*Munster* informeth us. In [5]*Greichgea*, a small territory on the *Necker*, 24 *Italian* miles over, I read of 20 walled towns, innumerable villages, each one containing 150 houses most part, besides castles and noblemen's palaces. I observe in [6]*Turinge*, in *Dutchland* (twelve miles over by their scale), 12 counties, and in them 144 cities, 2,000 villages, 144 towns, 250 castles. In [7]*Bavaria* 34 cities, 46 towns, &c. [8]*Portugallia interamnis*, a small plot of ground, hath 1460 parishes, 130 monasteries, 200 bridges. *Malta*, a barren Island, yields 20,000 inhabitants. But of all the rest, I admire *Lues Guicciardini's* relations of the Low Countries. *Holland* hath 26 cities, 400 great villages; *Zealand* 10 cities, 102 parishes; *Brabant* 26 cities, 102 parishes; *Flanders* 28 cities, 90 towns, 1154 villages, besides abbies, castles, &c. The Low Countries generally have three cities at least for one of ours, and those far more populous and rich: and what is the cause, but their industry and excellency in all manner of trades; their commerce, which is maintained by a multitude of tradesmen, so many excellent channels made by art, and opportune havens, to which they build their cities? all which we have in like measure, or at least may have. But their

[1 Evil genius.] [2] Increment. urb. l. 1. c. 9. [3] Angliæ, excepto Londino, nulla est civitas memorabilis, licet ea natio rerum omnium copiâ abundet. [4] Cosmog. Lib. 3. cap. 119. Villarum non est numerus, nullus locus otiosus aut incultus. [5] Chytraeus orat. edit. Francof. 1583. [6] Maginus Geog. [7] Ortelius è Vaseo et Pet. de Medina. [8] An hundred families in each.

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chiefest loadstone which draws all manner of commerce and merchandize, which maintains their present estate, is not fertility of soil, but industry that enricheth them, the gold mines of *Peru* or *Nova Hispania* may not compare with them. They have neither gold nor silver of their own, wine nor oil, nor scarce any corn growing in those United Provinces, little or no wood, tin, lead, iron, silk, wool, any stuff almost, or metals; and yet *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, that brag of their mines, fertile *England*, cannot compare with them. I dare boldly say, that neither *France*, *Tarentum*, *Apulia*, *Lombardy*, or any part of *Italy*, *Valentia* in *Spain*, or that pleasant *Andalusia*, with their excellent fruits, wine and oil, two harvests, no nor any part of *Europe*, is so flourishing, so rich, so populous, so full of good ships, of well-built cities, so abounding with all things necessary for the use of man. 'Tis our *Indies*, an epitome of *China*, and all by reason of their industry, good policy, and commerce. Industry is a loadstone to draw all good things; that alone makes countries flourish, cities populous,[1] and will enforce by reason of much manure, which necessarily follows, a barren soil to be fertile and good, as sheep, saith [2]*Dion*, mend a bad pasture.

Tell me, Politicians, why is that fruitful *Palestine*, noble *Greece*, *Egypt*, *Asia Minor*, so much decayed, and (mere carcasses now) fallen from that they were? The ground is the same, but the government is altered, the people are grown slothful, idle, their good husbandry, policy, and industry, is decayed. *Non fatigata aut effeta humus*, as [3]*Columella* well informs *Sylvinus*, *sed nostrâ fit inertiâ*, *&c.* May a man believe that which *Aristotle* in his Politicks, *Pausanias*, *Stephanus*, *Sophianus*, *Gerbelius* relate of old *Greece*? I find heretofore 70 cities in *Epirus* overthrown by *Paulus Æmilius*, a goodly Province in times past, [4]now left desolate of good towns and almost inhabitants: 62 cities in *Macedonia* in *Strabo's* time: I find 30 in *Laconia*, but now scarce so many villages, saith *Gerbelius*. If any man from Mount *Taygetus* should view the country round about, and see *tot delicias*, *tot urbes per Peloponnesum dispersas*, so many delicate and brave cities

[1] Populi multitudo diligente culturâ fecundat solum. Boter. l. 8. c. 3. [2] Orat. 35. Terra ubi oves stabulantur optima agricolis ob stercus. [3] De re rust. l. 2. cap. 1. [The soil is not tired or exhausted, but barren through our sloth.] [4] Hodie urbibus desolatur, et magna ex parte incolis destituitur. Gerbelius, desc. Græciæ, lib. 6.

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built with such cost and exquisite cunning, so neatly set out in *Peloponnesus*, [1] he should perceive them now ruinous and overthrown, burnt, waste, desolate, and laid level with the ground. *Increâsonie dictu, &c.* And as he laments, *Quis talia fando Temperet a lacrimis?* [2] *Quis tam durus aut ferreus* [3] (so he prosecutes it). Who is he that can sufficiently condole and commiserate these ruins? Where are those 4000 cities of *Egypt*, those 100 cities in *Crete?* Are they now come to two? What saith *Pliny* and *Ælian* of old *Italy?* There were in former ages 1166 cities: *Blondus* and *Machiavel* both grant them now nothing near so populous, and full of good towns, as in the time of *Augustus* (for now *Leander Albertus* can find but 300 at most), and if we may give credit to [4]*Livy*, not then so strong and puissant as of old: *They mustered 70 Legions in former times, which now the known world will scarce yield. Alexander* built 70 cities in a short space for his part, our *Sultans* and *Turks* demolish twice as many, and leave all desolate. Many will not believe but that our Island of Great *Britain* is now more populous than ever it was; yet let them read *Bede*, *Leland*, and others, they shall find it most flourished in the *Saxon Heptarchy*, and in the *Conqueror's* time was far better inhabited than at this present. See that *Doomsday*-Book, and show me those thousands of parishes, which are now decayed, cities ruined, villages depopulated, &c. The lesser the territory is, commonly the richer it is. *Parvus sed bene cultus ager.* [5] As those *Athenian*, *Lacedæmonian*, *Arcadian*, *Elean*, *Sicyonian*, *Messenian*, *&c.*, Common-wealths of *Greece* make ample proof, as those Imperial Cities and free States of *Germany* may witness, those Cantons of *Switzers*, *Rheti*, *Grisons*, *Walloons*, Territories of *Tuscany*, *Lucca* and *Sienna* of old, *Piedmont*, *Mantua*, *Venice* in *Italy*, *Ragusa*, *&c.*

That Prince, therefore, as [6]*Boterus* adviseth, that will have a rich country, and fair cities, let him get good trades, privileges, painful inhabitants, artificers, and suffer no rude matter unwrought, as tin, iron, wool, lead, *&c.* to be transported out of his country;

[1] Videbit eas fere omnes aut eversas, aut solo æquatas, aut in rudera fœdissimè dejectas. Gerbelius [Ibidem.] [2] [Virg. Æn. ii. 6-8. Who telling such a tale could keep from tears?] [3] Cic. 2 Verr. 5. 46. 121. Who is so hard, so iron-hearted?] [4] Lib. 7. [c. 25. But Burton quotes carelessly, as not most. 'Tis in Livy 10 Legions, not 70 Legions.] Septuaginta olim legiones scriptæ dicuntur; quas vires hodie, &c. [5] A small but well-cultivated estate.] [6] Polit. l. 3. c. 8.

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a thing in part seriously attempted amongst us, but not effected. And because industry of men, and multitude of trade, so much avails to the ornament and enriching of a kingdom; those ancient [2]*Massilians* would admit no man into their city that had not some trade. *Selym* the First, *Turkish* Emperor, procured a thousand good artificers to be brought from *Tauris* to *Constantinople*. The *Polanders* indented with *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, their new chosen King, to bring with him an hundred families of artificers into *Poland*. *James* the First in *Scotland* (as [3]*Buchanan* writes) sent for the best artificers he could get in *Europe*, and gave them great rewards to teach his subjects their several trades. *Edward* the Third, our most renowned King, to his eternal memory brought clothing first into this Island, transporting some families of artificers from *Ghent* hither. How many goodly cities could I reckon up, that thrive wholly by trade, where thousands of inhabitants live singular well by their fingers' ends! As *Florence* in *Italy* by making cloth of gold; great *Milan* by silk, and all curious works; *Arras* in *Artois* by those fair hangings; many cities in *Spain*, many in *France*, *Germany*, have none other maintenance, especially those within the land. [4]*Mecca*, in *Arabia Petræa*, stands in a most unfruitful country, that wants water, amongst the rocks (as *Vertomannus* describes it), and yet it is a most elegant and pleasant city, by reason of the traffick of the East and West. *Ormus* in *Persia* is a most famous Mart-Town, hath nought else but the opportunity of the haven to make it flourish. *Corinth*, a noble city (*lumen Greciæ*, *Tully* calls it), [5]the Eye of *Greece*, by reason of *Cenchreæ* and *Lechæum*, those excellent ports, drew all that traffick of the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas to it; and yet the country about it was *curva & superciliosa*, as [6]*Strabo* terms it, rugged and harsh. We may say the same of *Athens*, *Actium*, *Thebes*, *Sparta*, and most of those towns in *Greece*. [7]Nuremberg in *Germany* is sited in a most barren soil, yet a noble Imperial city, by the sole industry of artificers, and cunning trades; they draw the riches of most countries to them, so expert

[1] For dyeing of cloths, and dressing, &c. [2] Valer. l. 2. c. 1. Hist. Scot. Lib. 10. [c. 41.] Magnis propositis præmiis, ut Scoti ab iis edocerentur. [4] Munst. Cosm. l. 5. c. 74. Agro omnium rerum infecundissimo, aquâ indigente, inter saxeta, urbs tamen elegantissima, ob Orientis negotiationes et Occidentis. [5] Manil. 5. 11.] [6] Lib. 8. [cap. vi. § 23.] Geogr: ob asperum situm. [7] Cf. the German proverb, "Nurenberger witz und kunstliche hand finden wege durch alle land."

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in manufactures, that, as *Sallust* long since gave out of the like, *sedem animæ in extremis digitis habent*,[1] their soul, or *intellectus agens*, was placed in their fingers' ends; & so we may say of *Basil, Spires, Cambray, Frankfurt, &c.* It is almost incredible to speak what some write of *Mexico* and the cities adjoining to it, no place in the world at their first discovery more populous, [and what] [2]*Mat. Riccius*, the Jesuit, and some others, relate of the industry of the *Chinese*, most populous countries, not a beggar or an idle person to be seen, and how by that means they prosper and flourish. We have the same means, able bodies, pliant wits, matter of all sorts, wool, flax, iron, tin, lead, wood, &c., many excellent subjects to work upon, only industry is wanting. We send our best commodities beyond the seas, which they make good use of to their necessities, set themselves a work about, and severally improve, sending the same to us back at dear rates, or else make toys and baubles of the tails of them, which they sell to us again, at as great a reckoning as they bought the whole. In most of our cities, some few excepted, like [3]*Spanish* loiterers, we live wholly by tippling; inns and ale-houses, malting, are their best ploughs; their greatest traffick to sell ale. [4]*Meteran* and some others object to us, that we are no whit so industrious as the *Hollanders: Manual trades* (saith he) *which are more curious or troublesome, are wholly exercised by strangers: they dwell in a sea full of fish, but they are so idle they will not catch so much as shall serve their own turns, but buy it of their neighbours.* Tush! [5]*Mare liberum*, they fish under our noses, and sell it to us when they have done, at their own prices.

——— "Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli."[6]

I am ashamed to hear this objected by strangers, and know not how to answer it.

[1] This quotation is certainly not in Sallust. It is not in Dietsch's very complete Index, nor could a writer in *Notes and Queries*, ii. 464, find it.] [2] Lib. Edit. à Nic. Tregant. Belg. A. 1616. expedit. in Sinas. [3] Ubi nobiles probri loco habent artem aliquam profiteri. Cleonard. ep. l. 1. [4] Lib. 13. Belg. Hist. Non tam laboriosi ut Belgæ, sed, ut Hispani, otiatores vitam ut plurimum otiosam agentes; artes manuariæ quæ plurimum habent in se laboris et difficultatis, majoremque requirunt industriam, a peregrinis et exteris exercentur; habitant in piscosissimo mari, interea tantum non piscantur quantum insulæ suffecerit, sed à vicinis emere coguntur. [5] Grotii Liber. [The sea is free.] [6] Ovid, Metamorph. i. 758, 759.]

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Amongst our Towns, there is only [1]*London* that bears the face of a City,[2] *Epitome Britanniæ*,[3] a famous *Emporium*, second to none beyond seas, a noble mart: but *sola crescit decrescentibus aliis*;[4] and yet, in my slender judgement, defective in many things. The rest ([5]some few excepted), are in mean estate, ruinous most part, poor and full of beggars, by reason of their decayed trades, neglected or bad policy, idleness of their inhabitants, riot, which had rather beg or loiter, and be ready to starve, than work.

I cannot deny but that something may be said in defence of our Cities, [6]that they are not so fair built, (for the sole magnificence of this Kingdom (concerning buildings) hath been of old in those *Norman* Castles and Religious Houses) so rich, thick sited, populous, as in some other countries; besides the reasons *Cardan* gives, *Subtil. Lib.* 11. we want wine and oil, their two harvests, we dwell in a colder air, and for that cause must a little more liberally[7] feed of flesh, as all Northern Countries do. Our provision will not therefore extend to the maintenance of so many: yet notwithstanding we have matter of all sorts, an open sea for traffick, as well as the rest, goodly havens. And how can we excuse our negligence, our riot, drunkenness, &c., and such enormities that follow it? We have excellent laws enacted, you will say, severe statutes, houses of correction, &c., to small purpose it seems, it is not houses will serve, but cities of correction,[8] our trades generally ought to be reformed, wants supplied. In other countries they have the same grievances, I confess, but that doth not excuse us,[9] wants, defects, enormities, idle drones, tumults, discords, contention, law-suits, many laws made against them to repress those innumerable brawls and law-suits, excess in

[1] Urbs animis numeroque potens, et robore gentis. Scaliger. [2] Camden. [In Middlesex.] [3] The Epitome of Britain.] [4] But it only grows at the expense of other cities.] [5] York, Bristol, Norwich, Worcester, &c. [6] M. Gainsford's Argument, "because gentlemen dwell with us in the country villages our cities are less," is nothing to the purpose; put three hundred or four hundred villages in a shire, and every village yield a gentleman, what is four hundred families to increase one of our cities, or to contend with theirs, which stand thicker? And whereas ours usually consist of seven thousand, theirs consist of forty thousand inhabitants. [7] Maxima pars victûs in carne consistit. Polyd. Lib. 1. Hist. [8] Refrænate monopolii licentiam, pauciores alantur otio, redintegretur agricolatio, lanificium instauretur, ut sit honestum negotium, quo se exerceat otiosa illa turba. Nisi his malis medentur, frustra exercent justitiam. Mor. Utop. Lib. 1. [9] Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. Hor. [Ep. i. vi. 39.]

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apparel, diet, decay of tillage, depopulations, [1] especially against rogues, beggars, Egyptian vagabonds (so termed at least) which have [2] swarmed all over *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Poland*, as you may read in [3] *Munster*, *Cranzius*, and *Aventinus;* as those *Tartars* and *Arabians* at this day do in the Eastern Countries; yet, such hath been the iniquity of all ages, as it seems to small purpose. *Nemo in nostrâ civitate mendicus esto*,[4] saith *Plato*,[5] he will have them purged from a [6] Common-wealth, [7] *as a bad humour from the body*, that are like so many ulcers and boils, and must be cured before the melancholy body can be eased.

What *Carolus Magnus*,[8] the *Chinese*, the *Spaniards*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and many other States, have decreed in this case, read *Arniseus*, *cap.* 19; *Boterus*, *libro* 8. *cap.* 2; *Osorius de Rebus Gest. Eman. lib.* 11. When a country is over-stored with people, as a pasture is oft overlaid with cattle, they had wont in former times to disburden themselves by sending out colonies, or by wars, as those old *Romans*, or by employing them at home about some publick buildings, as bridges, roadways, for which those *Romans* were famous in this Island: as *Augustus Cæsar* did in *Rome*, the *Spaniards* in their *Indian* Mines, as at *Potosi* in *Peru*, where some 30,000 men are still at work, 6,000 furnaces ever boiling, &c.; [9] aqueducts, bridges, havens, those stupend [10] works of *Trajan*, *Claudius*, at [11] *Ostia*, *Dioclesiani Thermæ*, *Fucinus Lacus*, that *Piraeus* in *Athens*, made by *Themistocles*, *Ampitheatrums* of curious Marble, as at *Verona*, *Civitas Philippi*, and *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, those *Appian* and *Flaminian* Ways, prodigious works all, may witness: and rather than they should be [12] idle, as those [13] *Egyptian Pharaohs*, *Mœris* and *Sesostris* did, to task their subjects to build unnecessary Pyramids, Obelisks, Labyrinths, Channels,[14] Lakes, Gigantean works all, to divert them

[1] Regis dignitatis non est exercere imperium in mendicos sed in opulentos. Non est regni decus, sed carceris esse custos. Mor. Utop. Lib. i. [2] Colluvies hominum mirabilis, excocti sole, immundi veste, fœdi visu, furti imprimis acres, &c. [3] Cosmog. lib. 3. cap. 5. [4] "Let no one in our state be a beggar."] [5] Laws, xii. p. 936 c.] [6] Seneca. [De Clementia, i. 24.] Haud minus turpia principi multa supplicia, quàm medico multa funera. [7] Ac pituitam et bilem a corpore (11 *De Legg.*) omnes vult exterminari. [Wrong ref. It should be Republic, Book viii. p. 564 B.] [8] Charlemagne.] [9] See Lipsius, Admiranda. [10] =stupendous.] [11] De quo Suet. in Claudio, [20.] et Plinius, c. 36. [12] Ut egestati simul et ignaviæ occurratur, opificia condiscantur, tenues subleventur. Bodine, l. 6. c. 2. num. 6, 7. [13] Amasis Ægypti rex legem promulgavit, ut omnes subditi quotannis rationem redderent unde viverent. [14] Canals.]

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from rebellion, riot, drunkenness, [1] *quo scilicet alantur, & ne vagando laborare desuescant.*

Another eye-sore is that want of conduct and navigable rivers, a great blemish, as [2] *Boterus*, [3] *Hippolytus a Collibus*, and other Politicians hold, if it be neglected in a Commonwealth. Admirable cost and charge is bestowed in the Low Countries on this behalf, in the Duchy of *Milan*, Territory of *Padua*, in [4] *France*, *Italy*, *China*, and so likewise about corrivations of waters to moisten and refresh barren grounds, to drain fens, bogs, and moors. *Massinissa* made many inward parts of *Barbary* and *Numidia* in *Africa*, before his time incult and horrid, fruitful and bartable [5] by this means. Great industry is generally used all over the Eastern Countries in this kind, especially in *Egypt*, about *Babylon*, and *Damascus*, as *Vertomannus* and [6] *Gotardus Arthus* relate; about *Barcelona*, *Segovia*, *Murcia*, and many other places of *Spain*, *Milan* in *Italy*; by reason of which their soil is much improved, and infinite commodities arise to the inhabitants.

The *Turks* of late attempted to cut that *Isthmus* betwixt *Africa* and *Asia*, which [7] *Sesostris* and *Darius*, and some *Pharaohs* of *Egypt*, had formerly undertaken, but with ill success, as [8] *Diodorus Siculus* records, and *Pliny*, for that the Red Sea, being three [9] cubits higher than *Egypt*, would have drowned all the country, *cæpto destiterant*, they left off; yet, as the same [10] *Diodorus* writes, *Ptolemy* renewed the work many years after, and absolved it in a more opportune place.

That *Isthmus* of *Corinth* was likewise undertaken to be made navigable by *Demetrius*, by *Julius Cæsar*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Herodes Atticus*, to make a speedy [11] passage, and less dangerous, from the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas; but because it could not be so well effected, the *Peloponnesians* built a wall, like our *Picts'* wall,

[1] Buscoldus, Discursu Polit. cap. 2. [Whereby they might be supported, and not become vagrants and cease to labour.] [2] Lib. 1. de Increm. Urb. cap. 6. [3] Cap. 5. de increm. urb. Quas flumen, lacus aut mare alluit. [4] Incredibilem commoditatem, vecturâ mercium tres fluvii navigabiles, &c. Boterus de Galliâ. [5] The dicts. don't help. *Qu.* bearable?] [6] Ind. Orient. cap. 2. Rotam in medio flumine constituunt, cui ex pellibus animalium consutos utres appendunt: hi dum rota movetur, aquam per canales, &c. [7] Herodotus. [ii. 108, 158.] [8] Centum pedes lata fossa, 30 alta. [9] Contrary to that of Archimedes, who holds the superficies of all waters even. [10] Lib. 1. cap. 3. [11] Dion, Pausanias, et Nic. Gerbelius, Munster, Cosm. Lib. 4. cap. 36. Ut brevior foret navigatio et minus periculosa.

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about *Schænus*, where *Neptune's* Temple stood, and in the shortest cut over the *Isthmus*, of which *Diodorus lib.* II. *Herodotus l.* 8. *Uran.*[1] Our later writers call it *Hexamilium*, which *Amurath* the Turk demolished, the *Venetians*, *anno* 1453, repaired in 15 days with 30,000 men. Some, saith *Acosta*, would have a passage cut from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios* in *America*, but[2] *Thuanus* & *Serres*, the *French* Historians, speak of a famous aqueduct in *France*, intended in *Henry* the Fourth's time, from the *Loire* to the *Seine*, and from [the] *Rhone* to [the] *Loire*. The like to which was formerly assayed by *Domitian* the Emperor, [3]from *Arar* to *Moselle*, which *Cornelius Tacitus* speaks of in the 13th of his Annals,[4] after by *Charles* the Great and others. Much cost hath in former times been bestowed in either new making or mending channels of rivers, and their passages, (as *Aurelianus* did by *Tiber* to make it navigable to *Rome* to convey corn from *Egypt* to the City, *vadum alvei tumentis effodit*, saith *Vopiscus*,[5] & *Tiberis ripas exstruxit*, he cut fords, made banks, &c.) decayed havens, which *Claudius* the Emperor with infinite pains and charges attempted at *Ostia*, as I have said,[6] the *Venetians* at this day to preserve their City. Many excellent means to enrich their Territories have been fostered, invented in most Provinces of *Europe*, as planting some *Indian* plants amongst us, silk-worms, [7]the very mulberry leaves in the Plains of *Granada* yield 30,000 crowns *per annum* to the King of *Spain's* coffers, besides those many trades and artificers that are busied about them in the kingdom of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and all over *Spain*. In *France* a great benefit is raised by salt, &c. Whether these things might not be as happily attempted with us, and with like success, it may be controverted, silk-worms (I mean) vines, fir-trees, &c. *Cardan* exhorts *Edward* the Sixth to plant olives, and is fully persuaded they would prosper in this Island. With us navigable rivers are most part neglected; our streams are not great, I confess, by reason of the narrowness of the Island, yet they run smoothly and even, not headlong, swift, or amongst rocks and shelves, as foaming *Rhone* and *Loire* in *France*, *Tigris* in *Mesopotamia*, violent *Douro*

[1 Ch. 40.] [2 Qu. and.] [3 Charles the Great went about to make a channel [=canal] from the Rhine to the Danube. Bil. Pirckheimerus descript. Ger. The ruins are yet seen about Weissenburg from Rednich to Altimul. [Qu. from Raitenbuch to Altmühl?] Ut navigabilia inter se Occidentis et Septentrionis littora fierent. [4 Ch. 53.] [5 Ch. 47.] [6 P. 104, note 11.] [7 Maginus, Geogr. Simlerus, De Rep. Helvet. lib. i. descript.

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in *Spain*, with cataracts and whirl-pools, as the *Rhine*, and *Danube*, about *Schaffhausen*, *Lausenburgh*, *Linz*, and *Cremmes*, to endanger navigators; or broad shallow, as *Neckar* in the *Palatinate*, *Tiber* in *Italy;* but calm and fair as *Arar*[1] in *France*, *Hebrus* in *Macedonia*, *Eurotas* in *Laconia*, they gently glide along, and might as well be repaired many of them (I mean *Wye*, *Trent*, *Ouse*, *Thames* at *Oxford*, the defect of which we feel in the mean time) as the river of *Lee* from *Ware* to *London*. B. *Atwater* of old, or as some will *Henry I.*,[2] made a channel [3]from *Trent* to *Lincoln*, navigable; which now, saith Mr. *Camden*, is decayed, and much mention is made of anchors, & such like monuments, found about old [4] *Verulamium*, good ships have formerly come to *Exeter*, and many such places, whose channels, havens, ports, are now barred and rejected. We contemn this benefit of carriage by waters, & are therefore compelled in the inner parts of this Island, because portage is so dear, to eat up our commodities ourselves, & live like so many boars in a sty, for want of vent and utterance.

We have many excellent havens, royal havens, *Falmouth*, *Portsmouth*, *Milford*, &c., equivalent, if not to be preferred to that *Indian Havanna*, old *Brundusium* in *Italy*, *Aulis* in *Greece*, *Ambracia* in *Acarnania*, *Suda* in *Crete*, which have few ships in them, little or no traffick or trade, which have scarce a village on them, able to bear great cities, *sed viderint politici*.[5] I could here justly tax many other neglects, abuses, errors, defects among us, and in other countries, depopulations, riot, drunkenness, &c., & many such, *quæ nunc in aurem susurrare non libet*.[6] But I must take heed, *ne quid gravius dicam*, that I do not overshoot myself. *Sus Minervam*,[7] I am forth of my element, as you peradventure suppose, and sometimes *veritas odium parit*,[8] as he said, *verjuice and oatmeal is good for a parrot*. For as *Lucian* said of an Historian, I say of a politician, he that will freely speak and write, must be for ever no subject, under no prince or law, but lay out the matter truly as it is, not caring what any can, will, like or dislike.

We have good laws, I deny not, to rectify such enormities, and so in all other countries, but it seems not always to good purpose. We had need of some general visitor in our age, that should reform what is amiss; a just army of *Rosy*-Cross men,[9] for they

[1 Now the Saone.] [2 Camden, in Lincolnshire. Fossedike. [3 =Canal.] [4 Near S. Albans. [5 But let our Statesmen look to it.] [6 Which would give offence now even to whisper in the air.] [7 Cic. Acad. i. 4. The sow teaches Minerva.] [8 Ter. Andr. 68. Truth begets hatred.] [9 Rosicrucians.]

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will amend all matters, (they say) religion, policy, manners, with arts, sciences, &c.; another *Attila, Tamerlane, Hercules*, to strive with *Achelous, Augeæ stabulum purgare*,[1] to subdue tyrants, as [2]he did *Diomedes* and *Busiris:* to expel thiéves, as he did *Cacus* & *Lacinius:* to vindicate poor captives, as he did *Hesione:* to pass the Torid Zone, the deserts of *Libya*, and purge the world of monsters and *Centaurs;* or another *Theban Crates* to reform our manners, to compose quarrels and controversies, as in his time he did, and was therefore adored for a god in *Athens. As Hercules*[3] *purged the world of monsters, and subdued them, so did he fight against envy, lust, anger, avarice, &c. and all those feral vices and monsters of the mind.* It were to be wished we had some such visitor, or (if wishing would serve) one had such a ring or rings, as *Timolaus* desired in [4] *Lucian*, by virtue of which he should be as strong as 10,000 men, or an army of giants, go invisible, open gates & castle doors, have what treasure he would, transport himself in an instant to what place he desired, alter affections, cure all manner of diseases, that he might range over the world, and reform all distressed states and persons, as he would himself. He might reduce those wandering *Tartars* in order, that infest *China* on the one side, *Muscovy. Poland*, on the other; and tame the vagabond *Arabians* that rob and spoil those *Eastern* Countries, that they should never use more *Caravans*, or *Janisaries* to conduct them. He might root out barbarism out of *America*, and fully discover *Terra Australis Incognita*,[5] find out the North-East, and North-West passages, drain those mighty *Mœotian* fens, cut down those vast *Hercynian* Woods,[6] irrigate those barren *Arabian* deserts, *&c.*, cure us of our epidemical diseases, *scorbutum, plica, morbus Neapolitanus, &c.*, end all our idle controversies, cut off our tumultuous desires, inordinate lusts, root out atheism, impiety, heresy, schism, and superstition, which now so crucify the world, catechise gross ignorance, purge *Italy* of luxury and riot, *Spain* of superstition and jealousy, *Germany* of drunkenness, all our Northern countries of gluttony and intemperance, castigate our hard-hearted parents,

[1 Sen. Apoc. 7. 5. To clean the stable of Augeas.] [2 Lilius Girald. Nat. Comes. [3] Apuleius, lib. 4. Flor. [22.] Lar familiaris inter homines ætatis suæ cultus est, litium omnium et jurgiorum inter propinquos arbiter et disceptator. Adversus iracundiam, invidiam, avaritiam, libidinem, ceteraque animi humani vitia et monstra philosophus iste Hercules fuit. Pestes eas mentibus exegit omnes, &c. [4] Votis Navig. [42 sq.] [5 The Unknown Land of Australia.] [6 See Cæsar, B. G. VI. 24-28.]

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masters, tutors; lash disobedient children, negligent servants; correct these spendthrifts and prodigal sons, enforce idle persons to work, drive drunkards off the alehouse, repress thieves, visit corrupt and tyrannizing magistrates, &c. But as *L. Licinius* taxed *Timolaus*, you may us. These are vain, absurd, and ridiculous wishes not to be hoped: all must be as it is, [1] *Bocchalinus* may cite Commonwealths to come before *Apollo*, and seek to reform the world itself by Commissioners, but there is no remedy, it may not be redressed, *desinent homines tum demum stultescere quando esse desinent*,[2] so long as they can wag their beards, they will play the knaves and fools.

Because therefore it is a thing so difficult, impossible, and far beyond *Hercules'* Labours to be performed; let them be rude, stupid, ignorant, incult, *lapis super lapidem sedeat*,[3] and as the [4] Apologist will, *Resp. tussi & graveolentia laboret, mundus vitio*,[5] let them be barbarous as they are, let them [6] tyrannize, epicurize, oppress, luxuriate, consume themselves with factions, superstitions, law-suits, wars and contentions, live in riot, poverty, want, misery; rebel, wallow as so many swine in their own dung, with *Ulysses'* companions, *stultos jubeo esse libenter*.[7] I will yet, to satisfy and please myself, make an *Utopia* of my own, a new *Atlantis*, a poetical Commonwealth of mine own, in which I will freely domineer, build cities, make laws, statutes, as I list myself. And why may I not?

[8] Pictoribus atque Poetis, &c.

You know what liberty Poets ever had, and besides my predecessor *Democritus* was a Politician, a Recorder of *Abdera*, a lawmaker as some say, and why may I not presume so much as he did? Howsoever I will adventure. For the site, if you will needs urge me to it, I am not fully resolved, it may be in *Terra Australis Incognita*,[9] there is room enough (for of my knowledge neither that hungry *Spaniard*,[10] nor *Mercurius Britannicus*, have yet discovered half of it) or else one of those floating Islands in *Mare del Zur*, which, like the *Cyanean* Isles in the *Euxine* Sea,[11]

[1] Ragguaglios, part 2, cap. 2, et part 3, c. 17. [2] Men will only cease to be fools when they cease to be.] [3] Let stone sit above stone.] [4] Valent. Andreæ Apolog. manip. 604. [5] Let the State suffer from coughing and difficulty of breathing, the world from vice.] [6] Qui sordidus est, sordescat adhuc. [Rev. xxii. 11. Vulgate, memoriter.] [7] I gladly bid them be fools.] [8] Hor. [A. P. 9.] [9] The Unknown Land of Australia.] [10] Ferdinando Quir. 1612. [11] The well-known Symplegades.]

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alter their place, and are accessible only at set times, and to some few persons; or one of the Fortunate Isles, for who knows yet where, or which they are? There is room enough in the inner parts of *America*, and northern coasts of *Asia*. But I will choose a site, whose latitude shall be 45 degrees (I respect not minutes) in the midst of the Temperate Zone, or perhaps under the *Equator*, that [1] Paradise of the world, *ubi semper virens laurus, &c.*,[2] where is a perpetual Spring: the longitude for some reasons I will conceal. Yet *be it known to all men by these presents*, that if any honest gentleman will send in so much money, as *Cardan* allows an Astrologer for casting a Nativity, he shall be a sharer, I will acquaint him with my project, or if any worthy man will stand for any temporal or spiritual office or dignity, (for as he said of his Archbishoprick of *Utopia*,[3] tis *sanctus ambitus*,[4] and not amiss to be sought after) it shall be freely given without all intercession, bribes, letters, &c., his own worth shall be the best spokesman; & because we shall admit of no deputies or advowsons, if he be sufficiently qualified, and as able as willing to execute the place himself, he shall have present possession. It shall be divided into 12 or 13 provinces, and those by hills, rivers, road-ways, or some more eminent limits exactly bounded. Each province shall have a *metropolis*, which shall be so placed as a centre almost in a circumference, and the rest at equal distances, some 12 *Italian* miles asunder, or thereabout; and in them shall be sold all things necessary for the use of man, *statis horis & diebus*,[5] no market towns, markets or fairs, for they do but beggar cities (no village shall stand above 6, 7, or 8 miles from a city) except those emporiums which are by the sea side, general staples, marts, as *Antwerp*, *Venice*, *Bergen* of old, *London*, *&c.* Cities most part shall be situate upon navigable rivers or lakes, creeks, havens, and for their form, regular, round, square, or long square, [6] with fair, broad and straight [7] streets, houses uniform, built of brick and stone, like *Bruges*, *Brussels*, *Rhegium Lepidi*,[8] *Berne* in *Switzerland*, *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Crema*, *Cambalu* in *Tartary* described by *M. Polus*,[9] or that *Venetian Palma*. I will admit very few or no suburbs, & those of baser building, walls only to keep out man

[1] Vide Acosta et Laet. [2] Where the laurel is ever green.] [3] Sir Thomas More's Utopia, Prefatory Letter.] [4] Tis a holy ambition.] [5] At stated hours and days.] [6] Vide Patritium, lib. 8. tit. 10. de Instit. Reipub. [7] Sic olim Hippodamus Milesius, Arist. Polit. cap. 11, et Vitruvius l. 1. c. ult. [8] A town in Cis-alpine Gaul.] [9] The well-known Marco Polo.]

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and horse, except it be in some frontier towns, or by the sea side, & those to be fortified [1] after the latest manner of fortification, and sited upon convenient havens, or opportune places. In every so built city, I will have convenient churches, and separate-places to bury the dead in, not in church-yards; a *citadella*[2] (in some, not all) to command it, prisons for offenders, opportune market-places of all sorts, for corn, meat, cattle, fuel, fish, &c. commodious courts of justice, publick halls for all societies, bourses, meeting places, armouries, [3] in which shall be kept engines for quenching of fire, artillery gardens, publick walks, theatres, and spacious fields allotted for all gymnicks, sports, and honest recreations, hospitals of all kinds, for children, orphans, old folks, sick men, mad men, soldiers, pest-houses, &c., not built *precario*,[4] or by gouty benefactors, who, when by fraud and rapine they have extorted all their lives, oppressed whole provinces, societies, &c., give something to pious uses, build a satisfactory alms-house, school, or bridge, &c., at their last end, or before perhaps, which is no otherwise than to steal a goose, and stick down a feather, rob a thousand to relieve ten: and those hospitals so built and maintained, not by collections, benevolences, donaries, for a set number (as in ours), just so many and no more at such a rate, but for all those who stand in need, be they more or less, and that *ex publico ærario*,[5] and so still maintained, *non nobis solum nati sumus*,[6] *&c.* I will have conduits of sweet and good water, aptly disposed in each town, common [7] granaries, as at *Dresden in Misnia*,[8] *Stettin*[9] in *Pomerland*, *Nuremberg*, *&c.* colleges of mathematicians, musicians, and actors, as of old at *Lebedos* in *Ionia*, [10] alchemists, physicians, artists, and philosophers; that all arts and sciences may sooner be perfected & better learned; and publick historiographers, as amongst those ancient [11] *Persians, qui in commentarios referebant quæ memoratu digna gerebantur*, informed and appointed by the state to register all famous acts, & not by each insufficient scribbler, partial or parasitical pedant, as in our times. I will

[1] With walls of earth, &c. [2] A citadel.] [3] De his Plin. epist. 42. lib. 2. et Tacit. Annal. 15. lib. [c. 43.] [4] Only to last a short time.] [5] At the public expense.] [6] Cic. de Off. i. 7. 22. We are not born only for ourselves.] [7] Vide Brisonium de regno Persarum, lib. 3. de his, et Vegetium, lib. 2. cap. 3. de Annona. [8] Misnia is the old name for Saxony. See Carlyle's "Frederick the Great," Book ii. chap. i.] [9] We should now say Stettin in Pomerania.] [10] Not to make gold, but for matters of physick. [11] Brisonius, Josephus, lib. 21. Antiquit. Jud. cap. 6. Herod. lib. 3. [cap. 31.]

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provide publick schools of all kinds, singing, dancing, fencing, &c. especially of grammar & languages, not to be taught by those tedious precepts ordinarily used, but by use, example, conversation,[1] as travellers learn abroad, & nurses teach their children. As I will have all such places, so will I ordain [2] publick governors, fit officers to each place, treasurers, ædiles, quæstors, overseers of pupils, widows' goods, and all publick houses, &c. and those once a year to make strict accounts of all receipts, expenses, to avoid confusion, *& sic fiet ut non absumant* [3] (as *Pliny* to *Trajan,*) [4] *quod pudeat dicere.* They shall be subordinate to those higher officers and governors of each city, which shall not be poor tradesmen, and mean artificers, but noblemen and gentlemen, which shall be tied to residence in those towns they dwell next, at such set times and seasons: for I see no reason (which [5] *Hippolytus* complains of) *that it should be more dishonourable for noblemen to govern the city than the country, or unseemly to dwell there now than of old.* [6] I will have no bogs, fens, marshes, vast woods, deserts, heaths, commons, but all inclosed, (yet not depopulated, and therefore take heed you mistake me not), for that which is common, and every man's, is no man's; the richest countries are still inclosed, as *Essex, Kent,* with us, &c. *Spain, Italy;* and where inclosures are least in quantity, they are best [7] husbanded, as about *Florence* in *Italy, Damascus* in *Syria,* &c., which are liker gardens than fields. I will not have a barren acre in all my territories, not so much as the tops of mountains: where nature fails, it shall be supplied by art: [8] lakes and rivers shall not be left desolate. All common

[1] So Lod. Vives thinks best, Commines, and others. [2] Plato de legg. [vi. p. 758 E.] Ædiles creari vult, qui fora, fontes, vias, portus, plateas, et id genus alia procurent. Vide Isaacum Pontanum de civ. Amstel. hæc omnia, &c., Gotardum et alios. [3 And so they will waste no money, which is a shameful thing to have to mention.] [4 Panegyr. § 20.] [5] De Increm. Urb. cap. 13. Ingenuè fateor me non intelligere cur ignobilius sit urbes bene munitas colere nunc quàm olim, aut casæ rusticæ præesse quàm urbi. Idem Ubertus Foliot, de Neapoli. [6] Ne tantillum quidem soli incultum relinquitur, ut verum sit ne pollicem quidem agri in his regionibus sterilem aut infecundum reperiri. Marcus Hemingius Augustanus de regno Chinæ, l. 1. c. 3. [7] M. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, saith that before that country was inclosed, the husbandmen drank water, did eat little or no bread, fol. 66, lib. 1. their apparel was coarse, they went bare-legged, their dwelling was correspondent; but since inclosure, they live decently, and have money to spend (fol. 23); when their fields were common, their wool was coarse Cornish hair; but since inclosure, it is almost as good as Cotswold, and their soil much mended. Tusser, cap. 52. of his Husbandry, is of his opinion, one acre inclosed is worth three common. The country inclosed I praise; The other delighteth not me; For nothing of wealth it doth raise, &c. [8] Incredibilis navigiorum copia; nihilo pauciores in aquis, quàm in continenti commorantur. M. Riccius, expedit. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 3.

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high-ways, bridges, banks, corrivations of waters, aqueducts, channels, publick works, buildings, &c. out of a [1] common stock curiously maintained and kept in repair; no depopulations, engrossings, alterations of wood, arable, but by the consent of some supervisors that shall be appointed for that purpose, to see what reformation ought to be had in all places, what is amiss, how to help it;

Et quid quæque ferat regio, & quid quæque recuset,[2]

what ground is aptest for wood, what for corn, what for cattle, gardens, orchards, fishponds, &c., with a charitable division in every village, (not one domineering house greedily to swallow up all, which is too common with us), what for lords, [3] what for tenants: and because they shall be better encouraged to improve such lands they hold, manure, plant trees, drain, fence, &c., they shall have long leases, a known rent, and known fine, to free them from those intolerable exactions of tyrannizing landlords. These supervisors shall likewise appoint what quantity of land in each manor is fit for the lord's demesnes, [4] what for holding of tenants, how it ought to be husbanded,

Ut [5] Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis,[6]

[As the Magnesians famous are for horses,
The Argonauts for rowing,]

how to be manured, tilled, rectified, [6] *Hic segetes veniunt, illic feliciùs uvæ, Arborei fœtus alibi, atque injussa vîrescunt Gramina*, and what proportion is fit for all callings, because private possessors are many times idiots, ill husbands, oppressors, covetous, and know not how to improve their own, or else wholly respect their own, and not publick good.

Utopian parity is a kind of government to be wished for [7] rather than effected, *Respub. Christianopolitana*, *Campanella's* City of the Sun, and that New *Atlantis*, witty fictions, but mere *Chimeras*, and *Plato's* Community [8] in many things is impious, absurd and ridiculous, it takes away all splendour and magnificence. I will have several orders, degrees of nobility, and those hereditary, not

[1] To this purpose, Arist. Polit. 2. c. 6. allows a third part of their revenues, Hippodamus half. [2] Virg. Georg. i. 53. And what each locality bears, and what it refuses to bear.] [3] Ita lex agraria olim Romæ. [4] Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvæ, Arborei fœtus alibi, atque injussa virescunt Gramina. Virg. 1. Georg. [54-56.] [5] Lucanus, l. 6. [382.] [6] Virg. [Georg. i. 54-56.] [7] Joh. Valent. Andreas, Lord Verulam, [in his New Atlantis.] [8 = Republic.]

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rejecting younger brothers in the mean time, for they shall be sufficiently provided for by pensions, or so qualified, brought up in some honest calling, they shall be able to live of themselves. I will have such a proportion of ground belonging to every *barony*, he that buys the land shall buy the *barony*, he that by riot consumes his patrimony, & ancient demesnes, shall forfeit his honours.[1] As some dignities shall be hereditary, so some again by election, or by gift (besides free offices, pensions, annuities), like our *Bishopricks*, *Prebends*, the *Bassas'* palaces in *Turkey*, the [2]*Procurator's* houses and offices in *Venice*, which, like the golden apple, shall be given to the worthiest & best deserving both in war and peace, as a reward of their worth and good service, as so many goals for all to aim at, (*honos alit artes*),[3] and encouragements to others. For I hate those severe, unnatural, harsh, *German*, *French*, and *Venetian* decrees, which exclude plebeians from honours, be they never so wise, rich, virtuous, valiant, and well qualified, they must not be *patricians*, but keep their own rank, this is *naturæ bellum inferre*,[4] odious to God and men, I abhor it. My form of government shall be monarchical;

> [5] ——— nunquam libertas gratior exstat,
> Quam sub rege pio, &c.

few laws, but those severely kept, plainly put down, and in the mother tongue, that every man may understand. Every city shall have a peculiar trade or privilege, by which it shall be chiefly maintained: [6]and parents shall teach their children, one of three at least, bring up and instruct them in the mysteries of their own trade. In each town these several tradesmen shall be so aptly disposed, as they shall free the rest from danger or offence: fire-trades, as smiths, forge-men, brewers, bakers, metal-men, &c. shall dwell apart by themselves: dyers, tanners, fell-mongers, and such

[1] So is it in the kingdom of Naples, and France. [2] See Contarenus and Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis. [3] Cic. Tusc. i. 2. Honour nourishes the arts.] [4] To proclaim war against nature.] [5] Claudian. [De Consulatu Stilichonis, iii. 114, 115. Liberty is never more gratifying than under a pious king.] [6] Herodotus Erato, lib. 6. [c. 60.] Cum Ægyptiis Lacedaemonii in hoc congruunt, quod eorum præcones, tibicines, coqui, et reliqui artifices, in paterno artificio succedunt, et coquus à coquo gignitur, et paterno opere perseverat. Idem Marcus Polus de Quinzay. [Book ii. ch. 76. (Ed. Yule.) Quinzay, or Kinsay, the city now called Hangchau-fu. See *Yule's* Marco Polo. "Kinsay represents closely enough the Chinese term *Kingsse*, 'capital.'" *Yule.*] Idem Osorius de Emanuele rege Lusitano. Riccius de Sinis.

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as use water, in convenient places by themselves: noisome or fulsome for bad smells, as butchers' slaughter-houses, chandlers, curriers, in remote places, & some back lanes. Fraternities and companies I approve of, as merchants' bourses, colleges of druggers, physicians, musicians, &c., but all trades to be rated in the sale of wares, as our clerks of the market do bakers and brewers; corn itself, what scarcity soever shall come, not to exceed such a price. Of such wares as are transported or brought in, [1] if they be necessary, commodious, and such as nearly concern man's life, as corn, wood, coals, &c. & such provision we cannot want, I will have little or no custom paid, no taxes; but for such things as are for pleasure, delight, or ornament, as wine, spice, tobacco, silk, velvet, cloth of gold, lace, jewels, &c. a greater impost. I will have certain ships sent out for new discoveries every year, [2] & some discreet men appointed to travel into all neighbour Kingdoms by land, which shall observe what artificial inventions and good laws are in other countries, customs, alterations, or ought else, concerning war or peace, which may tend to the common good. Ecclesiastical discipline *penes Episcopos*,[3] subordinate as the other. No impropriations, no lay patrons of church livings, or one private man, but common societies, corporations, &c. and those Rectors of Benefices to be chosen out of the Universities, examined and approved, as the *Literati* in *China*. No Parish to contain above a thousand auditors. If it were possible, I would have such Priests as should imitate *Christ*, charitable Lawyers should love their neighbours as themselves, temperate and modest Physicians, Politicians contemn the world, Philosophers should know themselves, Noblemen live honestly, Tradesmen leave lying and cozening, Magistrates corruption, &c.; but this is impossible, I must get such as I may. I will therefore have [4] of lawyers, judges, advocates, physicians, chirurgeons, &c. a set number, [5] and every man, if it be possible, to plead his own cause, to tell that

[1] Hippol. à Collibus, de increm. urb. c. 20. Plato, De legibus. Quæ ad vitam necessaria, et quibus carere non possumus, nullum dependi vectigal, &c. [Plato, De legibus, viii. p. 847, B.C.] [2] Plato 12 De legibus. [p. 950 sq.] 40 annos natos vult, ut si quid memorabile viderent apud exteros, hoc ipsum in rempub. recipiatur. [3] In the hand of Bishops.] [4] Simlerus, in Helvetia. [5] Utopienses causidicos excludunt, qui causas callide et vafre tractent et disputent. Iniquissimum censent hominem ullis obligari legibus, quæ aut numerosiores sunt quàm ut perlegi queant, aut obscuriores quàm ut à quovis possint intelligi. Volunt ut suam quisque causam agat, eamque referat judici quam narraturus fuerat patrono; sic minus erit ambagum, et veritas facilius elicietur. Mor. Utop. l. 2.

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tale to the judge, which he doth to his advocate, as at *Fez* in *Africa, Bantam, Aleppo, Ragusa, suam quisque causam dicere tenetur;* those advocates, chirurgeons and [1] physicians, which are allowed, to be maintained out of the [2] common treasure, no fees to be given or taken upon pain of losing their places, or if they do, very small fees, and when the [3] cause is fully ended. [4] He that sues any man shall put in a pledge, which, if it be proved he hath wrongfully sued his adversary, rashly or maliciously, he shall forfeit, and lose. Or else, before any suit begin, the plaintiff shall have his complaint approved by a set delegacy to that purpose; if it be of moment, he shall be suffered as before to proceed, if otherwise, they shall determine it. All causes shall be pleaded *suppresso nomine*, the parties' names concealed, if some circumstances do not otherwise require. Judges and other officers shall be aptly disposed in each Province, Villages, Cities, as common arbitrators to hear causes, and end all controversies, and those not single, but three at least on the bench at once, to determine or give sentence, and those again to sit by turns or lots, and not to continue still in the same office. No controversy to depend above a year, but without all delays and further appeals to be speedily dispatched, and finally concluded in that time allotted. These and all other inferior Magistrates to be chosen [5] as the *Literati* in *China*, or by those exact suffrages of the [6] *Venetians*, and such again not be eligible, or capable of magistracies, honours, offices, except they be sufficiently [7] qualified for learning, manners, and that by the strict approbation of deputed examinators: [8] first Scholars to take place, then Soldiers; for I am of *Vegetius* his opinion, a Scholar deserves better than a Soldier, because *unius ætatis sunt quæ fortiter fiunt, quæ vero pro utilitate reipub. scribuntur æterna*: a Soldier's work lasts for an age, a Scholar's for ever. If

[1] Medici ex publico victum sumunt. Boter. l. 1. c. 5. de Ægyptiis. [2] De his lege Patrit. l. 3. tit. 8. de reip. Instit. [3] Nihil à clientibus patroni accipiant, priusquam lis finita est. Barcl. Argen. lib. 3. [p. 324.] [4] It is so in most free cities in Germany. [5] Mat. Riccius, Exped. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 5. de examinatione electionum copiosè agit, &c. [6] Contar. de repub. Venet. l. 1. [7] Osor. l. 11. de reb. gest. Eman. Qui in literis maximos progressus fecerint maximis honoribus afficiuntur, secundus honoris gradus militibus assignatur, postremi ordinis mechanicis. Doctorum hominum judiciis in altiorem locum quisque præfertur, et qui a plurimis approbatur, ampliores in rep. dignitates consequitur. Qui in hoc examine primas habet, insigni per totam vitam dignitate insignitur, Marchioni similis, aut Duci apud nos. [8] Cedant arma togæ. [Cic. de Offic. i. 22. 77.]

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they [1]misbehave themselves, they shall be deposed, and accordingly punished; & whether their offices be annual [2] or otherwise, once a year they shall be called in question, and give an account; for men are partial, and passionate, merciless, covetous, corrupt, subject to love, hate, fear, favour, &c. *Omne sub regno graviore regnum.*[3] Like *Solon's Areopagites*, or those *Roman* Censors, some shall visit others, and [4]be visited *invicem*[5] themselves, [6]they shall oversee that no prowling officer, under colour of authority, shall insult over his inferiors, as so many wild beasts, oppress, domineer, flea, grind, or trample on, be partial or corrupt, but that there be *æquabile jus*,[7] justice equally done, live as friends and brethren together; and, which [8]*Sesellius* would have and so much desires in his Kingdom of *France, a diapason and sweet harmony of Kings, Princes, Nobles, and Plebeians, so mutually tied and involved in love, as well as laws and authority, as that they never disagree, insult, or encroach one upon another.* It any man deserve well in his office he shall be rewarded;

> ——quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
> Præmia si tollas? [9]
>
> [Who values virtue but for its reward?]

He that invents anything for publick good in any Art or Science, writes a Treatise, [10]or performs any noble exploit at home or abroad, [11]shall be accordingly enriched, [12]honoured, and preferred. I say with *Hannibal* in *Ennius*,[13] *Hostem qui feriet erit mihi Carthaginensis;* let him be of what condition he will, in all offices, actions, he that deserves best shall have best.

Tilianus, in *Philonius*, out of a charitable mind no doubt, wished all his books were gold and silver, jewels and precious stones, [14]to

[1] As in Berne, Lucerne, Freiburg in Switzerland, a vicious liver is uncapable of any office; if a Senator, instantly deposed. Simlerus. [2] Not above three years, Arist. Polit. 5. c. 8. [3] Seneca, Thyestes, 612. Every kingdom is under a bigger kingdom.] [4] Nam quis custodiet ipsos custodes? [Juv. vi. 347-8.] [5] In turn.] [6] Chytraeus, in Greisgeia. Qui non ex sublimi despiciant inferiores, nec ut bestias conculcent sibi subditos, auctoritatis nomini confisi, &c. [7] Cic. Inv. 1. 2.] [8] Sesellius, de rep. Gallorum, lib. 1. & 2. [9] Juv. x. 141, 142.] [10] Si quis egregium aut bello aut pace perfecerit. Sesel. l. 1. [11] Ad regendam rempub. soli literati admittuntur, nec ad eam rem gratia magistratuum aut regis indigent, omnia explorata cujusque scientia et virtute pendent. Riccius lib. 1. cap. 5. [12] In defuncti locum eum jussit subrogari, qui inter majores virtute reliquis præiret; non fuit apud mortales ullum excellentius certamen, aut cujus victoria magis esset expetenda, non enim inter celeres celerrimo, non inter robustos robustissimo, &c. [13] Ann. 8. 40. He who shall slay an enemy shall be to me a Carthaginian.] [14] Nullum videres vel in hac vel in vicinis regionibus pauperem, nullum obæratum, &c.

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redeem captives, set free prisoners, and relieve all poor distressed souls that wanted means; religiously done, I deny not, but to what purpose? Suppose this were so well done, within a little after, though a man had *Cræsus'* wealth to bestow, there would be as many more. Wherefore I will suffer no [1] beggars, rogues, vagabonds, or idle persons at all, that cannot give an account of their lives how they [2] maintain themselves. If they be impotent, lame, blind, and single, they shall be sufficiently maintained in several hospitals, built for that purpose; if married and infirm, past work, or by inevitable loss, or some such like misfortune, cast behind, by distribution of [3] corn, house-rent free, annual pensions or money, they shall be relieved, and highly rewarded for their good service they have formerly done; if able, they shall be enforced to work. [4] *For I see no reason* (as [5] he said) *why an epicure or idle drone, a rich glutton, a usurer, should live at ease, and do nothing, live in honour, in all manner of pleasures, and oppress others, when as in the mean time a poor labourer, a smith, a carpenter, an husbandman, that hath spent his time in continual labour, as an ass to carry burdens, to do the commonwealth good, and without whom we cannot live, shall be left in his old age to beg or starve, & lead a miserable life worse than a jument!* As [6] all conditions shall be tied to their task, so none shall be over-tired, but have their set times of recreations & holidays, *indulgere genio*,[7] feasts and merry meetings, even to the meanest artificer, or basest servant, once a week to sing or dance, (though not all at once) or do whatsoever he shall please; like [8] that *Sacea festum*

[1] Nullus mendicus apud Sinas; nemini sano, quamvis oculis turbatus sit, mendicare permittitur, omnes pro viribus laborare coguntur, cæci molis trusatilibus versandis addicuntur; soli hospitiis gaudent, qui ad labores sunt inepti. Osor. l. 11. de reb. gest. Eman. Heming. de reg. Chin. l. 1. c. 3. Gotard. Arth. Orient. Ind. descr. [2] Alex. ab Alex. 3. c. 12. [3] Sic olim Romæ. Isaac. Pontan. de his optime. Amstel. l. 2. c. 9. [4] Idem Aristot. Pol. 5. c. 8. Vitiosum quum soli pauperum liberi educantur ad labores, nobilium et divitum in voluptatibus et deliciis. [5] Quæ hæc injustitia, ut nobilis quispiam, aut fœnerator, qui nihil agat, lautam et splendidam vitam agat, otio et deliciis, quum interim auriga, faber, agricola, quo respub. carere non potest, vitam adeo miseram ducat, ut pejor quam jumentorum sit ejus conditio? Iniqua resp. quæ dat parasitis, adulatoribus, inanium voluptatum artificibus, generosis et otiosis, tanta munera prodigit, at contrà agricolis, carbonariis, aurigis, fabris, &c. nihil prospicit, sed eorum abusa labore florentis ætatis, fame penset et ærumnis. Mor. Utop. l. 2. [6] In Segovia nemo otiosus, nemo mendicus, nisi per ætatem aut morbum opus facere non potest: nulli deest unde victum quærat, aut quo se exerceat. Cypr. Echovius Delit. Hispan. Nullus Genevæ otiosus, ne septennis puer. Paulus Heutzner, Itiner. [7] Pers. v. 151, to indulge their humour.] [8] Athenæus, l. [14. p. 639. C. Greek is ἑορτὴν Σαείαν.]

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amongst the *Persians*, those *Saturnalia*[1] in *Rome*, as well as his master. [2] If any be drunk, he shall drink no more wine or strong drink in a twelvemonth after. A bankrupt shall be [3] *Catomidiatus in Amphitheatro*, publickly shamed, and he that cannot pay his debts, if by riot or negligence he have been impoverished, shall be for a twelvemonth imprisoned; if in that space his creditors be not satisfied, [4] he shall be hanged. He [5] that commits sacrilege shall lose his hands; he that bears false witness, or is of perjury convict, shall have his tongue cut out, except he redeem it with his head. Murder, [6] adultery, shall be punished by death, [7] but not theft, except it be some more grievous offence, or notorious offenders: otherwise they shall be condemned to the gallies, mines, be his slaves whom they offended, during their lives. I hate all hereditary slaves, and that *duram Persarum legem*,[8] as [9] *Brisonius* calls it; or as [10] *Ammianus*, *impendio formidatas & abominandas leges, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit*, hard law that wife and children, friends and allies, should suffer for the father's offence!

No man shall marry untill he [11] be 25, no woman till she be 20,[12] *nisi aliter dispensatum fuerit*.[13] If one [14] die, the other party shall not marry till 6 months after; and because many families are compelled to live niggardly, exhaust and undone by great dowers, [15] none shall be given at all, or very little, and that by supervisors rated; they that are foul shall have a greater portion; if fair, none at all, or very little: [16] howsoever, not to exceed such a rate as

[1] The Saturnalia, about the time of our Christmas, was a season of general license. See for example Horace, Sat. ii. 7.] [2] Simlerus de repub. Helvet. [3] Spartian. [Adriano, cap. xviii.] Olim Romæ sic. [4] He that provides not for his family, is worse than a thief. Paul [1 Tim. v. 8.] [5] Alfredi lex. Utraque manus et lingua præcidatur, nisi eam capite redemerit. [6] Si quis nuptam stuprârit, virga virilis ei præcidatur; si mulier, nasus et auricula præcidantur. Alfredi lex. En leges ipsæ Veneri Martique timendas! [7] Pauperes non peccant, quum extremâ necessitate coacti rem alienam capiunt. Maldonat. summula quæst. 8. art. 3. Ego cum illis sentio qui licere putant à divite clam accipere, qui tenetur pauperi subvenire. Emmanuel Sa. Aphor. confess. [8] Hard law of the Persians.] [9] Lib. 2. de regno Persarum. [10] Lib. 23. [cap. 6.] [11] Aliter Aristoteles, a man at 25, a woman at 20. Polit. [7. 16. What Aristotle really says is that men should marry at 37, women at 18. Burton has probably made here a confusion between Aristotle and Plato, for Plato, Rep. v. 460, says much the same as text for minimum age of marriage in each case]. [12] Lex. olim Lycurgi, hodie Chinensium; vide Plutarchum, Riccium, Hemmingium, Arniseum, Nevisanum, et alios de hac quæstione. [13] Unless otherwise arranged.] [14] Alfredus. [15] Apud Lacones olim virgines sine dote nubebant. Boter. l. 3. c. 3. [16] Lege cautum non ita pridem apud Venetos, ne quis patricius dotem excederet 1500 coron.

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those supervisors shall think fit. And when once they come to those years, poverty shall hinder no man from marriage, or any other respect, [1] but all shall be rather enforced than hindered, [2] except they be [3] dismembered, or grievously deformed, infirm, or visited with some enormous hereditary disease in body or mind; in such cases, upon a great pain or mulct, [4] man or woman shall not marry, other order shall be taken for them to their content. If people overabound, they shall be eased by [5] colonies.

[6] No man shall wear weapons in any city. The same attire shall be kept, and that proper to several callings, by which they shall be distinguished. [7] *Luxus funerum* [8] shall be taken away, that intempestive expense moderated, and many others. Brokers, takers of pawns, biting usurers, I will not admit; yet because *hic cum hominibus non cum diis agitur*, we converse here with men not with gods, and for the hardness of men's hearts, I will tolerate some kind of usury.[9] If we were honest, I confess, *si probi essemus*, we should have no use of it, but being as it is, we must necessarily admit it. Howsoever most Divines contradict it,

Dicimus inficias, sed vox ea sola reperta est,

[We say No, but 'tis but a word with us,]

it must be winked at by Politicians. And yet some great Doctors approve of it, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Zanchius*, *P. Martyr*, because by so many grand Lawyers, decrees of Emperors, Princes' Statutes, customs of Commonwealths, Churches' approbations, it is permitted, &c. I will therefore allow it. But to no private persons, nor to every man that will, to orphans only, maids, widows, or such as by reason of their age, sex, education, ignorance of trading, know not otherwise how to employ it, and those so

[1] Bux. Synag. Jud. Sic Judæi. Leo Afer, Africæ descript. ne sint aliter incontinentes ob reipub. bonum. Ut August. Cæsar. orat. ad cælibes Romanos olim edocuit. [See Dio Cassius, Lib. 56. capp. 13-29.] [2] Morbo laborans, qui in prolem facile diffunditur, ne genus humanum fœda contagione lædatur, juventute castratur, mulieres tales procul à consortio virorum ablegantur, &c. Hector Boethius, hist. lib. 1. de vet. Scotorum moribus. [3] Speciosissimi juvenes liberis dabunt operam. Plato [Rep. v. pp. 460, 468]. [4] The Saxons exclude dumb, blind, leprous, and such like persons, from all inheritance, as we do fools. [5] Ut olim Romani, Hispani hodie, &c. [6] Riccius lib. 11. cap. 5. de Sinarum expedit. Sic Hispani cogunt Mauros arma deponere. So it is in most Italian cities. [7] Idem Plato 12. de legibus, [p. 959 C, D.] It hath ever been immoderate. Vide Guil. Stuckium, antiq. convival. lib. 1. cap. 26. [8] Display in regard to funerals.] [9] Plato de legibus. [v. p. 742].

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approved not to let it out apart, but to bring their money to a [1] common bank which shall be allowed in every city, as in *Genoa, Geneva, Nuremberg, Venice*, at [2] 5, 6, 7, not above 8 *per centum*, as the supervisors, or *ærarii præfecti* [3] shall think fit. [4] And as it shall not be lawful for each man to be an usurer that will, so shall it not be lawful for all to take up money at use, not to prodigals and spendthrifts, but to merchants, young trades-men, such as stand in need, or know honestly how to employ it, whose necessity, cause, and condition, the said supervisors shall approve of.

I will have no private monopolies, to enrich one man, and beggar a multitude, [5] multiplicity of offices, of supplying by deputies; weights and measures the same throughout, and those rectified by the *Primum mobile*, and Sun's motion, threescore miles to a degree according to observation, 1000 Geometrical paces to a mile, five foot to a pace, twelve inches to a foot, &c., & from measures known it is an easy matter to rectify weights &c., to cast up all, and resolve bodies by Algebra, Stereometry. I hate wars if they be not *ad populi salutem*,[6] upon urgent occasion.

Odimus accipitrem, quia semper vivit in armis.[7]

[We hate the hawk, because always in arms.]

[8] Offensive wars, except the cause be very just, I will not allow of. For I do highly magnify that saying of *Hannibal* to *Scipio*, in [9] *Livy, It had been a blessed thing for you and us, if God had given that mind to our predecessors, that you had been content with Italy, we with Africa. For neither Sicily nor Sardinia are worth such cost and pains, so many fleets & armies, or so many famous*

[1] As those Lombards beyond seas, though with some reformation, mons pietatis, or bank of charity, (as Malines terms it, cap. 33. Lex Mercat. part 2.) that lend money upon easy pawns, or take money upon adventure for men's lives. [2] That proportion will make merchandise increase, land dearer, and better improved, as he hath judicially proved in his tract of usury, exhibited to the Parliament anno 1621. [3] Managers of the treasury.] [4] Hoc fere Zanchius, com. in 4 cap. ad Ephes. Æquissimam vocat usuram, et caritati Christianæ consentaneum, modo non exigant, &c. nec omnes dent ad fœnus, sed ii qui in pecuniis bona habent, et ob ætatem, sexum, artis alicujus ignorantiam, non possunt uti. Nec omnibus, sed mercatoribus, et iis qui honeste impendent, &c. [5] Idem apud Persas olim, lege Brisonium. [6] For salus populi suprema est lex. Cic. Leg. 3. 3. 8.] [7] Ovid, A. A. ii. 147.] [8] Idem Plato [p. 470. Rep. v.] [9] Lib. 30. [cap. 30.] Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem a diis datam esse, ut vos Italiæ, nos Africæ imperio contenti essemus. Neque enim Sicilia aut Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, &c.

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Captains' lives. Omnia prius tentanda,[1] fair means shall first be tried. [2] *Peragit tranquilla potestas, Quod violenta nequit.*[3] I will have them proceed with all moderation: but hear you, *Fabius* my General, not *Minucius, nam* [4] *qui consilio nititur plus hostibus nocet, quam qui sine animi ratione, viribus.*[5] And in such wars to abstain as much as is possible from [6] depopulations, burning of towns, massacring of infants, &c. For defensive wars, I will have forces still ready at a small warning, by land and sea, a prepared navy, soldiers *in procinctu, & quam* [7] *Bonfinius apud Hungaros suos vult, virgam ferream*, and money, which is *nervus belli*,[8] still in a readiness, and a sufficient revenue, a third part, as in old [9] *Rome* & *Egypt*, reserved for the Common-wealth; to avoid those heavy taxes and impositions, as well to defray this charge of wars, as also all other publick defalcations, expenses, fees, pensions, reparations, chaste sports, feasts, donaries, rewards, and entertainments. All things in this nature especially I will have maturely done, & with great [10] deliberation: *ne quid* [11] *temerè, ne quid remissè ac timide fiat. Sed quo feror hospes?*[12] To prosecute the rest would require a volume. *Manum de tabula!*[13] I have been over-tedious in this subject; I could have here willingly ranged, but these straits wherein I am included will not permit.

From common-wealths and cities I will descend to families, which have as many corrosives & molestations, as frequent discontents, as the rest. Great affinity there is betwixt a political and economical body; they differ only in magnitude and proportion of business (so *Scaliger* [14] writes), as they have both likely the same period, as [15] *Bodine* and [16] *Peucer* hold, out of *Plato*, six or seven hundred years, so many times they have the same means of their

[1] Ovid. Met. i. 190.] [2] Claudian [De Consolatu F. L. Mallii Theodori v. c. 239, 240.] [3] Calmness does that which violence can not.] [4] Thucydides. [i. 144. memoriter.] [5] For he who acts sagaciously hurts the enemy more than by mere violence.] [6] A depopulatione, agrorum incendiis, et ejusmodi factis immanibus. Plato [Rep. v. p. 470 A, B.] [7] Hungar. dec. 1. lib. 9. [8] Cic. Philip. v. 2. 5. The nerves of war.] [9] Sesellius, lib. 2 de repub. Gal. Valde enim est indecorum, ubi quid præter opinionem accidit, dicere, Non putaram, presertim si res præcaveri potuerit. Livius, lib. 1. Dion. lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus lib. 2.—— [10] Peragit tranquilla potestas, Quod violenta nequit.—— Claudian [De Consolatu F. L. Mallii Theodori v. c. 239, 240.] [11] Bellum nec timendum nec provocandum. Plin. Panegyr. Trajano [§ 16]. [12] That nothing be done rashly, or remissly and timidly. But where am I rushing to, when quite a novice?] [13] Cic. Ad. fam. 7. 25. 1. But enough, hold!] [14] Lib. 3. poet. cap. 19. [15] Lib. 4. de repub. cap. 2. [16] Peucer. lib. 1. de divinat.

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vexation and overthrows; as, namely, riot, a common ruin of both, riot in building, riot in profuse spending, riot in apparel, &c. be it in what kind soever, it produceth the same effects. A [1] Chorographer of ours, speaking *obiter* [2] of ancient families, why they are so frequent in the North, continue so long, are so soon extinguished in the South, and so few, gives no other reason but this, *luxus omnia dissipavit*, riot hath consumed all. Fine clothes and curious buildings came into this Island, as he notes in his Annals, not so many years since, *non sine dispendio hospitalitatis*, to the decay of hospitality. Howbeit, many times that word is mistaken, and under the name of bounty and hospitality is shrouded riot and prodigality; and that which is commendable in itself well used, hath been mistaken heretofore, is become by his abuse the bane & utter ruin of many a noble family. For some men live like the rich glutton, consuming themselves and their substance by continual feasting and invitations,—with [3] *Axylus* in *Homer*, keep open house for all comers, giving entertainment to such as visit them, [4] keeping a table beyond their means, and a company of idle servants (though not so frequent as of old)—are blown up on a sudden, and, as *Actæon* was by his hounds, devoured by their kinsmen, friends, and multitude of followers. [5] It is a wonder that *Paulus Jovius* relates of our Northern Countries, what an infinite deal of meat we consume on our tables: that I may truly say, 'tis not bounty, not hospitality, as it is often abused, but riot in excess, gluttony, and prodigality, a mere vice; it brings in debt, want, and beggary, hereditary diseases, consumes their fortunes, and overthrows the good temperature of their bodies. To this I might here well add their inordinate expense in building, those phantastical houses, turrets, walks, parks, &c., gaming, excess of pleasure, & that prodigious riot in apparel, by which means they are compelled to break up house, and creep into holes. *Sesellius*, in his Commonwealth of [6] *France*, gives three reasons why the *French* Nobility were so

[1] Camden, in Cheshire. [2] Incidentally.] [3] Iliad. 6. [12—19]. [4] Vide Puteani Comum, Goclenium de portentosis cœnis nostrorum temporum. [5] Mirabile dictu est, quantum opsoniorum una domus singulis diebus absumat; sternuntur mensæ in omnes paene horas, calentibus semper eduliis. Descrip. Britan. [6] Lib. 1. de rep. Gallorum. Quod tot lites et causæ forenses, aliæ ferantur ex aliis, in immensum producantur, et magnos sumptus requirant, unde fit ut juris administri plerumque nobilium possessiones adquirant, tum quod sumptuosè vivant, et à mercatoribus absorbentur et splendidissimè vestiantur, &c.

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frequently bankrupts. *First, because they had so many lawsuits and contentions, one upon another, which were tedious ana costly: by which means it came to pass, that commonly lawyers bought them out of their possessions. A second cause was their riot; they lived beyond their means, and were therefore swallowed up by merchants.* (*La Nove*, a French writer, yields five reasons of his countrymen's poverty, to the same effect almost, and thinks verily, if the Gentry of *France* were divided into ten parts, eight of them would be found much impaired, by sales, mortgages, and debts, or wholly sunk in their estates.) *The last was immoderate excess in apparel, which consumed their revenues.* How this concerns and agrees with our present state, look you. But of this elsewhere. As it is in a man's body, if either head, heart, stomach, liver, spleen, or any one part be misaffected, all the rest suffer with it, so is it with this economical body. If the head be nought, a spendthrift, a drunkard, a whoremaster, a gamester, how shall the family live at ease? [1] *Ipsa si cupiat salus servare, prorsus non potest hanc familiam*, as *Demea* said in the Comedy, safety herself cannot save it. A good, honest, painful man many times hath a shrew to his wife, a sickly, dishonest, slothfull, foolish, careless woman to his mate, a proud, peevish flirt, a liquorish, prodigal quean, and by that means all goes to ruin: or if they differ in nature, he is thrifty, she spends all, he wise, she sottish and soft; what agreement can there be? what friendship? Like that of the thrush and swallow in *Æsop*, instead of mutual love, kind compellations, whore and thief is heard, they fling stools at one another's heads. [2] *Quæ intemperies vexat hanc familiam?* [3] All enforced marriages commonly produce such effects, or if on their behalfs it be well, as to live & agree lovingly together, they may have disobedient & unruly children, that take ill courses to disquiet them, [4] *their son is a thief, a spendthrift, their daughter a whore;* a step [5] mother, or a daughter in law, distempers all; [6] or else for want of means, many tortures arise, debts, dues, fees, dowries, jointures, legacies to be paid, annuities issuing out; by means of which they have not wherewithal to maintain themselves in that pomp as their predecessors have done, bring up or bestow their children to their

[1] Ter. [Adelphi, 761, 762]. [2] Plaut. Captivi, [iv. iv. 3, memoriter.] [3] What madness troubles this family?] [4] Paling. Filius aut fur. [5] Catus cum mure, duo galli simul in æde, Et glotes binæ nunquam vivunt sine lite. [6] Res angusta domi. [Juv. iii. 165.]

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callings, to their birth and quality, [1] and will not descend to their present fortunes. Oftentimes, too, to aggravate the rest, concur many other inconveniences, unthankful friends, decayed friends, bad neighbours, negligent servants, [2] *servi furaces, versipelles, callidi, occlusa sibi mille clavibus reserant, furtimque raptant, consumunt, liguriunt;* casualties, taxes, mulcts, chargeable offices, vain expenses, entertainments, loss of stock, enmities, emulations, frequent invitations, losses, suretyship, sickness, death of friends, and that which is the gulf of all, improvidence, ill husbandry, disorder and confusion; by which means they are drenched on a sudden in their estates, and at unawares precipitated insensibly into an inextricable labyrinth of debts, cares, woes, want, grief, discontent, and melancholy itself.

I have done with families, and will now briefly run over some few sorts and conditions of men. The most secure, happy, jovial, and merry, in the world's esteem are Princes and great men, free from melancholy: but for their cares, miseries, suspicions, jealousies, discontents, folly, and madness, I refer you to *Xenophon's Tyrannus*, where King *Hiero* discourseth at large with *Simonides* the Poet of this subject. Of all others they are most troubled with perpetual fears, anxieties, insomuch that, as he said in [3] *Valerius*, "If thou knewest with what cares and miseries this robe were stuffed, thou wouldst not stoop to take it up." Or put case they be secure and free from fears and discontents, yet they are void [4] of reason too oft, and precipitate in their actions. Read all our histories, *quos de stultis prodidere stulti*, [5] Iliads, Æneids, Annals, and what is the subject?

"Stultorum regum et populorum continet æstus." [6]

[The rage of foolish kings and populations.]

How mad they are, how furious, and upon small occasions, rash

[1] When pride and beggary meet in a family, they roar and howl, and cause as many flashes of discontents, as fire and water, when they concur, make thunderclaps in the skies. [2] Plautus Aulular. [Slaves thievish, cunning, crafty, such as open Doors seal'd with thousand keys, and stealthily Snatch, and consume, and live on nought but dainties. These lines are not in Plautus at all. Burton is especially loose in quoting Plautus.] [3] Lib. 7. cap. 6. [4] Pellitur in bellis sapientia, vi geritur res. [Enn. Ann. 272. p. 41, ed. Vahlen, quoted in Cic. Muren. xiv. 30.] Vetus proverbium, aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere. [Quoted by Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, initio. See also Erasmi Adagia, p. 106.] [5] Which fools have writ of fools.] [6] Hor. Epp. i. ii. 8.]

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and inconsiderate in their proceedings, how they dote, every page almost will witness,

——"delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi." [1]

[When kings are mad, the people have to pay for 't.]

Next in place, next in miseries and discontents, in all manner of hair-brain actions, are great men, *procul a Jove, procul a fulmine,*[2] the nearer the worse. If they live in Court, they are up and down, ebb and flow with their Prince's favours, *Ingenium vultu statque caditque suo,*[3] now aloft, to-morrow down, as [4]*Polybius* de scribes them, *like so many casting counters, now of gold, to-morrow of silver, that vary in worth as the computant will; now they stand for units, to-morrow for thousands; now before all, and anon behind.* Beside, they torment one another with mutual factions, emulations: one is ambitious, another enamoured, a third in debt, a prodigal, over-runs his fortunes, a fourth, solicitous with cares, gets nothing, &c. But for these men's discontents, anxieties, I refer you to *Lucian's* Tract, *De mercede conductis,* [5]*Æneas Sylvius (libidinis & stultitiæ servos,*[6] he calls them), *Agrippa,* and many others.

Of Philosophers and Scholars, *priscæ sapientiæ dictatores,*[7] I have already spoken in general terms, those superintendents of wit and learning, men above men, those refined men, minions of the Muses,

——"[8] mentemque habere quĕis bonam
Et esse [9] corculis datum est,"——

[To whom 'tis given to have brains and intellects.]

[10] These acute & subtle Sophisters, so much honoured, have as much need of hellebore as others; ——[11] *O medici, mediam pertundite venam.* Read *Lucian's Piscator,* and tell how he esteemed them; *Agrippa's* Tract of the Vanity of Sciences; nay read their

[1 Hor. Ep. i. ii. 14.] [2 Far from Jupiter, far from the lightning.] [3 Ov. Fast. i. 18. "Their face, not merit, makes or mars their fortunes." It was so very notably in James I.'s reign.] [4 Lib. [v. 26.] Hist. Rom. Similes tot bacculorum calculis, secundùm computantis arbitrium, modò ærei sunt, modò aurei; ad nutum regis nunc beati sunt, nunc miseri. [5 Ærumnosique Solones, in Sa. 3. De miser. Curialium. [6 Slaves to lust and folly.] [7 Dictators as regards old-world wisdom.] [8 F. Dousæ Epid. lib. 1. c. 13. [9 Hoc cognomento cohonestati Romæ, qui cæteros mortales sapientiâ præstarent. Testis Plin. lib. 7. cap. 34. [10 Insanire parant certa ratione modoque; mad by the book they, &c. [Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 271.] [11 Juvenal. [vi. 46. "O Physicians! open the middle vein."]

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own works, their absurd tenents, prodigious paradoxes, &c.[1] *risum teneatis, amici?*[2] You shall find that of *Aristotle* true, *nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ*,[3] they have a worm as well as others; you shall find a phantastical strain, a fustian, a bombast, a vain glorious humour, an affected style, &c., like a prominent thread in an uneven woven cloth, run parallel throughout their works. And they that teach wisdom, patience, meekness, are the veriest dizzards, hairbrains, and most discontent. [4]*In the multitude of wisdom is grief, & he that increaseth wisdom increaseth sorrow.* I need not quote mine author. They that laugh and contemn others, condemn the world of folly, deserve to be mocked, are as giddy-headed, and lie as open as any other. [5]*Democritus*, that common flouter of folly, was ridiculous himself, barking *Menippus*, scoffing *Lucian*, satirical *Lucilius*, *Petronius*, *Varro*, *Persius*, &c. may be be censured with the rest. *Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.*[6] *Bale*, *Erasmus*, *Hospinian*, *Vives*, *Kemnisius*, explode, as a vast Ocean of *Obs* and *Sols*,[7] School Divinity. [8]A labyrinth of inextricable questions, unprofitable contentions, *incredibilem delirationem*,[9] one calls it. If School Divinity be so censured, *subtilis* [10]*Scotus*, *lima veritatis*, *Occam irrefragabilis*, *cujus ingenium vetera omnia ingenia subvertit*, &c. *Baconthorpe*, (Dr. *Resolutus*, & *Corculum Theologiæ*,) *Thomas* himself, (Doctor [11]*Seraphicus*, *cui dictavit Angelus*,) &c. what shall become of humanity? *Ars stulta*, what can she plead? what can her followers say for themselves? Much learning [12] *cere-comminuit-brum*, hath crackt their sconce, and taken such root, that *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*,[13] hellebore itself can do no good, nor that renowned [14] Lanthorn of *Epictetus*, by which if any man studied, he should be as wise as he was. But all will not serve; rhetoricians *in ostentationem loquacitatis multa agitant*, out of their volubility of

[1 Hor. A. P. 5.] [2 Could you refrain from laughing, my friends?] [3 Seneca, De Tranquillitate, cap. xv. No great genius without a touch of madness.] [4 Solomon. [Eccl. 1. 18.] [5 Communis irrisor stultitiæ. [6 Juv. ii. 23. Let the well-proportioned man deride the bandy-legged, the white man the blackamoor.] [7 These words are abbreviations of the words "objectiones" and "solutiones"—objections and solutions. These contracted forms were frequently used on the margins of works of Divinity. See Nares' *Glossary* for several illustrations.] [8 Wit, whither wilt? [On this phrase see Nares' *Glossary*.] [9 Incredible folly. These words are taken from Cicero's *De. Div.* 2, 43, 90.] [10 Scaliger exercitat. 324. [11 Vit. ejus. [12 Ennius. [Ap. Don. p. 1777. P.] [13 Hor. A. P. 300.] [14 Lucian, [Adversus Indoctum, § 13.] Ter mille drachmis olim empta; studens inde sapientiam adipiscetur.

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tongue will talk much to no purpose; orators can persuade other men what they will, *quo volunt, unde volunt,* move, pacify, &c., but cannot settle their own brains. What saith *Tully?*[1] *Malo indisertam prudentiam quam loquacem stultitiam;* and, as [2]*Seneca* seconds him, a wise man's oration should not be polite or solicitous. [3]*Fabius* esteems no better of most of them, either in speech, action, gesture, than as men beside themselves, *insanos declamatores;* so doth *Gregory, Non mihi sapit qui sermone, sed qui factis sapit.*[4] Make the best of him, a good orator is a turn-coat, an evil man, *bonus orator pessimus vir,* his tongue is set to sale, he is a mere voice, as [5] he said of a nightingale, *dat sine mente sonum,*[6] an hyperbolical liar, a flatterer, a parasite, and, as [7]*Ammianus Marcellinus* will, a corrupting cozener, one that doth more mischief by his fair speeches, than he that bribes by money; for a man may with more facility avoid him that circumvents by money, than he that deceives with glozing terms; which made [8]*Socrates* so much abhor and explode them. [9]*Fracastorius,* a famous Poet, freely grants all Poets to be mad; so doth [10]*Scaliger;* and who doth not? *Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit, Hor. Sat. lib. 2. 7.* [117.] *Insanire lubet, i.e. versus componere. Virg. 3. Ecl.* [36][11] so *Servius* interprets it, all Poets are mad, a company of bitter satirists, detractors, or else parasitical applauders: and what is poetry itself, but, as *Austin* holds, *vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum?*[12] You may give that censure of them in general, which Sir *Thomas More* once did of *Germanus Brixius'* Poems in particular

——— vehuntur
In rate stultitiæ, sylvam habitant furiæ.[13]

Budæus, in an Epistle of his to *Lupsetus,* will have civil law to be the tower of wisdom; another honours physick, the quintessence of nature; a third tumbles them both down, and sets up

[1 Cic. ap. Gell. i. 15. 6. I prefer silent wisdom to talkative folly.] [2 Epist. [115. 1.] Non oportet orationem sapientis esse politam aut sollicitam. [3 Lib. 3. cap. 13. Multo anhelitu, jactatione, furentes, pectus, frontem cædentes, &c. [4 He is not wise who is wise in words, but he who is wise in deeds.] [5 Lipsius. Voces sunt, præterea nihil. [Cf. Plut. Apoph. Laconica, p. 232.] [6 Virg. Æn. x. 640.] [7 Lib. 30. [cap. 4]. Plus mali facere videtur qui oratione quàm qui pretio quemvis corrumpit: nam, &c. [8 In Gorg. Platonis. [9 In Naugerio. [10 Si furor sit Lyæus, &c. quoties furit, furit, furit, amans, bibens, et Poeta, &c. [11 It pleases one to be mad, *i.e.*, to make verses.] [12 Confess. Book i. cap. 16. The wine of error administered by drunken teachers.] [13 [Thomæ Mori Opera, ed. 1563, p. 271. They are borne in the bark of folly, and dwell in the grove of madness.]

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the flag of his own peculiar science. Your supercilious criticks, grammatical triflers, notemakers, curious antiquaries, find out all the ruins of wit, *ineptiarum delicias*, amongst the rubbish of old writers; [1]*pro stultis habent nisi aliquid sufficiant invenire, quod in aliorum scriptis vertant vitio*, all fools with them that cannot find fault; they correct others, & are hot in a cold cause, puzzle themselves to find out how many streets in *Rome*, houses, gates, towers, *Homer's* country, *Æneas'* mother, *Niobe's* daughters, *an Sappho publica fuerit? ovum* [2]*prius exstiterit an gallina?* [3] *&c. &* alia quæ *dediscenda essent scire, si scires*,[4] as [5]*Seneca* holds; what clothes the Senators did wear in *Rome*, what shoes, how they sat, where they went to the close stool, how many dishes in a mess, what sauce; which for the present for an historian to relate, [6]according to *Lodovic. Vives*, is very ridiculous, is to them most precious elaborate stuff, they admired for it, and as proud, as triumphant, in the mean time for this discovery, as if they had won a City, or conquered a Province; as rich as if they had found a mine of gold ore. *Quosvis auctores absurdis commentis suis percacant & stercorant*, one saith, they bewray & daub a company of books and good authors with their absurd comments, *correctorum sterquilinia*[7] *Scaliger* calls them, and shew their wit in censuring others, a company of foolish note-makers, humble bees, dors[8] or beetles, *inter stercora ut plurimum versantur*, they rake over all those rubbish and dunghills, and prefer a manuscript many times before the Gospel itself,[9] *thesaurum criticum*, before any treasure, and with their *deleaturs, alii legunt sic, meus codex sic habet*,[10] with their *postremæ editiones*,[11] annotations, castigations, &c. make books dear, themselves ridiculous, and do nobody good; yet if any man dare oppose or contradict, they are mad, up in arms on a sudden, how many sheets are written in defence, how bitter invectives, what apologies? [12]*Epiphyllides hæ sunt et meræ nugæ.*[13] But I dare say no more of, for, with, or against them, because I am liable to their lash as well as others. Of these and the rest of our Artists and Philosophers, I will generally conclude, they are a kind of mad

[1] Morus, Utop. lib. 11. [2] Macrob. Saturn. 7. 16. [3] Which came first, the egg or the hen? Whether Sappho was no better than she should be? &c.] [4] And other things which you would try to forget, if you knew.] [5] Epist. [88. § 32.] [6] Lib. de causis corrup. artium. [7] Lib. 2. in Ausonium, cap. 19 et 32. [8]=Cockchafers.] [9] Edit. 7. volum. Jano Gutero. [10] Omit so and so, some read so and so, my MS. has so and so.] [11] Last editions.] [12] Aristophanis Ranis. [92.] [13] These are a poor vintage and mere trifles.]

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men, as [1] *Seneca* esteems of them, to make doubts & scruples, how to read them truly, to mend old authors, but will not mend their own lives, or teach us *ingenia sanare, memoriam officiorum ingerere, ac fidem in rebus humanis retinere*, to keep our wits in order, or rectify our manners. *Numquid tibi demens videtur, si istis operam impenderit?* Is not he mad that draws lines with *Archimedes*,[2] whilst his house is ransacked, and his city besieged, when the whole world is in combustion, or we whilst our souls are in danger, (*mors sequitur, vita fugit*)[3] to spend our time in toys, idle questions, and things of no worth?

That [4]lovers are mad, I think no man will deny. *Amare simul & sapere, ipsi Jovi non datur*,[5] *Jupiter* himself cannot intend both at once.

> [6] Non bene conveniunt, nec in unâ sede morantur,
> Majestas & amor.

Tully, when he was invited to a second marriage, replied, he could not *simul amare & sapere*, be wise and love both together. [7] *Est Orcus ille, vis est immedicabilis, est rabies insana*, love is madness, a hell, an incurable disease; *impotentem & insanam libidinem* [8] *Seneca* calls it, an impotent and raging lust. I shall dilate this subject apart; in the mean time let lovers sigh out the rest.

[9] *Nevisanus* the lawyer holds it for an axiom, *most women are fools*, [10] *consilium feminis invalidum; Seneca* men, be they young or old; who doubts it? Youth is mad, as *Elius* in *Tully*,[11] *stulti adolescentuli*, old age little better, *deliri senes, &c.*[12] *Theophrastus*, in the 107th year of his age, [13] said he then began to be wise, *tum sapere cæpit*, & therefore lamented his departure. If wisdom come so late, where shall we find a wise man? Our old ones dote at threescore and ten. I would cite more proofs, and a better author; but for the present, let one fool point at another. [14] *Nevisanus* hath as hard an opinion of [15] rich men, *wealth and*

[1] Lib. [i.] de beneficiis. [cap. iv. § 6.] [2] See Livy, xxv. 31.] [3] Seneca, Epistle 49, § 9. Death follows, life flies.] [4] Delirus et amens dicatur amans. Hor. Seneca. [5] See Erasm. Adagia, 476 E. To love and be wise at the same time is not given to Jupiter himself.] [6] Ovid. Met. [ii. 846, 847. "Majesty and Love do not agree well, nor dwell together."] [7] Plutarch. [On Love, § 13.] Amatorio est amor insanus. [8] Epist. 39. Sylvæ nuptialis, l. 1, num. 11. Omnes mulieres ut plurimum stultæ. [10] Aristotle. [Cf. Pol. ii. 9, and Ethica Magna, i. 34.] [11] [De Senectute, vi. 20.] [12] [Ibid. xi. 36.] [13] Dolere se dixit quod tum vita egrederetur. [Pref. Characters.] [14] Lib. 1. num. 11. Sapientia et divitiæ vix simul possideri possunt. [15] They get their wisdom by eating pie-crust some.

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wisdom cannot dwell together, stultitiam patiuntur opes,[1] [2] and they do commonly [3] *infatuare cor hominis,* besot men; &, as we see it, *fools have fortune.* [4]*Sapientia non invenitur in terra suaviter viventium.*[5] For besides a natural contempt of learning, which accompanies such kind of men, innate idleness (for they will take no pains) and, which [6] *Aristotle* observes, *ubi mens plurima, ibi minima fortuna, ubi plurima fortuna, ibi mens perexigua,*[7] great wealth & little wit go commonly together: they have as much brains some of them in their heads as in their heels; besides this inbred neglect of liberal sciences, and all arts, which should *excolere mentem,* polish the mind, they have most part some gullish humour or other, by which they are led; one is an Epicure, an Atheist, a second a gamester, a third a whoremaster, (fit subjects all for a Satirist to work upon,)

——— [8] Hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum,

[One burns for married women, one for boys;]

[9] one is mad of hawking, hunting, cocking; another of carousing, horse-riding, spending; a fourth of building, fighting, &c.

Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo,[10]

Damasippus hath an humour of his own, to be talked of: [11]*Heliodorus,* the *Carthaginian,* another. In a word, as *Scaliger* concludes of them all, they are *statuæ erectæ stultitiæ,* the very statues or pillars of folly. Choose out of all stories him that hath been most admired, you shall still find *multa ad laudem, multa ad vituperationem magnifica,*[12] as [13]*Berosus* of *Semiramis; omnes mortales militiâ, triumphis, divitiis, &c. tum & luxu, cæde, cæterisque vitiis antecessit;* as she had some good, so had she many bad parts.

[1] Hor. Epp. i. 18. 29.] [2] *χρήματα τοῖς θνητοῖς γίνεται ἀφροσύνη.* Opes quidem mortalibus sunt amentia. Theognis. [230.] [3] Fortuna nimium quem fovet, stultum facit. [Publius Syrus.] [4] Job. 28. [13.] [5] Wisdom is not found in the world among people who are well off.] [6] Mag. moral. lib. 2. et lib. 1. sat. 4. [7] Where are the greatest brains there is the least luck, where most luck there are very poor brains.] [8] Hor. lib. 1. sat. 4. [27]. [9] Insana gula, insanæ obstructiones, insanum venandi studium, discordia demens. Virg. Æn. [vi. 280. We should read *sub*structiones for *ob*structiones, as p. 133. Insanum venandi studium is from Agrippa, *De Vanit. Scient.* cap. 77.] [10] Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 64.] [11] Heliodorus Carthaginiensis ad extremum orbis sarcophago testamento me hic jussi condier, ut viderem an quis insanior ad me visendum usque ad hæc loca penetraret. Ortelius, in Gad. [12] Much to praise, much to blame.] [13] If it be his work, which Gasper Veretus suspects.

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Alexander, a worthy man, but furious in his anger, overtaken in drink: *Cæsar* and *Scipio* valiant and wise, but vain-glorious, ambitious: *Vespasian* a worthy Prince, but covetous: [1] *Hannibal*, as he had mighty virtues, so had he many vices; *unam virtutem mille vitia comitantur*, as *Machiavel* of *Cosmo de Medici*, he had two distinct persons in him. I will determine of them all, they are like these double or turning pictures; stand before which, you see a fair maid on the one side, an ape on the other, an owl; look upon them at the first sight, all is well; but farther examine, you shall find them wise on the one side, and fools on the other; in some few things praiseworthy, in the rest incomparably faulty. I will say nothing of their diseases, emulations, discontents, wants, and such miseries; let Poverty plead the rest in *Aristophanes' Plutus*.

Covetous men, amongst others, are most mad, [2] they have all the symptoms of melancholy, fear, sadness, suspicion, &c. as shall be proved in his proper place.

Danda est hellebori multo pars maxima avaris.[3]

[Most hellebore to misers must be given.]

And yet methinks prodigals are much madder than they, be of what condition they will, that bear a publick or private purse; as a [4] *Dutch* writer censured *Richard*, the rich Duke of *Cornwall*,[5] suing to be Emperor, for his profuse spending, *qui effudit pecuniam ante pedes principum Electorum sicut aquam*, that scattered money like water; I do censure them. *Stulta Anglia* (saith he) *quæ tot denariis sponte est privata, stulti principes Alemanniæ, qui nobile jus suum pro pecuniâ vendiderunt.*[6] Spend-thrifts, bribers, and bribe-takers are fools, and so are [7] all they that cannot keep, disburse, or spend, their monies well.

I might say the like of angry, peevish, envious, ambitious; [8] *Anticyras melior sorbere meracas*;[9] Epicures, Atheists, Schis-

[1] Livy. Ingentes virtutes, ingentia vitia. [xxi. 4, memoriter.] [2] Hor. [Sat. ii. iii. 77-79.] Quisquis Ambitione malâ aut argenti pallet amore, Quisquis luxuriâ, tristique superstitione. Per. [iii. 63, 64.] [3] Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 82.] [4] Chronica Slavonica, ad annum 1257. de cujus pecunia jam incredibilia dixerunt. [5] Son of our King John. See Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, Bk. ii. chap. vii.] [6] Foolish England that has been deprived of so much money, foolish rulers of Germany, who have sold their noble privilege for money!] [7] A fool and his money are soon parted. [8] Orat. de imag. Ambitiosus et audax naviget Anticyra[m. Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 165, 166.] [9] Pers. iv. 16.]

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maticks, Hereticks; *hi omnes habent imaginationem læsam*[1] (saith *Nymannus*), *and their madness shall be evident*, 2 Tim. 3. 9. [2]*Fabatus*, an *Italian*, holds sea-faring men all mad; *the ship is mad, for it never stands still: the mariners are mad, to expose themselves to such imminent danger: the waters are raging mad, in perpetual motion: the winds are as mad as the rest, they know not whence they come, whither they would go: and those men are maddest of all that go to sea; for one fool at home, they find forty abroad.* He was a mad man that said it, and thou peradventure as mad to read it. [3] *Felix Plater* is of opinion all Alchemists are mad, out of their wits; [4] *Athenæus* saith as much of fiddlers, *et musarum luscinias*, [and] [5] musicians, *omnes tibicines insaniunt, ubi semel efflant, avolat illico mens*, in comes musick at one ear, out goes wit at another. Proud and vain-glorious persons are certainly mad; and so are [6] lascivious; I can feel their pulses beat hither, horn-mad some of them, to let others lie with their wives, and wink at it.[7]

To insist [8] in all particulars were an *Herculean* task, to [9] reckon up [10] *insanas substructiones, insanos labores, insanum luxum*, mad labours, mad books, endeavours, carriages, gross ignorance, ridiculous actions, absurd gestures; *insanam gulam, insaniam villarum, insana jurgia*, as *Tully* [11] terms them, madness of villages, stupend structures, as those *Egyptian* Pyramids, Labyrinths & Sphinxes, which a company of crowned asses, *ad ostentationem opum*, vainly built, when neither the Architect nor King that made them, or to what use and purpose, are yet known. To insist in their hypocrisy, inconstancy, blindness, rashness, *dementem temeritatem*, fraud, cozenage, malice, anger, impudence, ingratitude, ambition, gross superstition,[12] *tempora infecta & adulatione sordida*, as in *Tiberius'* times, such base flattery, stupend, parasitical, fawning and colloguing, &c. brawls, conflicts, desires, contentions, it would ask an

[1 All these have an injured imagination.] [2] Navis stulta, quæ continuo movetur; nautæ stulti, qui se periculis exponunt; aqua insana, quæ sic fremit &c.; aër jactatur, &c.; qui mari se committit, stolidum unum terrâ fugiens, 40 mari invenit. Gaspar Ens. Moros. [3] Cap. de alien. mentis. [4] Deipnosophist. lib. 8. [p. 337 F.] [5] Tibicines mente Capti. Erasm. Chi. 14. cer. 7. [Wrong ref. Should be Erasmi Adagia, p. 950.] [6] Prov. 31. Insana libido. Hic rogo non furor est, non est hæc mentula demens? Mart. ep. 76. l. 3. [7 See Non omnibus dormio, Erasmi Adag. p. 223.] [8] Mille puellarum et puerorum mille furores. [Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 325.] [9] Uter est insanior horum? Hor. [Sat. ii. iii. 102], Ovid, Virg. Plin. [10] Plin. [N. H.] lib. 36. [cap. 24.] [11] [Q. Fr. 3. 1. 2 § 5.] [12] Tacitus 3. Annal. [65.]

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expert *Vesalius* to anatomise every member. Shall I say *Jupiter* himself, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. doted; and monster-conquering *Hercules*, that subdued the world, & helped others, could not relieve himself in this, but mad he was at last. And where shall a man walk, converse with whom, in what Province, City, and not meet with Signior *Deliro*, or *Hercules Furens*, *Mænades*, & *Corybantes?* Their speeches say no less. [1]*E fungis nati homines*,[2] or else they fetched their pedigree from those that were struck by *Samson* with the jawbone of an ass; or from *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha's* stones, for *durum genus sumus*, [3]*marmorei sumus*, we are stony-hearted, and savour too much of the stock: as if they had all heard that enchanted horn of *Astolpho*, that English Duke in *Ariosto*,[4] which never sounded but all his auditors were mad, & for fear ready to make away themselves; or landed in the mad haven in the *Euxine* sea of *Daphne insana*,[5] which had a secret quality to dementate; they are a company of giddy-heads, afternoon men, it is Midsummer moon still, & the Dog-days last all the year long, they are all mad. Whom shall I then except? *Ulricus Huttenus* [6]*Nemo; nam Nemo omnibus horis sapit, Nemo nascitur sine vitiis, Crimine Nemo caret, Nemo sorte sua vivit contentus, Nemo in amore sapit, Nemo bonus, Nemo sapiens, Nemo est ex omni parti beatus*, &c.[7] and therefore *Nicholas Nemo*, or Monsieur *No-body* shall go free. *Quid valeat Nemo, Nemo referre potest?* But whom shall I except in the second place? such as are silent, *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*;[8] [9]no better way to avoid folly and madness than by taciturnity. Whom in a third? all Senators, Magistrates; for all fortunate men are wise, and conquerors valiant, and so are all great men, *non est bonum ludere cum diis*,[10] they are wise by authority, good by their office and place, *his licet impune pessimos esse*, (some say) we must not speak [ill] of them, neither is it fit; *per me sint omnia protinus alba*,[11] I will not think

[1] Ovid. 7. [393.] Met. E fungis nati homines ut olim Corinthi primævi illius loci accolæ, quia stolidi et fatui fungis nati dicebantur, idem et alibi dicas. [2] They were men sprung from mushrooms.] [3] Famian. Strada, de bajulis, de marmore semisculptis. [4] Orlando Furioso, Bk. xx.] [5] Arrianus, periplo maris Euxini, portus ejus meminit, et Gillius, l. 3. de Bosphor. Thracio. Et laurus insana quæ allata in convivium convivas omnes insaniâ affecit. Guliel. Stucchius, comment., &c. [6] Lepidum poema sic inscriptum. [7] No one is wise at all hours,—no one is born without faults,—no one is free from crime,—no one lives content with his lot,—no one in love is wise, no good, or wise man, is perfectly happy.] [8] Quoted in Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 2. The man is wise who speaks little.] [9] Stultitiam dissimulare non potes nisi taciturnitate. [10] It is not good to play with the gods.] [11] Pers. i. 110.]

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amiss of them. Whom next? Stoicks? *Sapiens Stoicus*,[1] and he alone is subject to no perturbations, as [2]*Plutarch* scoffs at him, *he is not vexed with torments, or burnt with fire, foiled by his adversary, sold of his enemy. Though he be wrinkled, sand-blind, toothless, and deformed; yet he is most beautiful, and like a god, a king in conceit, though not worth a groat. He never dotes, [is] never mad, never sad, [never] drunk, because virtue cannot be taken away*, as [3] *Zeno* holds, *by reason of strong apprehension*, but he was mad to say so. [4] *Anticyræ cælo huic est opus aut dolabrâ*, he had need to be bored,[5] & so had all his fellows, as wise as they would seem to be. *Chrysippus* himself liberally grants them to be fools as well as others, at certain times, upon some occasions, *amitti virtutem ait per ebrietatem aut atribilarium morbum*, it may be lost by drunkenness or melancholy, he may be sometimes crazed as well as the rest: [6] *ad summum sapiens nisi quum pituita molesta.* I should here except some Cynicks, *Menippus*, *Diogenes*, that *Theban Crates;* or, to descend to these times, that omniscious, only wise fraternity [7] of the *Rosy Cross*, those great Theologues, Politicians, Philosophers, Physicians, Philologers, Artists, &c. of whom *S. Bridget*, *Albas Joacchimus*, *Leicenbergius*, & such divine spirits, have prophesied, & made promise to the world, if at least there be any such (*Hen.* [8] *Neuhusius* makes a doubt of it, [9] *Valentinus Andreas*, & others), or an *Elias* Artifex, their *Theophrastian* master; whom though *Libavius* & many deride & carp at, yet some will have to be *the* [10] *renewer of all arts & sciences*, reformer of the world, & now living; for so *Johannes Montanus Strigoniensis*, that great Patron of *Paracelsus*, contends, and certainly avers [11] *a most divine man*, & the quintessence of wisdom, wheresoever he is; for he, his fraternity, friends, &c. are all [12] *betrothed to wisdom*, if we may believe their disciples and followers. I must needs except *Lipsius* & the Pope, and expunge their name

[1 The Stoick is the wise man.] [2] Extortus non cruciatur, ambustus non læditur, prostratus in lucta, non vincitur; non fit captivus ab hoste venundatus. Etsi rugosus, senex, edentulus, luscus, deformis, formosus tamen, et deo similis, felix, dives, rex, nullius egens, etsi denario non sit dignus. [Stoicos Absurdiora Poetis Dicere, *passim.*] [3] Illum contendunt non injuriâ affici, non insaniâ, non inebriari, quia virtus non eripitur ob constantes comprehensiones. Lips. Phys. Stoic. lib. 3. diffi. 18. [4] Tarreus Hebus, epig. 102. l. 8. [5 *Qu.* Hellebored?] [6] Hor. [Ep. i. i. 108.] [7] Fratres sancti Roseæ Crucis. [8] An sint, quales sint, unde nomem illud asciverint. [9] Turri Babel. [10] Omnium artium et scientiarum instaurator. [11] Divinus ille vir. Auctor notarum in epist. Rog. Bacon. ed Hamb. 1608. [12] Sapientiæ desponsati.

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out of the catalogue of fools. For besides that parasitical testimony of *Dousa*,

> A sole exoriente Mæotidas usque paludes,
> Nemo est qui justo se æquiparare queat;[1]

Lipsius said of himself, that he was [2] *humani generis quidem pædagogus voce & stilo*, a grand Signior, a Master, a Tutor of us all, and for 13 years he brags how he sowed wisdom in the Low Countries, as *Ammonius* the philosopher sometime did in *Alexandria*, [3] *cum humanitate literas, & sapientiam cum prudentia: antistes sapientiæ*,[4] he shall be *Sapientum Octavus*.[5] The Pope is more than a man, as [6] his parats[7] make him, a demi-god, and besides his Holiness cannot err, *in Cathedra* belike: and yet some of them have been Magicians, Hereticks, Atheists, children, and as *Platina* saith of *John* 22, *Etsi vir literatus, multa stoliditatem & levitatem præ se ferentia egit, stolidi & socordis vir ingenii*, a scholar sufficient, yet many things he did foolishly, lightly. I can say no more then in particular, but in general terms to the rest, they are all mad, their wits are evaporated, and as *Ariosto* feigns, l. 34. [staffe 82,] kept in jars above the Moon.

> Some lose their wits with love, some with ambition,
> Some following [8] Lords and men of high condition.
> Some in fair jewels rich and costly set,
> Others in Poetry their wits forget,
> Another thinks to be an Alchemist,
> Till all be spent, and he his number mist.[9]

Convict fools they are, mad men upon record; and I am afraid past cure many of them, [10] *crepant intestina*, the symptoms are manifest, they are all of *Gotham* parish: [11]

> [12] Quum furor haud dubius, quum sit manifesta phrenesis.

[1 "From the rising sun to the Mæotid Lake, there is not one that can fairly put himself in comparison with them."] [2] Solus hic est sapiens, alii volitant velut umbræ. [3] In ep. ad Balthas. Moretum. [4 A paragon of wisdom, Pliny, 7. 30, 31.] [5] Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 296.=The eighth wise man.] [6] Rejectiunculæ ad Patavum. Felinus cum reliquis. [7] This word is a *crux*. Does it mean parrots? Or is it some corruption of apparitors? Taylor, the Water Poet, has *parator*=apparitor.] [8] Magnum virum sequi est sapere, some think; others desipere. Catul. [Nothing of the kind in Catullus. Can *Catul.* be a slip of Burton for *Castalio*, De Aulico?] [9] These lines are from Ariosto, Book 34, staffe 84.] [10] Plaut. Menæc. [v. v. 25.] [11] Gotham was a village in Nottinghamshire, noted for the real or supposed simplicity of its inhabitants. Text = they are all fools.] [12] [Juv.] Sat. 14. [136.]

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What remains then [1] but to send for *Lorarios*,[2] those Officers to carry them all together for company to *Bedlam*, & set *Rabelais* to be their physician.

If any man shall ask in the mean time, who I am, that so boldly censure others, *Tu nullane habes vitia?* have I no faults? [3] Yes more than thou hast, whatsoever thou art. *Nos numerus sumus*,[4] I confess it again, I am as foolish, as mad as any one.

> [5] Insanus vobis videor, non deprecor ipse,
> Quo minus insanus,———
>
> [I seem to you insane, I pray you think so.]

I do not deny it, *demens de populo dematur*.[6] My comfort is, I have more fellows, and those of excellent note. And though I be not so right, or so discreet as I should be, yet not so mad, so bad neither, as thou perhaps takest me to be.

To conclude, this being granted, that all the world is melancholy, or mad, dotes, and every member of it, I have ended my task, and sufficiently illustrated that which I took upon me to demonstrate at first. At this present I have no more to say. *His sanam mentem Democritus*,[7] I can but wish myself and them a good Physician, and all of us a better mind.

And although, for the above-named reasons, I had a just cause to undertake this subject, to point at these particular species of dotage, that so men might acknowledge their imperfections, and seek to reform what is amiss; yet I have a more serious intent at this time; and to omit all impertinent digressions, to say no more of such as are improperly melancholy, or metaphorically mad, lightly mad, or in disposition, as stupid, angry, drunken, silly, sottish, sullen, proud, vain-glorious, ridiculous, beastly, peevish, obstinate, impudent, extravagant, dry, doting, dull, desperate, harebrain, &c. mad, frantick, foolish, heteroclites, which no new [8] *Hospital* can hold, no physick help: my purpose and endeavour is, in the following discourse, to anatomize this humour of melancholy, through all his parts and species, as it is an habit, or an

[1] Or to send for a cook to the Anticyræ, to make hellebore pottage, settle-brain pottage. [2] See A. Gellius, 10. 3. 8.] [3] Aliquantulum tamen inde me solabor, quod unà cum multis et sapientibus et celeberrimis viris ipse insipiens sim; quod [de] se Menippus Luciani in Necyomantia. [4] Hor. Ep. i. 2. 27. I am nothing out of the common.] [5] Petronius in Catalect. [6] Let the mad man be removed from the people!] [7] Democritus Junior wishes them a sound mind.] [8] That I mean of Andr. Vale. Apolog manip. l. 1. et 26, Apol.

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ordinary disease, and that philosophically, medicinally, to shew the causes, symptoms, and several cures of it, that it may be the better avoided; moved thereunto for the generality of it, and to do good, it being a disease so frequent, as [1] *Mercurialis* observes, *in these our days; so often happening*, saith [2] *Laurentius*, *in our miserable times*, as few there are that feel not the smart of it. Of the same mind is *Ælian Montaltus*, [3] *Melancthon*, and others; [4] *Julius Cæsar Claudinus* calls it the *fountain of all other diseases, and so common in this crazed age of ours, that scarce one of a thousand is free from it:* and that splenetick hypochondriacal wind especially, which proceeds from the spleen and short ribs. Being then it is a disease so grievous, so common, I know not wherein to do a more general service, and spend my time better, than to prescribe means how to prevent and cure so universal a malady, an epidemical disease, that so often, so much, crucifies the body and mind.

If I have overshot myself in this which hath been hitherto said, or that it is, which I am sure some will object, too fantastical, *too light and comical, for a Divine, too satirical for one of my profession*, I will presume to answer with [5] *Erasmus*, in like case, 'Tis not I, but Democritus, *Democritus dixit:*[6] you must consider what it is to speak in one's own or another's person, an assumed habit and name; a difference betwixt him that affects or acts a Prince's, a Philosopher's, a Magistrate's, a Fool's part, and him that is so indeed; and what liberty those old Satirists have had, it is a *Cento* collected from others, not I, but they, that say it.

> [7] Dixero si quid fortè jocosius, hoc mihi juris
> Cum veniâ dabis.———
>
> [If I shall speak too freely, grant to me
> Both pardon and indulgence.]

Take heed you mistake me not. If I do a little forget myself, I hope you will pardon it. And to say truth, why should any man be offended, or take exceptions at it?

[1] Hæc affectio nostris temporibus frequentissima. [2] Cap. 15. de Mel. [3] De anima. Nostro hoc sæculo morbus frequentissimus. [4] Consult. 98. Adeo nostris temporibus frequenter ingruit, ut nullus fere ab ejus labe immunis reperiatur, et omnium fere morborum occasio existat. [5] Mor. Encom. [Prefatory Letter to Sir Thomas More.] Si quis calumnietur levius esse quam decet Theologum, aut mordacius quam deceat Christianum. [6 Democritus has said it.] [7] Hor. Sat. [i. 4. 104.]

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——— Licuit, semperque licebit,
Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.[1]

It lawful was of old, and still will be,
To speak of vice, but let the name go free.

I hate their vices, not their persons. If any be displeased, or take ought unto himself, let him not expostulate or cavil with him that said it (so did [2] *Erasmus* excuse himself to *Dorpius, si parva licet componere magnis,*[3] and so do I); *but let him be angry with himself, that so betrayed and opened his own faults in applying it to himself.* [4]*If he be guilty and deserve it, let him amend, whoever he is, and not be angry. He that hateth correction is a fool, Prov.* 12. 1. If he be not guilty, it concerns him not; it is not my freeness of speech, but a guilty conscience, a galled back of his own that makes him winch.[5]

Suspicione si quis errabit suâ,
Et rapiet ad se, quod erit commune omnium,
Stultè nudabit animi conscientiam.[6]

I deny not this which I have said savours a little of *Democritus;* [7] *quamvis ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?* one may speak in jest, & yet speak truth. It is somewhat tart, I grant it, *acriora orexim excitant embammata,* as he said,[8] sharp sauces increase appetite,

[9] Nec cibus ipse juvat morsu fraudatus aceti.[10]

Object then and cavil what thou wilt, I ward all with [11]*Democritus* buckler, his medicine shall salve it; where thou wilt, and when; *Democritus dixit,*[12] *Democritus* will answer it. It was written by an idle fellow, at idle times, about our *Saturnalian* or *Dionysian* feasts, when as he said, *nullum libertati periculum est,*[13] servants in old *Rome* had liberty to say and do what them list [ed.][14] When our

[1] The first line is Horace, A. P. 58. The second line is Martial, x. 33. 10.] [2] Epi. ad Dorpium de Moria. Si quispiam offendatur, et sibi vindicet, non habet quod expostulet cum eo qui scripsit; ipse, si volet, secum agat injuriam, utpote sui proditor, qui declaravit hoc ad se proprie pertinere. [3] Virg. G. iv. 176. If I may compare small things with great.] [4] Si quis se læsum clamabit, aut conscientiam prodit suam, aut certe metum. Phædr. lib. 3. [Introduction, 45-47. memoriter.] [5] Old form for *wince.* See Latham's Johnson.] [6] Phaedr. Fab. Lib. 3. Introduction, 45-47.] [7] Hor. [Sat. i. i. 24, 25.] [8] Columella, 12. 57. fin.] [9] Mart. l. 7. 25. [5.] [10] Not food itself delights without some vinegar.] [11] Ut lubet feriat, abstergam hos ictus Democriti pharmaco. [12] Democritus has said it.] [13] There is no danger in liberty.] [14] See Macrobius, Saturnal. i. 7.]

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countrymen sacrificed to their goddess [1] *Vacuna*, and set tippling by their *Vacunal* fires, I writ this, and published this. Οὔτις ἔλεγεν, it is *neminis nihil*. The time, place, persons, and all circumstances, apologize for me, and why may I not then be idle with others, speak my mind freely? If you deny me this liberty, upon these presumptions I will take it: I say again, I will take it.

> [2] Si quis est qui dictum in se inclementius
> Existimavit esse, sic existimet.

If any man take exceptions, let him turn the buckle of his girdle, I care not. I owe thee nothing (Reader), I look for no favour at thy hands, I am independent, I fear not.

No, I recant, I will not, I care, I fear, I confess my fault, acknowledge a great offence,

> —— motos præstat componere fluctus.[3]
> [But tis well first to calm the troubled billows.]

I have overshot myself, I have spoken foolishly, rashly, unadvisedly, absurdly, I have anatomized mine own folly. And now, methinks, upon a sudden I am awaked as it were out of a dream, I have had a raving fit, a phantastical fit, ranged up and down, in and out; I have insulted over most kind of men, abused some, offended others, wronged myself; and now being recovered, and perceiving mine error, cry with [4] *Orlando*, *Solvite me*, pardon (*O boni*) that which is past, and I will make you amends in that which is to come; I promise you a more sober discourse in my following treatise.

If through weakness, folly, passion, [5] discontent, ignorance, I have said amiss, let it be forgotten and forgiven. I acknowledge that of [6] *Tacitus* to be true, *Asperæ facetiæ, ubi nimis ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt*, a bitter jest leaves a sting behind it: and as an honourable man observes, [7] *They fear a Satirist's wit, he their memories.* I may justly suspect the worst; and though I hope I have wronged no man, yet in *Medea's* words I will crave pardon,

[1] Rusticorum dea præesse vacantibus et otiosis putabatur, cui post labores agricola sacrificabat. Plin. l. 3. c. 12. Ovid. l. 6. Fast. [307, 8.] Jam quoque cum fiunt antiquæ sacra Vacunæ, Ante Vacunales stantque sedentque focos. Rosinus. [2] Ter. Prol. Eunuch. [4, 5.] [3] Virg. Æn. i. 135.] [4] Ariost. l. 39. Staffe 58. [5] Ut enim ex studiis gaudium, sic studia ex hilaritate proveniunt. Plinius Maximo suo, ep. lib. 8. [Ep. xix.] [6] Annal. 15. [68.] [7] Sir Francis Bacon in his Essays, [Essay xxxii.] now Viscount St. Albans.

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——— Illud voce jam extrema peto,
Ne, si qua noster dubius effudit dolor,
Maneant in animo verba, sed melior tibi
Memoria nostri subeat, hæc iræ data
Obliterentur———[1]

And in my last words this I do desire,
That what in passion I have said, or ire,
May be forgotten, and a better mind
Be had of us, hereafter as you find.

I earnestly request every private man, as *Scaliger* did *Cardan*, not to take offence. I will conclude in his lines, *Si me cognitum haberes, non solum donares nobis has facetias nostras, sed etiam indignum duceres, tam humanum animum, lene ingenium, vel minimam suspicionem deprecari oportere.* If thou knewest my [2] modesty and simplicity, thou wouldst easily pardon and forgive what is here amiss, or by thee misconceived. If hereafter, anatomizing this surly humour, my hand slip, as an unskilful prentice I lance too deep, and cut through skin and all at unawares, make it smart, or cut awry, [3] pardon a rude hand, an unskilful knife, tis a most difficult thing to keep an even tone, a perpetual tenor, and not sometimes to lash out; *difficile est satiram non scribere,*[4] there be so many objects to divert, inward perturbations to molest, and the very best may sometimes err; *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus,*[5] it is impossible not in so much to overshoot:

——— opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.[6]

But what needs all this? I hope there will no such cause of offence be given: if there be,

[7] Nemo aliquid recognoscat, nos mentimur omnia.

I'll deny all (my last refuge), recant all, renounce all I have said, if any man except, and with as much facility excuse, as he can accuse; but I presume of thy good favour, and gracious acceptance (gentle reader.) Out of an assured hope and confidence thereof, I will begin.

[1] Seneca's Medea, 553 to 557.] [2] Quod Probus, Persii βιογράφος, virginali verecundiâ Persium fuisse dicit, ego, &c. [Jahn's Persius, p. 236.] [3] Quas aut incuria fudit, Aut humana parum cavit natura. Hor. [A. P. 352, 353.] [4] Juv. i. 30.] [5] Hor. A. P. 359.] [6] Hor. A. P. 360. In a long work for sleep to overtake one is not unlawful.] [7] Prol. quer. Plaut.

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LECTORI MALÈ FERIATO.

TU vero cave, sis, edico, quisquis es, ne temere sugilles Auctorem hujusce operis, aut cavillator irrideas. Immo ne vel ex aliorum censura tacite obloquaris (vis dicam verbo) ne quid nasutulus inepte improbes, aut falso fingas. Nam si talis reverâ sit, qualem præ se fert, *Junior Democritus*, seniori *Democrito* saltem affinis, aut ejus Genium vel tantillum sapiat, actum de te, censorem æque ac delatorem [1] aget e contra (*petulanti splene*[2] *cum sit*), sufflabit te in jocos, comminuet in sales, addo etiam, & *Deo Risui* [see App. M. 3, p. 193, Oud.] te sacrificabit.

Iterum moneo, ne quid cavillere, ne (dum *Democritum Juniorem* conviciis infames, aut ignominiose vituperes, de te non male sentientem), tu idem audias ab amico cordato, quod olim vulgus *Abderitanum* ab [3]*Hippocrate*, concivem bene meritum & popularem suum *Democritum* pro insano habens. *Næ tu, Democrite, sapis, stulti autem & insani Abderitæ.*

[4] Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.

Hæc te paucis admonitum volo (male feriate Lector) abi.[5]

[TO THE READER WHO EMPLOYS HIS LEISURE ILL.

WHOEVER you are, I warn not to insult the Author of this work, or to cavil and mock at him. Nay, do not silently condemn him (to speak in a word) because of the censure of others, nor ineptly and sarcastically disapprove of him, nor make up false tales about him. For if Democritus Junior is really what he professes to be, at least akin to the older Democritus, or smack ever so little of his genius, it is all up with you, he will act the part of your censor and accuser, being of petulant spleen, will inundate you with jokes, crush you with witticisms, and sacrifice you, I may add, to the God of Laughter.

I again warn you not to cavil at all, lest, (while you defame

[1] Si me commôrit, melius non tangere clamo. Hor. [Sat. ii. 1. 45.] [2] Pers. i. 12.] [3] Hippoc. epist. Damageto. Accersitus sum ut Democritum tanquam insanum curarem, sed postquam conveni, non per Jovem desipientiæ negotium, sed rerum omnium receptaculum deprehendi, ejusque ingenium demiratus sum. Abderitanos vero tanquam non sanos accusavi, veratri potione ipsos potius eguisse dicens. [4] Mart. [x. 25.4.]

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Democritus Junior, who has no animosity against you, with your railing, or disgracefully disparage him,) you should hear from some sagacious friend the very word that the people of Abdera of old heard from Hippocrates, when they accounted their well-deserving and popular fellow-townsman Democritus a madman. "You, Democritus, are wise, it is the people of Abdera that are foolish and mad." You have the heart of the people of Abdera. Having warned you thus in a few words, O Reader who employ your leisure ill, good-bye.]

HERACLITE, fleas, misero sic convenit ævo,
Nil nisi turpe vides, nil nisi triste vides,
Ride etiam, quantumque lubet, Democrite, ride,
Non nisi vana vides, non nisi stulta vides.
Is fletu, hic risu, modo gaudeat, unus utrique
Sit licet usque labor, sit licet usque dolor.
Nunc opus est (nam totus, eheu! jam desipit orbis)
Mille Heraclitis, milleque Democritis.
Nunc opus est (tanta est insania) transeat omnis
Mundus in Anticyras, gramen in helleborum.[1]

[WEEP, Heraclĭtus, that suits these bad times,
Nought do you see that it is not vile and sad.
Laugh too, Democrĭtus, as lists you, you
See naught i'th' world but vanity and folly.
Let one delight in tears, t'other in laughs,
Each may find cause perpetual. We need,
Now that the whole world's mad, a thousand such
Weeping and laughing sages. Nay, we need,
So great the madness prevalent, that everyone
Should travel to th' Anticyrae, feed on hellebore.]

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THE SYNOPSIS OF THE FIRST PARTITION.

In diseases consider *Sec.* 1. *Memb.* 1.
- Their Causes. *Subs.* 1.
 - Impulsive;
 - Sin, concupiscence, &c.
 - Instrumental;
 - Intemperance, all second causes, &c.
- Or
- Definition, Member, Division, *Subs.* 2.
 - Of the body 3oo, which are
 - Epidemical, as Plague, Plica, &c.
 - Or
 - Particular; as Gout; Dropsy, &c.
 - Or
 - of the head or mind. *Subs.* 3.
 - In disposition; as all perturbations, evil affection, &c.
 - Or
 - Habits, as *Subs.* 4.
 - Dotage.
 - Phrensy.
 - Madness.
 - Extasy.
 - Lycanthropia.
 - Chorus Sancti Viti.
 - Hydrophobia.
 - Possession or obsession of Devils.
 - Melancholy. See ♈.

♈ Melancholy: in which consider
- Its Æquivocations, in Disposition, Improper, &c. *Subsect.* 5.
- *Memb.* 2. To its explication, a digression of anatomy, in which observe parts of *Subs.* 1.
 - Body hath parts *Subs.* 1.
 - contained as
 - Humours, 4. Blood, Phlegm, &c.
 - Spirits; vital, natural, animal.
 - or
 - containing
 - Similar; spermatical, or flesh, bones, nerves, &c.
 - Dissimilar; brain, heart, liver, &c. *Subs.* 4.
 - Or
 - Soul & his faculties, as
 - Vegetal. *Subs.* 5.
 - Sensible. *Subs.* 6, 7, 8.
 - Rational. *Subsect.* 9, 10, 11.
- *Memb.* 3.
- Its definition, name, difference, *Sub.* 1.
- The part and parties, affected, affection, &c. *Sub.* 2.
- The matter of melancholy, natural, unnatural, &c. *Sub.* 4.
- Species, or kinds, which are
 - Proper to parts, as
 - Of the head alone, Hypochondriacal, or windy melancholy.
 - Of the whole Body.
 - with their several causes, symptoms, prognosticks, cures.
 - Or
 - Indefinite; as Love-melancholy, the subject of the third Partition.
- Its Causes in general. *Sect.* 2. A.
- Its Symptoms or signs. *Sect.* 3. B.
- Its Prognosticks or Indications. *Sect.* 4.
- Its Cures; the subject of the second Partition.

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A. *Sect.* 2. Causes of Melancholy are either

- General, as *Memb.* 1.
 - Supernatural
 - As from God immediately, or by second causes, *Sub.* 1.
 - Or from the devil immediately, with a digression of the nature of spirits and devils, *Sub.* 2.
 - Or mediately by Magicians, Witches, *Sub.* 3.
 - Or
 - Natural
 - Primary as stars, proved by Aphorisms, signs from Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, Chiromancy, *Subs.* 4.
 - Secondary, as
 - Congenite, inward from
 - Old age, temperament, *Sub.* 5.
 - Parents, it being an hereditary disease, *Sub.* 6.
 - or
 - Outward, or adventitious, which are
 - Evident, outward, remote, adventitious, as,
 - Necessary, see 8.
 - Not necessary, as *M.* 4. *S.* 2.
 - Nurses, *Sub.* 1.
 - Education, *Sub.* 2.
 - Terrors, affrights, *Sub.* 3.
 - Scoffs, calumnies, bitter jests, *Sub.* 4.
 - Loss of liberty, servitude, imprisonment, *Sub.* 5.
 - Poverty and want, *Sub.* 6.
 - An heap of other accidents, death of friends, loss, &c. *Sub.* 7.
 - Or
 - Contingent inward, antecedent, nearest. *Memb.* 5. *Sect.* 2.
 - In which the body works on the mind, and this malady is caused by precedent diseases; as agues, pox, &c. or temperature innate, *Sub.* 1.
 - Or by particular parts distempered, as brain, heart, spleen, liver, Mesentery, Pylorus, stomach, &c. *Sub.* 2.
 - Or
 - Particular to the three Species. See II.

II. Particular causes. *Sect.* 2. *Memb.* 5.

- Of head Melancholy are. *Sub.* 3.
 - Inward
 - Innate humour, or from distemperature adust.
 - A hot brain, corrupted blood in the brain.
 - Excess of Venery, or defect.
 - Agues, or some precedent disease.
 - Fumes arising from the stomack, &c.
 - Or
 - Outward
 - Heat of the Sun immoderate.
 - A blow on the head.
 - Overmuch use of hot wines, spices, garlick, onions, hot baths, overmuch waking, &c.
 - Idleness, solitariness, or overmuch study, vehement labour, &c.
 - Passions, perturbations, &c.
- Of hypochondriacal, or windy Melancholy are,
 - Inward
 - Default of spleen, belly, bowels, stomack, mesentery, meseraick veins, liver, &c.
 - Or
 - Months, or hemrods stopt, or any other ordinary evacuation.
 - Outward
 - Those six non-natural things abused.
- Over all the body are, *Subs.* 5.
 - Inward
 - Liver distempered, stopped, over-hot, apt to ingender melancholy, temperature innate.
 - Or
 - Bad diet, suppression of hemrods, &c. and such evacuations, passions, cares, &c. those six non-natural things abused.
 - Outward

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8 Necessary causes, as those six non-natural things, which are, *Sect.* 2. *Mem.* 2.

- Diet offending in *Sub.* 3.
 - Substance
 - Bread; coarse and black, &c.
 - Drink; thick, thin, sour, &c.
 - Water unclean, milk, oil, vinegar, wine, spices, &c.
 - Flesh
 - Parts; heads, feet, entrails, fat, bacon, blood, &c.
 - Kinds: Beef, Pork, Venison, Hares, Goats, Pigeons, Peacocks, Fen fowl, &c.
 - Fish, Herbs, &c.
 - Of fish; all shell-fish, hard and slimy fish, &c.
 - Of herbs; pulse, cabbage, melons, garlick, onions, &c.
 - All roots, raw fruits, hard and windy meats.
 - Quality, as in: Preparing, dressing, sharp sauces, salt meats, indurate, soused, fried, broiled, or made-dishes, &c.
 - Quantity
 - Disorder in eating, immoderate eating, or at unseasonable times, & *Subsect.* 2.
 - Custom; delight, appetite, altered, &c. *Subs.* 3.
- Retention and evacuation, *Subs.* 4.: Costiveness, hot baths, sweating, issues stopped, Venus in excess, or in defect, phlebotomy, purging, &c.
- Air; hot, cold, tempestuous, dark, thick, foggy, moorish, &c. *Subs.* 5.
- Exercise, *Sub.* 6.: Unseasonable, excessive or defective, of body and mind, solitariness, idleness, a life out of action, &c.
- Sleep and waking, unseasonable, inordinate, overmuch, overlittle, &c. *Subs.* 7.
- Passions and perturbations of the mind, *Subs.* 2. With a digression of the force of imagination. *Sub.* 2. & division of passions into *Sub.* 3. *Memb.* 3. *Sect.* 2.
 - Irascible
 - Sorrow, cause and symptom, *Sub.* 4. Fear, cause & symptom, *Sub.* 5. Shame, repulse, disgrace, &c. *Sub.* 6. Envy and malice, *Sub.* 7. Emulation, hatred, faction, desire of revenge, *Sub.* 8. Anger a cause, *Sub.* 9. Discontents, cares, miseries, &c. *Sub.* 10.
 - or
 - concupiscible.
 - Vehement desires, ambition, *Sub.* 11. Covetousness, φιλαργυρία, *Sub.* 12. Love of pleasures, gaming in excess, &c. *Sub.* 13. Desire of praise, pride, vainglory, &c. *Sub.* 14. Love of learning, study in excess, with a digression of the misery of Scholars, and why the Muses are melancholy, *Sub.* 15.

B. Symptoms of melancholy are either. *Sect.* 3.

- General, as of *Memb.* 1.: Body, as ill digestion, crudity, wind, dry brains, hard belly, thick blood, much waking, heaviness and palpitation of heart, leaping in many places, &c. *Sub.* 1.
- or
 - Common to all or most: Fear and sorrow without a just cause, suspicion, jealousy, discontent, solitariness, irksomeness, continual cogitations, restless thoughts, vain imaginations, &c. *Subs.* 2.
 - Or: Celestial influences, as ♄ ☽ ♂, &c. parts of the body, heart brain, liver, spleen, stomach, &c.
 - Humours
 - Sanguine are merry still, laughing, pleasant, meditating on plays, women, musick, &c.
 - Phlegmatick, slothful, dull, heavy, &c.
 - Cholerick, furious, impatient, subject to hear and see strange apparitions, &c.
 - Black, solitary, sad, they think they are bewitcht, dead, &c.
 - Or mixt of these four humours adust, or not adust, infinitely varied.
- Mind
 - Particular to private persons, according to *Sub.* 3. 4.
 - Their several customs, conditions, inclinations, discipline, &c.: Ambitious thinks himself a King, a Lord; covetous runs on his money, lascivious on his mistress; religious hath revelations, visions, is a Prophet, or troubled in mind, a scholar on his book, &c.
 - Continuance of time as the humour is intended or remitted, &c.: Pleasant at first, hardly discerned, afterwards harsh and intolerable, if inveterate.
 - Hence some make three degrees: 1. *Falsa cogitatio.* 2. *Cogitata loqui.* 3. *Exsequi locutum.*
 - By fits, or continuate, as the object varies, pleasing, or displeasing.

Simple, or as it is mixt with other Diseases, Apoplexies, Gout, *caninus appetitus*, &c. so the symptoms are various.

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B Particular symptoms to the three distinct species. *Sect.* 3. *Memb.* 2.

- **Head-melancholy.** *Sub.* 1.
 - In body: Headache, binding, heaviness, vertigo, lightness, singing of the ears, much waking, fixed eyes, high colour, red eyes, hard belly, dry body, no great sign of melancholy in the other parts.
 - Or
 - In mind: Continual fear, sorrow, suspicion, discontent, superfluous cares, solicitude, anxiety, perpetual cogitation of such toys they are possessed with, thoughts like dreams, &c.
- **Hypochondriacal or windy melancholy.** *Sub.* 2.
 - In body: Wind, rumbling in the guts, belly-ache, heat in the bowels, convulsions, crudities, short wind, sour and sharp belchings, cold sweat, pain in the left side, suffocation, palpitation, heaviness of the heart, singing in the ears, much spittle, and moist, &c.
 - Or
 - In mind: Fearful, sad, suspicious, discontent, anxiety, &c. Lascivious by reason of much wind, troublesome dreams, affected by fits, &c.
- **Over all the body.** *Sub.* 3.
 - In body: Black, most part lean, broad veins, gross, thick blood, their hemrods commonly stopped, &c.
 - Or
 - In mind: Fearful, sad, solitary, hate light, averse from company, fearful dreams, &c.
- Symptoms of Nuns, Maids, and Widows, melancholy, in body and mind, &c.
- **A reason of these symptoms.** *Memb.* 3.
 - Why they are so fearful, sad, suspicious without a cause, why solitary, why melancholy men are witty, why they suppose they hear and see strange voices, visions, apparitions.
 - Why they prophesy, and speak strange languages, whence comes their crudity, rumbling, convulsions, cold sweat, heaviness of heart, palpitation, cardiaca, fearful dreams, much waking, prodigious phantasies.

C Prognosticks of melancholy. *Sect.* 4.

- **Tending to good, as**
 - Morphew, scabs, itch, breaking out, &c.
 - Black jaundice.
 - If the hemrods voluntarily open.
 - If varices appear.
- **Tending to evil, as**
 - Leanness, dryness, hollow-eyed, &c.
 - Inveterate melancholy is incurable.
 - If cold, it degenerates often into epilepsy, apoplexy, dotage, or into blindness.
 - If hot, into madness, despair, and violent death.
- **Corollaries and questions.**
 - The grievousness of this above all other diseases.
 - The diseases of the mind are more grevious than those of the body.
 - Whether it be lawful in this case of melancholy, for a man to offer violence to himself. *Neg.*
 - How a melancholy or mad man, offering violence to himself, is to be censured.

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THE FIRST PARTITION.

THE FIRST { SECTION. MEMBER. SUBSECTION.

Man's Excellency, Fall, Miseries, Infirmities; The causes of them.

MAN, the most excellent and noble creature of the World, *the principal and mighty work of God, wonder of Nature*, as *Zoroaster* calls him; *audacis naturæ miraculum, the* [1] *marvel of marvels*, as *Plato; the* [2] *Abridgement and Epitome of the World*, as *Pliny; Microcosmos*, a little world, [3] Sovereign Lord of the Earth, Viceroy of the World, sole Commander and Governor of all the Creatures in it: to whose Empire they are subject in particular, and yield obedience; far surpassing all the rest, not in body only, but in soul; [4] *Imaginis Imago*, [5] created to Gods own [6] *Image*, to that immortal and incorporeal substance, with all the faculties and powers belonging unto it; was at first pure, divine, perfect, happy, [7] *created after God in true holiness and righteousness; Deo congruens*, free from all manner of infirmities, and put in Paradise, to know God, to praise and glorify him, to do his will:

Ut dis consimiles parturiat deos,

(as an old Poet saith) to propagate the Church.

But this most noble creature, *Heu tristis & lacrimosa commutatio* ([8] one exclaims) O pitiful change! is fallen from that he was, and forfeited his estate, become *miserabilis homuncio*,[9] a castaway, a caitiff, one of the most miserable creatures of the world, if he be con-

[1] Magnum miraculum [Laws, Bk. i. p. 644 D.] [2] Mundi epitome, naturæ deliciæ. [3] Finis rerum omnium, cui sublunaria serviunt. Scalig. exercit. 365. sec. 3. Vales. de sacr. Phil. c. 5. [4] Ut in numismate Cæsaris imago, sic in homine Dei. [5] Gen. 1. [26, 27.] [6] Imago mundi in corpore, Dei in anima. Exemplumque dei quisque est in imagine parva. [7] Eph. iv. 24. [8] Palanterius. [9] Cf. Petronius, cap. 34. Seneca, Epistle 116, § 6.]

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sidered in his own nature, an unregenerate man, and so much obscured by his fall (that some few reliques excepted) he is inferior to a beast: [1] *man in honour that understandeth not, is like unto beasts that perish*, so *David* esteems him: a monster by stupend metamorphosis, [2] a fox, a dog, a hog, what not? *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* [3] How much altered from that he was; before blessed and happy, now miserable and accursed! [4] *He must eat his meat in sorrow*, subject to death & all manner of infirmities, all kind of calamities. [5] *Great travail is created for all men, and an heavy yoke on the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, unto that day they return to the mother of all things. Namely their thoughts, and fear of their hearts, and their imagination of things they wait for, and the day of death. From him that sitteth in the glorious throne, to him that sitteth beneath in the earth and ashes; from him that is clothed in blue silk, and weareth a Crown, to him that is clothed in simple linen. Wrath, envy, trouble, and unquietness, and fear of death, and rigour, and strife, and such things come to both man and beast, but sevenfold to the ungodly.* All this befalls him in this life, and peradventure eternal misery in the life to come.

The impulsive cause of these miseries in man, this privation or destruction of God's image, the cause of death and diseases, of all temporal and eternal punishments, was the sin of our first parent *Adam*, [6] in eating of the forbidden fruit, by the devil's instigation and allurement. His disobedience, pride, ambition, intemperance, incredulity, curiosity; from whence proceeded original sin, and that general corruption of mankind, as from a fountain flowed all bad inclinations, and actual transgressions, which cause our several calamities inflicted upon us for our sins. And this belike is that which our fabulous Poets have shadowed unto us in the tale of [7] *Pandora's* box, which, being opened through her curiosity, filled the world full of all manner of diseases. It is not curiosity alone, but those other crying sins of ours, which pull these sever al plagues and miseries upon our heads. For *ubi peccatum, ibi pr o cella*, [8] as [9] *Chrysostom* well observes. [10] *Fools by reason of their transgression, and because of their iniquities, are afflicted.* [11] *Fear cometh like sudden desolation, and destruction like a whirlwind, affliction*

[1] Psal. xlix. 20. [2] Lascivià superat equum, impudentià canem, astu vulpem, furore leonem. Chrys. 23. Gen. [3] Virg. Æn. ii. 274] [4] Gen. iii. 13. [5] Ecclus. xl. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8. [6] Gen. iii. 17. [7] Illa cadens tegmen manibus decussit, et una Perniciem immisit miseris mortalibus atram. Hesiod. Oper. [94, 95.] [8] Where there is sin, there is a storm.] [9] Hom. 5 ad. pop. Antioch. [10] Psal. cvii. 17. [11] Prov. i. 27.

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and anguish, because they did not fear God. [1] *Are you shaken with wars?* (as *Cyprian* well urgeth to *Demetrius*,) *are you molested with dearth and famine? is your health crushed with raging diseases? is mankind generally tormented with epidemical maladies? 'tis all for your sins*, Hag. 1. 9, 10. Amos 1. Jer. 7. God is angry, punisheth, and threateneth, because of their obstinacy and stubborness, they will not turn unto him. [2] *If the earth be barren then for want of rain, if, dry and squalid, it yield no fruit, if your fountains be dried up, your wine, corn, and oil blasted, if the air be corrupted, &c. men troubled with diseases, tis by reason of their sins:* which, like the blood of *Abel*, cry aloud to heaven for vengeance; *Lam.* 5. 15. *That we have sinned, therefore our hearts are heavy*, Isa. 59. 11, 12. *We roar like bears, and mourn like doves, and want health, &c. for our sins and trespasses.* But this we cannot endure to hear, or to take notice of, *Jer.* 2. 30. *We are smitten in vain, and receive no correction;* and *cap.* 5. 3. *Thou hast stricken them, but they have refused to receive correction, they have not returned. Pestilence he hath sent, but they have not turned to him*, Amos 4. [10.] [3] *Herod* could not abide *John Baptist*, nor [4] *Domitian* endure *Apollonius* to tell the causes of the plague at *Ephesus*, his injustice, incest, adultery, and the like.

To punish therefore this blindness and obstinacy of ours, as a concomitant cause, and principal agent, is God's just judgement, in bringing these calamities upon us, to chastise us, I say, for our sins, and to satisfy God's wrath. For the law requires obedience or punishment, as you may read at large, *Deut.* 28. 15. *If they will not obey the Lord, and keep his commandments and ordinances, then all these curses shall come upon them.* [5] *Cursed in the town and in the field, &c.* [6] *Cursed in the fruit of the body, &c.* [7] *The Lord shall send thee trouble and shame, because of thy wickedness.* And a little after, [8] *The Lord shall smite thee with the botch of Egypt, and with emrods, and scab, and itch, and thou canst not be healed.* [9] *With madness, blindness, and astonishing of heart.* This *Paul* seconds, *Rom.* 2. 9. *Tribulation and anguish on the soul of every man that*

[1] Quòd autem crebrius bella concutiant, quòd sterilitas et fames sollicitudinem cumulent, quòd sævientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quòd humanum genus luis populatione vastatur; ob peccatum omnia. Cypr. [2] Si raro desuper pluvia descendat, si terra situ pulveris squaleat, si vix jejunas et pallidas herbas sterilis gleba producat, si turbo vineam debilitet, &c. Cypr. [3] Mat. xiv. 3. [4] Philostratus, lib. 8. vit. Apollonii. [cap. 7.]. Injustitiam ejus, et sceleratas nuptias, et cætera quæ præter rationem fecerat, morborum causas dixit. [5] 16. [6] 18. [7] 20. [8] Verse 27. [9] 28. Deus quos diligit, castigat. [Hebr. xii. 6.]

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doth evil. Or else these chastisements are inflicted upon us for our humiliation, to exercise and try our patience here in this life, to bring us home, to make us to know God and ourselves, to inform & teach us wisdom. [1] *Therefore is my people gone into captivity, because they had no knowledge, therefore is the wrath of the Lord kindled against his people, & he hath stretched out his hand upon them.* He is desirous of our salvation, [2] *nostræ salutis avidus,* saith *Lemnius,* and for that cause pulls us by the ear many times, to put us in mind of our duties: *that they which erred might have understanding,* (as *Isaiah* speaks 29. 24,) *and so to be reformed.*[3] *I am afflicted, and at the point of death,* so *David* confesseth of himself, *Psal.* 88. 15, 9; *mine eyes are sorrowful through mine affliction:* and that made him turn unto God. Great *Alexander,* in the midst of all his prosperity, by a company of parasites deified, and now made a God, when he saw one of his wounds bleed, remembered that he was but a man, and remitted of his pride. *In morbo recolligit se animus,* as [4] *Pliny* well perceived, *in sickness the mind reflects upon itself, with judgement surveys itself, and abhors its former courses;* insomuch that he concludes to his friend *Maximus,* [5] *that it were the period of all philosophy, if we could so continue sound, or perform but a part of that which we promised to do, being sick. Whoso is wise, then, will consider these things,* as *David* did (*Psal.* 107. *v. last;*) and whatsoever fortune befall him, make use of it. If he be in sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity, seriously to recount with himself, why this or that malady, misery, this or that incurable disease, is inflicted upon him; it may be for his good, [6] *sic expedit,* as *Peter* said of his daughter's ague. Bodily sickness is for his soul's health, *periisset nisi periisset,*[7] had he not been visited, he had utterly perished; for [8] *the Lord correcteth him whom he loveth, even as a father doth his child in whom he delighteth.* If he be safe and sound, on the other side, and free from all manner of infirmity; [9] *& cui*

> Gratia, forma, valetudo contingat abundè,
> Et mundus victus, non deficiente crumenâ;

[1] Isa. v. 13, 25. [2] Nostræ salutis avidus, continenter aures vellicat, ac calamitate subinde nos exercet. Levinus Lemn. l. 2. c. 29. de occult. nat. mir. [3] Vexatio dat intellectum. Isa. xxviii. 19. [4] Lib. 7. [Ep. 26, memoriter.] Cum judicio mores et facta recognoscit, et se intuetur. Dum fero languorem, fero religionis amorem. Expers languoris non sum memor hujus amoris. [5] Summum esse totius philosophiæ, ut tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuros esse infirmi profitemur. [Ep. lib. 7. ep. 26.] [6] Petrarch. [7] Cf. Plut. on Exile, § vii.] [8] Prov. iii. 12. [9] Hor. Epis. lib. 1. 4. [9-11.]

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And that he have grace, beauty, favour, health,
A cleanly diet, and abound in wealth;

yet in the midst of his prosperity, let him remember that caveat of *Moses*, [1] *beware that he do not forget the Lord his God;* that he be not puffed up, but acknowledge them to be his good gifts and benefits, and [2] *the more he hath, to be more thankful*, (as *Agapetianus* adviseth) & use them aright.

Now the instrumental causes of these our infirmities are as divers as the infirmities themselves. Stars, heavens, elements, &c. and all those creatures which God hath made, are armed against sinners. They were indeed once good in themselves, and that they are now many of them pernicious unto us, is not in their nature, but our corruption, which hath caused it. For, from the fall of our first parent *Adam*, they have been changed, the earth accursed, the influence of stars altered, the four elements, beasts, birds, plants, are now ready to offend us. *The principal things for the use of man are water, fire, iron, salt, meal, wheat, honey, milk, oil, wine, clothing, good to the godly, to the sinners turned to evil*, Ecclus. 39. 26. *Fire, and hail, and famine, and dearth, all these are created for vengeance*, Ecclus. 39. 29. The heavens threaten us with their comets, stars, planets, with their great conjunctions, eclipses, oppositions, quartiles, and such unfriendly aspects; the air with his meteors, thunder and lightning, intemperate heat and cold, mighty winds, tempests, unseasonable weather; from which proceed dearth, famine, plague, and all sorts of epidemical diseases, consuming infinite myriads of men. At *Cairo* in *Egypt*, every third year, (as it is related by [3] *Boterus*, and others) 300,000 die of the plague; and 200,000 in *Constantinople*, every fifth or seventh at the utmost. How doth the earth terrify and oppress us with terrible earthquakes, which are most frequent in [4] *China, Japan*, and those Eastern Climes, swallowing up sometimes six cities at once! How doth the water rage with his inundations, irruptions, flinging down towns, cities, villages, bridges, &c. besides shipwrecks; whole Islands are sometimes suddenly overwhelmed with all their inhabitants in [5] *Zealand, Holland*, and many parts of the Continent drowned, as the [6] Lake *Erne* in Ireland! [7] *Nihilque præter arcium cadavera Patenti cernimus freto.*

[1] Deut. viii. 11. Qui stat videat ne cadat. [i. Cor. x. 12.] [2] Quanto majoribus beneficiis a Deo cumulatur, tanto obligatiorem se debitorem fateri. [3] Boterus de Inst. Urbium. [4] Lege hist. relationem Lod. Frois de rebus Japonicis ad annum 1596. [5] Guicciard. descript. Belg. anno 1421. [6] Giraldus Cambrens. [7] Janus Dousa, ep. lib. 1. car. 10. [And we perceive nothing except the remains of cities in the open sea.]

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In the fens of *Friesland*, 1230, by reason of tempests, [1] the sea drowned *multa hominum millia, & jumenta sine numero*, all the country almost, men and cattle in it. How doth the fire rage, that merciless element, consuming in an instant whole cities! What town, of any antiquity or note, hath not been once, again and again, by the fury of this merciless element, defaced, ruinated, and left desolate? In a word,

> [2] Ignis pepercit, unda mergit; aëris
> Vis pestilentis æquori ereptum necat;
> Bello superstes, tabidus morbo perit.
>
> Whom fire spares, sea doth drown; whom sea,
> Pestilent air doth send to clay;
> Who war scapes, sickness takes away.

To descend to more particulars, how many creatures are at deadly feud with men! Lions, wolves, bears, &c. some with hoofs, horns, tusks, teeth, nails. How many noxious serpents and venomous creatures, ready to offend us with stings, breath, sight, or quite kill us! How many pernicious fishes, plants, gums, fruits, seeds, flowers, &c. could I reckon up on a sudden, which by their very smell, many of them, touch, taste, cause some grievous malady, if not death itself! Some make mention of a thousand several poisons: but these are but trifles in respect. The greatest enemy to man is man, who by the Devil's instigation is still ready to do mischief, his own executioner, a wolf, a Devil to himself and others.[3] We are all brethren in Christ, or at least should be, members of one body, servants of one Lord, and yet no fiend can so torment, insult over, tyrannize, vex, as one man doth another. Let me not fall therefore, (saith *David*,[4] when wars, plague, famine were offered) into the hands of men, merciless, and wicked men:

> [5] ———Vix sunt homines hoc nomine digni,
> Quamque lupi sævæ plus feritatis habent.
>
> [Scarce are they worthy of the name of men,
> For fiercer far are they than ravening wolves.]

We can most part foresee these epidemical diseases, and likely avoid them. Dearths, tempests, plagues, our Astrologers foretell us; earth-quakes, inundations, ruins of houses, consuming fires, come by little and little, or make some noise before-hand; but the knaveries, impostures, injuries, and villanies, of men no art

[1] Munster. l. 3. Cos. cap. 462. [2] Buchanan. Baptist. [3] Homo homini lupus, [Plaut. Asinaria, ii. iv. 88.] homo homini dæmon. [4] 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.]
[5] Ovid, Trist. l. 5. Eleg. [7. 45, 46.]

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can avoid. We can keep our professed enemies from our cities, by gates, walls, and towers, defend ourselves from thieves and robbers by watchfulness and weapons; but this malice of men, and their pernicious endeavours, no caution can divert, no vigilancy foresee, we have so many secret plots and devices to mischief one another.

Sometimes by the Devil's help, as Magicians, [1] Witches: sometimes by impostures, mixtures, poisons, stratagems, single combats, wars, we hack and hew, as if we were *ad internecionem nati*, like *Cadmus'* soldiers, born to consume one another. 'Tis an ordinary thing to read of a hundred and two hundred thousand men slain in a battle; besides all manner of tortures, brazen bulls, racks, wheels, strappadoes, guns, engines, &c. [2] *Ad unum corpus humanum supplicia plura quam membra:* we have invented more torturing instruments than there be several members in a man's body, as *Cyprian* well observes. To come nearer yet, our own parents by their offences, indiscretion, and intemperance, are our mortal enemies. [3] *The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.*. They cause our grief many times, and put upon us hereditary diseases, inevitable infirmities: they torment us, & we are ready to injure our posterity;

—— [4] mox daturi progeniem vitiosiorem,

[Like to produce still more degenerate stock,]

and the latter end of the world, as [5] *Paul* foretold, is still like to be worst. We are thus bad by nature, bad by kind, but far worse by art, every man the greatest enemy unto himself. We study many times to undo ourselves, abusing those good things which God hath bestowed upon us, health, wealth, strength, wit, learning, art, memory, to our own destruction; [6] *perditio tua ex te.* As [7] *Judas Maccabaeus* killed *Apollonius* with his own weapons, we arm our selves to our own overthrows; and use reason, art, judgement, all that should help us, as so many instruments to undo us. *Hector* gave *Ajax* a sword, which, so long as he fought against enemies, served for his help and defence; but after he began to hurt harmless creatures with it, turned to his own hurtless bowels. Those excellent means God hath bestowed on us, well employed, cannot but much avail us; but if otherwise perverted, they ruin and

[1] Miscent aconita novercæ. [Ovid. Metamorph. i. 147.] [2] Lib. 2. Epist. 2. ad Donatum. [3] Ezech. xviii. 2. [4] Hor. l. 3. Od. 6 [47, 8.] [5] 2 Tim. iii. 2. [6] Ezech. xviii. 31. [7] 1 Macc. iii. 12.

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confound us: and so by reason of our indiscretion and weakness they commonly do, we have too many instances. This *S. Austin* acknowledgeth of himself in his humble Confessions, *promptness of wit, memory, eloquence, they were God's good gifts, but he did not use them to his glory.*[1] If you will particularly know how, and by what means, consult Physicians, and they will tell you, that it is in offending in some of those six non-natural things, of which I shall after [2] dilate more at large; they are the causes of our infirmities, our surfeiting, and drunkenness, our immoderate insatiable lust, and prodigious riot. *Plures crapula quam gladius*, is a true saying, the board consumes more than the sword. Our intemperance it is that pulls so many several incurable diseases upon our heads, that hastens [3] old age, perverts our temperature, and brings upon us sudden death. And last of all, that which crucifies us most, is our own folly, madness, (*quos Jupiter perdit, dementat;*[4] by substraction of his assisting grace God permits it), weakness, want of government, our facility and proneness in yielding to several lusts, in giving way to every passion and perturbation of the mind: by which means we metamorphose ourselves, and degenerate into beasts. All which that Prince of [5] Poets observed of *Agamemnon*, that when he was well pleased, and could moderate his passion, he was—*os oculosque Jovi par:* like *Jupiter* in feature, *Mars* in valour, *Pallas* in wisdom, another God; but when he became angry, he was a lion, a tiger, a dog, &c. there appeared no sign or likeness of *Jupiter* in him; so we, as long as we are ruled by reason, correct our inordinate appetite, and conform ourselves to God's word, are as so many living saints: but if we give reins to lust, anger, ambition, pride, and follow our own ways, we degenerate into beasts, transform ourselves, overthrow our constitutions, [6] provoke God to anger, and heap upon us this of *Melancholy*, and all kinds of incurable diseases, as a just and deserved punishment of our sins.

[1 Confessions, Book i.] [2 Part i. Sec. 2. Memb. 2. [3 Nequitia est quæ te non sinet esse senem. [Ov. Fasti. i. 414.] [4 From a fragment in Euripides. Whom Jupiter desires to destroy, he first drives mad.] [5 Homer. Iliad. [ii. 477-479. Cf. i. 225. But Burton clearly took this from Philostratus, Epist. xxiv.] [6 Intemperantia, luxus, ingluvies, et infinita hujusmodi flagitia, quae divinas pœnas merentur. Crato.

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SUBSEC. 2.—*The Definition, Number, [and] Division of Diseases.*

WHAT a disease is, almost every Physician defines. [1] *Fernelius* calleth it an *affection of the body contrary to nature;* [2] *Fuschius* and *Crato, an hindrance, hurt, or alteration of any action of the body, or part of it;* [3] *Tholosanus, a dissolution of that league which is between body and soul, and a perturbation of it: as health the perfection, and makes to the preservation of it;* [4] *Labeo,* in *A. Gellius, an ill habit of the body, opposite to nature, hindering the use of it;* others otherwise, all to this effect.

How many diseases there are, is a question not yet determined. [5] *Pliny* reckons up 300 from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot: elsewhere he saith, *morborum infinita multitudo,* their number is infinite. Howsoever it was in those times, it boots not; in our days I am sure the number is much augmented:

> —— [6] macies, & nova febrium
> Terris incubuit cohors.

For besides many epidemical diseases unheard of, and altogether unknown to *Galen* and *Hippocrates,* as *scorbutum, small-pox, plica, sweating sickness, morbus Gallicus, &c.* we have many proper and peculiar almost to every part. No man amongst us so sound, of so good a constitution, that hath not some impediment of body or mind. *Quisque suos patimur manes,*[7] we have all our infirmities, first or last, more or less. There will be peradventure [one] in an age, or one of a thousand, like *Zenophilus* the Musician in [8] *Pliny,* that may happily [9] live 105 years without any manner of impediment; a *Pollio Romulus,* that can preserve himself [10] *with wine and oil;* a man as fortunate as *Q. Metellus,* of whom *Valerius* so much brags;[11] a man as healthful as *Otto Herwardus,* a Senator of *Augsburg* in *Germany,* whom [12] *Leovitius* the Astrologer brings in for an example and instance of certainty in his art; who, because he had the significators in his geniture fortunate, and free from the hostile

[1] Fern. Path. l. 1. c. 1. Morbus est affectus contra naturam corpori insidens. [2] Fusch. Instit. l. 3. Sect. 1. c. 3. à quo primum vitiatur actio. [3] Dissolutio fœderis in corpore, ut sanitas est consummatio. [4] Lib. 4. cap. 2. Morbus est habitus contra naturam, qui usum ejus, &c. [5] Cap. 11. lib. 7. [6] Horat. [lib. 1. ode 3. 30, 31.] [7] Virg. Æn. vi. 743.] [8] Cap. 50. lib. 7. Centum et quinque vixit annos sine ullo incommodo. [9] *Qu. haply?*] [10] Intus mulso, foras oleo. [11] Lib. vii. cap. 1.] [12] Exemplis genitur, præfixis Ephemer. cap. de infirmitat.

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aspects of *Saturn* and *Mars*, being a very old man,[1] *could not remember that ever he was sick.* [2] *Paracelsus* may brag that he could make a man live 400 years or more, if he might bring him up from his infancy, and diet him as he list; and some Physicians hold that there is no certain period of man's life, but it may still by temperance and physick be prolonged. We find in the mean time, by common experience, that no man can escape, but that of [3] *Hesiod* is true:

> Πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα,
> Νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἠδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
> Αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι.——
>
> Th' earth's full of maladies, and full the sea,
> Which set upon us both by night and day.

If you require a more exact division of these ordinary diseases which are incident to men, I refer you to Physicians;[4] they will tell you of *acute* and *chronick*, *first* and *secondary*, *lethales*, *salutares*, *errant*, *fixed*, *simple*, *compound*, *connexed*, or *consequent*, belonging to *parts* or the whole, in *habit* or in *disposition*, &c. My division at this time (as most befitting my purpose) shall be into those of the body and mind. For them of the body, a brief catalogue of which *Fuschius* hath *made*, *Institut. lib.* 3. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 11, I refer you to the voluminous tomes of *Galen*, *Aretaeus*, *Rhasis*, *Avicenna*, *Alexander*, *Paulus*, *Aëtius*, *Gordonerius*, and those exact Neotericks, *Savanarola*, *Capivaccius*, *Donatus Altomarus*, *Hercules de Saxonia*, *Mercurialis*, *Victorius Faventinus*, *Wecker*, *Piso*, &c. that have methodically and elaborately written of them all. Those of the mind and head I will briefly handle, and apart.

SUBSEC. 3.—*Division of the Diseases of the Head.*

THESE diseases of the mind, forasmuch as they have their chief seat and organs in the head, are commonly repeated amongst the diseases of the head, which are divers, & vary much according to their site. For in the head, as there be several parts, so there be divers grievances, which, according to that division of [5] *Heurnius*, (which he takes out of *Arculanus*), are inward or outward (to omit all others which pertain to eyes and ears, nostrils, gums, teeth,

[1] Qui, quoad pueritiæ ultimam memoriam recordari potest, non meminit se ægrotum decubuisse. [2] Lib de vita longa. [3] Oper. et Dies [101-103.] [4] See Fernelius, Path. lib. 1. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12. Fuschius instit. l. 3. sec. 1, c. 7. Wecker. Synt. [5] Præfat. de morbis capitis. In capite ut variæ habitant partes, ita variæ querelæ ibi eveniunt.

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mouth, palate, tongue, wesel,[1] chops, face, &c.) belonging properly to the brain, as baldness, falling of hair, furfaire,[2] lice, &c. [3] Inward belonging to the skins next to the brain, called *dura* and *pia mater*, as all head-aches, &c., or to the ventricles, cauls, kells,[4] tunicles, creeks, and parts of it, and their passions, as *caro, vertigo, incubus, apoplexy, falling sickness.* The diseases of the *nerves, cramps, stupor, convulsion, tremor, palsy:* or belonging to the excrements of the brain, *catarrhs, sneezing, rheums, distillations:* or else those that pertain to the substance of the brain itself, in which are conceived *phrenzy, lethargy, melancholy, madness, weak memory, sopor*, or *coma vigilia & vigil coma.* Out of these again I will single such as properly belong to the *phantasy*, or *imagination*, or *reason* itself, which [5] *Laurentius* calls the diseases of the mind; & *Hildesheim, morbos imaginationis, aut rationis læsæ*, which are three or four in number, *phrenzy, madness, melancholy, dotage*, and their kinds: *Hydrophobia, Lycanthropia, Chorus Sancti Viti, morbi dæmoniaci:* which I will briefly touch and point at, insisting especially in this of *Melancholy*, as more eminent than the rest, and that through all his kinds, causes, symptoms, prognosticks, cures: as *Lonicerus* hath done *de Apoplexiâ*, and many others of such particular diseases. Not that I find fault with those which have written of this subject before, as *Jason Pratensis, Laurentius, Montaltus, T. Bright*, &c., they have done very well in their several kinds and methods; yet that which one omits, another may haply see; that which one contracts, another may enlarge. To conclude with [6] *Scribanius, that which they had neglected, or prefunctorily handled, we may more thoroughly examine; that which is obscurely delivered in them, may be perspicuously dilated and amplified by us:* and so made more familiar and easy for every man's capacity, and the common good; which is the chief end of my discourse.

SUBSEC. 4.—*Dotage, Phrenzy, Madness, Hydrophobia, Lycanthropia, Chorus Sancti Viti, Extasis.*

DOTAGE, fatuity, or folly, is a common name to all the following species, as some will have it. [7] *Laurentius* and [8] *Altomarus* com-

[1] *i.e.*, windpipe.] [2] Scurf, or dandriff.] [3] Of which read Heurnius, Montaltus, Hildesheim, Quercetan, Jason Pratensis, &c. [4] Cauls.] [5] Cap. 2. de melancholi. [6] Cap. 2. de Physiologia sagarum. Quod alii minus recte fortasse dixerint, nos examinare, melius dijudicare, corrigere, studeamus. [7] Cap. 4. de mel. [8] Art. Med. c. 7.

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prehended *madness*, *melancholy*, and the rest under this name, and call it the *summum genus* of them all. If it be distinguished from them, it is *natural* or *ingenite*, which comes by some defect of the organs, and over-much brain, as we see in our common fools; and is for the most part intended or remitted in particular men, and thereupon some are wiser than others: or else it is acquisite, an appendix or symptom of some other disease, which comes or goes; or, if it continue, a sign of *melancholy* itself.

Phrenitis, which the Greeks derive from the word φρήν,[1] is a disease of the mind, with a continual madness or dotage, which hath an acute fever annexed, or else an inflammation of the brain, or the membranes or kells[2] of it, with an acute fever, which causeth madness and dotage. It differs from *melancholy* and *madness*, because their dotage is without an ague; this continual, with waking, or memory decayed, &c. *Melancholy* is most part sllent, this clamorous; and many such like differences are assigned by Physicians.

Madness, *phrenzy*, and *melancholy*, are confounded by *Celsus* and many Writers; others leave out *phrenzy*, and make *madness* and *melancholy* but one disease, which [3]*Jason Pratensis* especially labours, and that they differ only *secundum majus* or *minus*, in quantity alone, the one being a degree to the other, and both proceeding from one cause. They differ *intenso & remisso gradu*, saith [4]*Gordonius*, as the humour is intended or remitted. Of the same mind is [5]*Aretæus*, *Alexander Tertullianus*, *Guianerius*, *Savanarola*, *Heurnius*; and *Galen* himself writes promiscuously of them both by reason of their affinity: but most of our neotericks do handle them apart, whom I will follow in this treatise. *Madness* is therefore defined to be a vehement *dotage*, or raving without a fever, far more violent than *melancholy*, full of anger and clamour, horrible looks, actions, gestures, troubling the patients with far greater vehemency both of body and mind, without all fear and sorrow, with such impetuous force & boldness, that sometimes three or four men cannot hold them. Differing only in this from *phrenzy*, that it is without a fever, and their memory is most part better. It hath the same causes as the other, as choler

[1 The mind.] [2 =Cauls.] 3 Plerique medici uno complexu perstringunt hos duos morbos, quod ex eadem causa oriantur, quodque magnitudine et modo solùm distent, et alter gradus ad alterum existat. Jason Pratens. 4 Lib. Med. 5 Pars maniæ mihi videtur.

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adust, and blood incensed, brains inflamed, &c. [1] *Fracastorius* adds, *a due time, and full age, to this definition, to distinguish it from children, & will have it confirmed impotency, to separate it from such as accidentally come and go again, as by taking henbane, nightshade, wine, &c.* Of this fury there be divers kinds; [2] *ecstasy*, which is familiar with some persons, as *Cardan* saith of himself, he could be in one when he list; in which the *Indian* priests deliver their oracles, and the witches in *Lapland*, as *Olaus Magnus* writeth, *l.* 3. *cap.* 18, *ecstasi omnia prædicere*, answer all questions in an ecstasy you will ask; what your friends do, where they are, how they fare, &c. The other *species* of this fury are *enthusiasms*, *revelations*, and *visions*, so often mentioned by *Gregory* and *Bede* in their works; obsession or possession of devils, *Sibylline Prophets*, and poetical *Furies;* such as come by eating noxious herbs, tarantula's stinging, &c. which some reduce to this. The most known are these, *Lycanthropia*, *Hydrophobia*, *Chorus Sancti Viti.*

Lycanthropia, which *Avicenna* calls *Cucubuth*, others *Lupinam insaniam*, or Wolf-madness, when men run howling about graves and fields in the night, and will not be persuaded but that they are wolves, or some such beasts. [3] *Aëtius* and [4] *Paulus* call it a kind of *Melancholy;* but I should rather refer it to *Madness*, as most do. Some make a doubt of it whether there be any such disease. [5] *Donat. ab Altomari* saith, that he saw two of them in his time: [6] *Wierus* tells a story of such a one at *Padua*, 1541, that would not believe to the contrary, but that he was a wolf. He hath another instance of a *Spaniard*, who thought himself a bear: [7] *Forestus* confirms as much by many examples; one amongst the rest of which he was an eye-witness, at *Alkmaar* in *Holland*, a poor husbandman that still hunted about graves, & kept in churchyards, of a pale, black, ugly, & fearful look. Such belike, or little better, were *King Prætus'* [8] daughters, that thought themselves kine. And *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Daniel*, as some interpreters hold, was only troubled with this kind of

[1] Insanus est, qui ætate debitâ, et tempore debito per se, non momentaneam et fugacem, ut vini, solani, hyoscyami, sed confirmatam habet impotentiam been operandi circa intellectum. lib. 2. de intellectione. [2] Of which read Felix Plater, cap. 3. de mentis alienatione. [3] Lib. 6. cap. 11. [4] Lib. 3. cap. 16. [5] Cap. 9. Art. med. [6] De præstig. Dæmonum. l. 3. cap. 21. [7] Observat. lib. 10, de morbis cerebri, cap. 15. [8] Hippocrates, lib. de insania. [Virg. Ecl. vi. 48. Ov. Met. xv. 326.]

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madness. This disease perhaps gave occasion to that bold assertion of [1] *Pliny, some men were turned into wolves in his time, and from wolves to men again:* and to that fable of *Pausanias*,[2] of a man that was ten years a wolf, and afterwards turned to his former shape: to [3] *Ovid's* tale of *Lycaon, &c.* He that is desirous to hear of this Disease, or more examples, let him read *Austin* in his 18th Book *De Civitate Dei, cap.* 5; *Mizaldus, cent.* 5. 77; *Sckenkius, lib.* 1; *Hildesheim, spicil.* 2. *de Mania; Forestus, lib.* 10. *de morbis cerebri; Olaus Magnus; Vincentius Bellavicensis, spec. met. lib.* 31. *c.* 122; *Pierius, Bodine, Zuinger, Zeilger, Peucer, Wierus, Spranger, &c. This malady*, saith *Avicenna*, troubleth men most in February, and is now-a-days frequent in *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, according to [4] *Heurnius. Schernitzius* will have it common in *Livonia.* They lie hid most part all day, and go abroad in the night, barking, howling, at graves and deserts; [5] *they have usually hollow eyes, scabbed legs and thighs, very dry and pale,* [6] saith *Altomarus;* he gives a reason there of all the symptoms, and sets down a brief cure of them.

Hydrophobia is a kind of madness, well known in every village, which comes by the biting of a mad dog, or scratching, saith [7] *Aurelianus;* touching or smelling alone sometimes, as [8] *Sckenkius* proves, and is incident to many other creatures as well as men: so called because the parties affected cannot endure the sight of water, or any liquor, supposing still they see a mad dog in it. And which is more wonderful, though they be very dry, (as in this malady they are) they will rather die than drink. [9] *Cælius Aurelianus*, an ancient writer, makes a doubt whether this *Hydrophobia* be a passion of the body or the mind. The part affected is the brain: the cause, poison that comes from the mad dog, which is so hot and dry, that it consumes all the moisture in the body. [10] *Hildesheim* relates of some that died so mad, and, being cut up, had no water, scarce blood, or any moisture left in them. To such as are so affected, the fear of water begins at 14 days after they are bitten, to some again not till 40 or 60 days after: commonly, saith *Heurnius*, they begin to rave, fly water and glasses, to look red, and swell in the face, about 20 days after (if

[1] Lib. 8 cap. 22. Homines interdum lupos fieri; et contra. [2] vi. 8; viii. 2.] [3] Met. lib 1. [216—237]. [4] Cap. de Man. [5] Ulcerata crura, sitis ipsis adest immodica, pallidi, lingua sicca. [6] Cap. 9. art. Hydrophobia. [7] Lib. 3. cap. 9. [8] Lib. 7. de Venenis. [9] Lib. 3. cap. 13. de morbis acutis. [10] Spicil. 2.

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some remedy be not taken in the mean time) to lie awake, to be pensive, sad, to see strange visions, to bark and howl, to fall into a swoon, and oftentimes fits of the falling sickness. [1] Some say, little things like whelps will be seen in their urine. If any of these signs appear, they are past recovery. Many times these symptoms will not appear till six or seven months after, saith [2] *Codronchus;* and sometimes not till 7 or 8 years, as *Guianerius;* 12, as *Albertus;* 6 or 8 months after, as *Galen* holds. *Baldus* the great lawyer died of it: an *Augustine Friar*, and a woman in *Delft*, that were [3] *Forestus'* patients, were miserably consumed with it. The common cure in the country (for such at least as dwell near the sea-side) is to duck them over head and ears in sea-water; some use charms; every good wife can prescribe medicines. But the best cure to be had in such cases, is from the most approved Physicians. They that will read of them, may consult with *Dioscorides*, *lib.* 6. *c.* 37, *Heurnius*, *Hildesheim*, *Capivaccius*, *Forestus*, *Sckenkius*, and before all others *Codronchus*, an *Italian*, who hath lately written two exquisite books on this subject.

Chorus Sancti Viti, or S. *Vitus'* Dance; the lascivious dance, [4] *Paracelsus* calls it, because they that are taken with it, can do nothing but dance till they be dead, or cured. It is so called, for that the parties so troubled were wont to go to S. *Vitus* for help, & after they had danced there a while, they were [5] certainly freed. 'Tis strange to hear how long they will dance, & in what manner, over stools, forms, tables; even great-bellied women sometimes (and yet never hurt their children) will dance so long that they can stir neither hand nor foot, but seem to be quite dead. One in red clothes they cannot abide. Musick above all things they love, & therefore Magistrates in *Germany* will hire Musicians to play to them, and some lusty sturdy companions to dance with them. This disease hath been very common in *Germany*, as appears by those relations of [6] *Sckenkius*, and *Paracelsus* in his book of Madness, who brags how many several persons he hath cured of it. *Felix Platerus*, *de mentis alienat. cap.* 3. reports of a woman in *Basle* whom he saw, that danced a whole month together. The *Arabians* call it a kind of *palsy*. *Bodine*, *in his*

[1] Sckenkius, 7 lib. de Venenis. [2] Lib. de Hydrophobia. [3] Observat. lib. 10. 25. [4] Lascivam Choream. To. 4. de morbis amentium. Tract 1. [5] Eventu, ut plurimum, rem ipsam comprobante. [6] Lib. 1. cap de Mania.

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5th *Book de Repub. cap.* 1. speaks of this infirmity; *Monavius* in his last Epistle to *Scoltizius*, and in another to *Dudithus*, where you may read more of it.

The last kind of madness or melancholy, is that demoniacal (if I may so call it) obsession or possession of devils, which *Platerus* & others would have to be preternatural: stupend things are said of them, their actions, gestures, *contortions*, fasting, prophesying, speaking languages they were never taught, &c. Many strange stories are related of them, which because some will not allow, (for *Deacon* and *Darrel* have written large volumes on this subject *pro & con*,) I voluntarily omit.

[1] *Fuschius, Institut. lib.* 3 *sect.* 1. *cap.* 11. *Felix Plater.* [2] *Laurentius*, add to these another *fury* that proceeds from *love*, & another from *study*, another divine or *religious fury*; but these more properly belong to *Melancholy*; of all which I will speak[3] apart, intending to write a whole book of them.

SUBSEC. 5. — *Melancholy in Disposition, improperly so called. Equivocations.*

Melancholy, the subject of our present discourse, is either in disposition or habit. In disposition, is that transitory *Melancholy* which goes and comes upon every small occasion of sorrow, need, sickness, trouble, fear, grief, passion, or purturbation of the mind, any manner of care, discontent, or thought, which causeth anguish, dulness, heaviness and vexation of spirit, any ways opposite to pleasure, mirth, joy, delight, causing frowardness in us, or a dislike. In which equivocal and improper sense, we call him melancholy, that is dull, sad, sour, lumpish, ill-disposed, solitary, any way moved, or displeased. And from these melancholy dispositions [4] no man living is free, no *Stoick*, none so wise, none so happy, none so patient, so generous, so godly, so divine, that can vindicate himself; so well-composed, but more or less, some time or other, he feels the smart of it. Melancholy in this sense is the character of Mortality. [5] *Man that is born of a woman, is of short continuance and full of trouble. Zeno, Cato, Socrates* himself, whom [6] *Ælian* so highly commends for a moderate temper,

[1] Cap. 3. de mentis alienat. [2] Cap. 4. de mel. [3] Part 3. [4] De quo homine securitas? de quo certum gaudium? Quocunque se convertit, in terrenis rebus amaritudinem animi inveniet. Aug. in Psal. viii. 5. [5] Job 14. 1. [6] Omni tempore Socratem eodem vultu videri, sive domum rediret, sive domo egrederetur. [Var. Hist. Lib. ix. § 7.]

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that *nothing could disturb him; but going out, and coming in, still Socrates kept the same serenity of countenance, what misery soever befell him*, (if we may believe *Plato* his Disciple) was much tormented with it. *Q. Metellus*, in whom [1]*Valerius* gives instance of all happiness, *the most fortunate man then living, born in that most flourishing city of Rome, of noble parentage, a proper man of person, well qualified, healthful, rich, honourable, a Senator, a Consul, happy in his wife, happy in his children, &c.*, yet this man was not void of Melancholy, he had his share of sorrow. [2]*Polycrates Samius*, that flung his ring into the sea, because he would participate of discontent with others, and had it miraculously restored to him again shortly after by a fish taken as he angled, was not free from melancholy dispositions. No man can cure himself; the very gods had bitter pangs, & frequent passions, as their own [3]Poets put upon them, In general, [4]*as the heaven, so is our life, sometimes fair, sometimes overcast, tempestuous and serene; as in a rose, flowers and prickles; in the year itself, a temperate summer sometimes, a hard winter, a drowth, and then again pleasant showers: so is our life intermixt with joys, hopes, fears, sorrows, calumnies. Invicem cedunt dolor & voluptas*,[5] there is a succession of pleasure and pain.

[6]—— Medio de fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid quod in ipsis floribus angat.

Even in the midst of laughing there is sorrow, (as [7]*Solomon* holds:) even in the midst of all our feasting and jollity, as [8]Austin infers in his *Com. on the 41st Psalm*, there is grief and discontent. *Inter delicias semper aliquid sævi nos strangulat;* for a pint of honey thou shalt here likely find a gallon of gall, for a dram of pleasure a pound of pain, for an inch of mirth an ell of moan; as ivy doth an oak, these miseries encompass our life; and 'tis most absurd

[1] Lib. 7. cap. 1. Natus in florentissima totius orbis civitate, nobillissimis parentibus, corporis vires habuit, et rarissimas animi dotes, uxorem conspicuam, pudicam, felices liberos, consulare decus, sequentes triumphos, &c. [2] Ælian. [Polycrates is indeed alluded to in Ælian, but there is no reference there to this story of the ring, which is in Herodotus, iii. 39-42.] [3] Homer, Iliad. [*e.g.*, v. 335 *sq.* xiv. 292 *sq.*] [4] Lipsius, cent. 3.. ep. 45. Ut cœlum, sic nos homines sumus: illud ex intervallo nubibus obducitur et obscuratur. In rosario flores spinis intermixti. Vita similis aeri, udum modò, sudum, tempestas, serenitas: ita vices rerum sunt, præmia gaudiis, et sequaces curæ, [5] Seneca, *Thyestes*, 596, 597.] [6] Lucretius, l. 4. 1134. [7] Prov. xiv. 13. Extremum gaudii luctus occupat. [8] Natalitia, inquit, celebrantur, nuptiæ hic sunt; at ibi quid celebratur, quod non dolet, quod non transit?

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& ridiculous for any mortal man to look for a perpetual tenor of happiness in this life. Nothing so prosperous & pleasant, but it hath [1] some bitterness in it, some complaining, some grudging; 'tis all γλυκύπικρον, a mixt passion, and like a Chequer table, black & white men; families, cities, have their falls and wanes, now trines, sextiles, then quartiles and oppositions. We are not here, as those Angels, celestial powers and bodies, sun and moon, to finish our course without all offence, with such constancy, to continue for so many ages: but subject to infirmities, miseries, interrupt, tossed & tumbled up and down, carried about with every small blast, often molested & disquieted upon each slender occasion, [2] uncertain, brittle, & so is all that we trust unto. [3] *And he that knows not this, & is not armed to endure it, is not fit to live in this world* (as one condoles our time): *he knows not the condition of it, where with a reciprocal tie pleasure & pain are still united, and succeed one another in a ring. Exi è mundo*, get thee gone hence,[4] if thou canst not brook it; there is no way to avoid it, but to arm thyself with patience, with magnanimity, to [5] oppose thyself unto it, to suffer affliction as a good soldier of *Christ, as* [6] *Paul* adviseth, constantly to bear it. But forasmuch as so few can embrace this good counsel of his, or use it aright, but rather, as so many brute beasts, give a way to their passion, voluntarily subject & precipitate themselves into a Labyrinth of cares, woes, miseries, & suffer their souls to be overcome by them, cannot arm themselves with that patience as they ought to do, it falleth out oftentimes that these *dispositions* become *habits*, and *many affects contemned* (as [7] *Seneca* notes) *make a disease. Even as one distillation, not yet grown to custom, makes a cough, but continual and inveterate causeth a consumption of the*

[1] Apuleius 4. Florid. [18.] Nihil quicquam homini tam prosperum divinitus datum, quin ei admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis, ut etiam amplissima quaque lætitiâ, subsit quæpiam vel parva querimonia, conjugatione quâdam mellis et fellis. [2] Caduca nimirum et fragilia, et puerilibus consentanea crepundiis, sunt ista quæ vires et opes humanæ vocantur; affluunt subitò, repente dilabuntur; nullo in loco, nulla in persona, stabilibus nixa radicibus consistunt; sed incertissimo flatu fortunæ, quos in sublime extulerunt, improviso recursu destitutos in profundo miseriarum valle miserabiliter immergunt. Valerius, lib. 6. cap. 11. [3] Huic seculo parum aptus es, aut potius omnium nostrorum conditionem ignoras, quibus reciproco quodam nexu, &c. Lorchanus Gallobelgicus, lib. 3. ad annum 1598. [4] *i.e.* out of the world.] [5] Horsum omnia studia dirigi debent, ut humana fortiter feramus. [6] 2 Tim, ii. 3. [7] Epist. 96. lib. 10. Affectus frequentes contemptique morbum faciunt. Destillatio una, nec adhuc in morem adaucta, tussim facit: assidua et violenta phthisim.

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lungs: so do these our melancholy provocations: and, according as the humour itself is intended, or remitted in men, as their temperature of body, or rational soul, is better able to make resistance; so are they more or less affected. For that which is but a flea-biting to one, causeth insufferable torment to another; & which one by his singular moderation and well-composed carriage can happily overcome, a second is no whit able to sustain; but upon every small occasion of misconceived abuse, injury, grief, disgrace, loss, cross, rumour, &c. (if solitary, or idle) yields so far to passion, that his complexion is altered, his digestion hindered, his sleep gone, his spirits obscured, and his heart heavy, his hypochondries misaffected; wind, crudity, on a sudden overtake him, and he himself overcome with *Melancholy*. As it is with a man imprisoned for debt, if once in the gaol, every creditor will bring his action against him, and there likely hold him: if any discontent seize upon a patient, in an instant all other perturbations (for—*quâ data porta ruunt*)[1] will set upon him, and, then, like a lame dog or broken-winged goose, he droops and pines away, and is brought at last to that ill habit or malady of Melancholy itself. So that as the Philosophers make [2] eight degrees of heat and cold, we may make 88 of *Melancholy*, as the parts affected are diversely seized with it, or have been plunged more or less into this infernal gulf, or waded deeper into it. But all these *melancholy* fits, howsoever pleasing at first, or displeasing, violent & tyrannizing over those whom they seize on for the time; yet these fits I say, or men affected, are but improperly so called, because they continue not, but come and go, as by same objects they are moved. This *Melancholy* of which we are to treat, is an habit, *morbus sonticus*, or *chronicus*, a chronick or continute disease, a settled humour, as [3] *Aurelianus* and [4] others call it, not errant, but fixed; and as it was long increasing, so, now being (pleasant or painful) grown to an habit, it will hardly be removed.

[1 Virg. Æn. i. 83. Where a door is opened they rush.] [2 Calidum ad octo: frigidum ad octo. Una hirundo non facit æstatem. [Prov. said to be from Cratinus, quoted by Aristotle, Nicom. Eth. i. 7. 16.] [3 Lib. i. c. 6. [4 Fuschius, l. 3. sec. 1. cap. 7. Hildesheim, fol. 130.

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SECT. I. MEMB. II.

SUBSEC. I.—*Digression of Anatomy.*

BEFORE I proceed to define the disease of *Melancholy*, what it is, or to discourse farther of it, I hold it not impertinent to make a brief digression of the anatomy of the body and faculties of the soul, for the better understanding of that which is to follow; because many hard words will often occur, as *myrach, hypochondries, hemrods, &c. imagination, reason, humours, spirits, vital, natural, animal, nerves, veins, arteries, chylus, pituita;* which of the vulgar will not so easily be perceived, what they are, how sited, and to what end they serve. And, besides, it may peradventure give occasion to some men, to examine more accurately, search farther into this most excellent subject, and thereupon with that Royal [1] Prophet to praise God, (*for a man is fearfully and wonderfully made, and curiously wrought*), that have time and leisure enough, and are sufficiently informed in all other worldly businesses, as to make a good bargain, buy and sell, to keep and make choice of a fair hawk, hound, horse, *&c.* But for such matters as concern the knowledge of themselves, they are wholly ignorant and careless, they know not what this body and soul are, how combined, of what parts and faculties they consist, or how a man differs from a dog. And what can be more ignominious and filthy (as [2]*Melancthon* well inveighs) *than for a man not to know the structure and composition of his own body, especially since the knowledge of it tends so much to the preservation of his health, and information of his manners?* To stir them up therefore to this study, to persue those elaborate works of [3] *Galen, Bauhinus, Plater, Vesalius, Falopius, Laurentius, Remelinus, &c.*, which have written copiously in Latin; or that which some of our industrious countrymen have done in our mother tongue, not long since, as that translation of [4]*Columbus*, and [5]*Microcosmographia*, in 13 books, I have made this brief digression. Also because [6]*Wecker*, [7]*Melancthon*, [8]*Fernelius*, [9]*Fuschius*, and those tedious Tracts *de Animâ* (which have more compendiously handled and written of

[1] Psal. cxxxix. 14, 15. [2] De anima. Turpe enim est homini ignorare sui corporis (ut ita dicam) ædificium, præsertim cum ad valetudinem et mores hæc cognitio plurimum conducat. [3] De usu part. [4] History of man. [5] D. Crooke. [6] In Syntaxi. [7] De Anima. [8] Instit. lib. 1. [9] Physiol. l. 1. 2.

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this matter) are not at all times ready to be had, to give them some small taste or notice of the rest, let this epitome suffice.

SUBSEC. 2.—*Division of the Body, Humours, Spirits.*

OF the parts of the Body, there be many divisions: the most approved is that of [1]*Laurentius*, out of *Hippocrates*: which is, into parts *contained*, or *containing*. *Contained* are either *humours* or *spirits*.

A humour is a liquid or fluent part of the body, comprehended in it, for the preservation of it; and is either innate or born with us, or adventitious and acquisite. The radical or innate is daily supplied by nourishment, which some call *cambium*, and make those secondary humours of *ros* and *gluten* to maintain it: or acquisite, to maintain these four first primary humours, coming and proceeding from the first concoction in the liver, by which means *chylus* is excluded. Some divide them into profitable and excrementitious. But [2]*Crato* out of *Hippocrates* will have all four to be juice, and not excrements, without which no living creature can be sustained: which four, though they be comprehended in the mass of *blood*, yet they have their several affections, by which they are distinguished from one another, and from those adventitious, *peccant, or* [3] *diseased humours*, as *Melancthon* calls them.

Blood is a hot, sweet, temperate, red humour, prepared in the *meseraick* veins, and made of the most temperate parts of the *chylus* in the liver, whose office is to nourish the whole body, to give it strength and colour, being dispersed by the veins through every part of it. And from it *spirits* are first begotten in the heart, which afterwards by the *arteries* are communicated to the other parts.

Pituita, or phlegm, is a cold and moist humour, begotten of the colder part of the *chylus* (or white juice coming out of the meat digested in the stomack) in the liver; his office is to nourish and moisten the members of the body, which, as the tongue, are moved, that they be not over dry.

Choler is hot and dry, bitter, begotten of the hotter parts of the *chylus*, and gathered to the gall: it helps the natural heat and senses, and serves to the expelling of excrements.

[1] Anat. l. 1. c. 18. [2] In Micro. Succos, sine quibus animal sustentari non potest. [3] Morbosos humores.

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Melancholy, cold and dry, thick, black, and sour, begotten of the more fæculent part of nourishment, and purged from the spleen, is a bridle to the other two hot humours, *blood* and *choler*, preserving them in the blood, and nourishing the bones. These four humours have some analogy with the four elements, and to the four ages in man.

To these humours you may add *serum*, which is the matter of urine, and those excrementious humours of the third concoction, sweat and tears.

Spirit is a most subtle vapour, which is expressed from the *blood*, and the instrument of the soul, to perform all his actions; a common tie or *medium* betwixt the body and the soul, as some will have it; or, as [1] *Paracelsus*, a fourth soul of itself. *Melancthon* holds the fountain of these spirits to be the *heart;* begotten there, and afterwards conveyed to the brain, they take another nature to them. Of these spirits there be three kinds, according to the three principal parts, *brain*, *heart*, *liver; natural*, *vital*, *animal*. The *natural* are begotten in the *liver*, and thence dispersed through the veins, to perform those natural actions. The *vital spirits* are made in the heart of the *natural*, which by the arteries are transported to all the other parts: if these *spirits* cease, then life ceaseth, as in a *syncope* or swooning. The *animal spirits* formed of the *vital*, brought up to the brain, and diffused by the nerves, to the subordinate members, give sense and motion to them all.

Subsec. 3.—*Similar Parts.*

Containing parts, by reason of their more solid substance, are either *homogeneal* or *heterogeneal*, *similar* or *dissimilar;* so *Aristotle* divides them, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. *de Hist. Animal. Laurentius*, *cap.* 20. *lib.* 1. *Similar*, or *homogeneal*, are such as, if they be divided, are still severed into parts of the same nature, as water into water. Of these some be *spermatical*, some *fleshy* or carnal. [2] *Spermatical* are such as are immediately begotten of the seed, which are *bones*, *gristles*, *ligaments*, *membranes*, *nerves*, *arteries*, *veins*, *skins*, *fibres* or *strings*, *fat*.

The bones are dry and hard, begotten of the thickest of the seed, to strengthen and sustain other parts: some say there be

[1] Spiritalis anima. [2] Laurentius, cap. 20. lib. 1. Anat.

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304, some 307, or 313, in man's body. They have no nerves in them, and are therefore without sense.

A *gristle* is a substance softer than bone, and harder than the rest, flexible, and serves to maintain the parts of motion.

Ligaments are they that tie the bones together, and other parts to the bones, with their subserving tendons. *Membranes'* office is to cover the rest.

Nerves, or sinews, are membranes without, and full of marrow within; they proceed from the brain, & carry the animal spirits for sense and motion. Of these some be harder, some softer; the softer serve the senses, and there be 7 pair of them. The first be the optick *nerves*, by which we see; the second move the eyes; the third pair serve for the tongue to taste; the fourth pair for the taste in the palate; the fifth belong to the ears; the sixth pair is most ample, and runs almost over all the bowels; the seventh pair moves the tongue. The harder sinews serve for the motion of the inner parts, proceeding from the marrow in the back, of whom there be thirty combinations, seven of the neck, twelve of the breast, &c.

Arteries are long and hollow, with a double skin to convey the vital spirits; to discern which the better, they say that *Vesalius* the *Anatomist* was wont to cut up men alive. [1] They arise in the left side of the heart, & are principally two, from which the rest are derived, *aorta*, and *venosa*. *Aorta* is the root of all the other, which serve the whole body; the other goes to the lungs, to fetch air to refrigerate the heart.

Veins are hollow and round like pipes, arising from the liver, carrying blood and natural spirits; they feed all the parts. Of these there be two chief, *vena porta*, and *vena cava*, from which the rest are corrivated. That *vena porta* is a vein coming from the concave of the liver, and receiving those meseraical veins, by whom he takes the *chylus* from the stomack and guts, and conveys it to the liver. The other derives blood from the liver to nourish all the other dispersed members. The branches of that *vena porta* are the *meseraical* and *hæmorrhoids*. The branches of the *cava* [*porta*] are *inward* or *outward*. *Inward*, *seminal* or *emulgent*. *Outward*, in the head, arms, feet, &c. and have several names.

Fibræ are strings, white and solid, dispersed through the whole

[1] In these they observe the beating of the pulse.

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member, and right, oblique, transverse, all which have their several uses. *Fat* is a similar part, moist, without blood, composed of the most thick and unctuous matter of the blood. The [1]skin covers the rest, and hath *cuticulam*, or a little skin, under it. *Flesh* is soft and ruddy, composed of the congealing of blood, *&c.*

SUBSEC. 4.—*Dissimilar Parts.*

Dissimilar parts are those which we call *organical* or *instrumental*, and they be *inward* or *outward*. The chiefest outward parts are situate forward or backward. *Forward*, the crown and foretop of the head, skull, face, forehead, temples, chin, eyes, ears, nose, &c., neck, breast, chest, upper and lower part of the belly, hypochondries, navel, groin, flank, &c. *Backward*, the hinder part of the head, back, shoulders, sides, loins, hip bones, *os sacrum*, buttocks, &c. Or joints, arms, hands, feet, legs, thighs, knees, &c. Or common to both, which, because they are obvious and well known, I have carelessly repeated, *eaque præcipua & grandiora tantùm: quod reliquum, ex libris de animâ, qui volet, accipiat.*

Inward organical parts, which cannot be seen, are divers in number, and have several names, functions, and divisions; but that of [2]*Laurentius* is most notable, into *noble* or *ignoble* parts. Of the *noble* there be three principal parts, to which all the rest belong, and whom they serve, *brain*, *heart*, *liver*; according to whose site, three regions, on a threefold division, is made of the whole body. As first of the *head*, in which the animal organs are contained, and brain itself, which by his nerves give sense and motion to the rest, and is (as it were) a Privy Counsellor, and Chancellor, to the *Heart*. The second region is the chest, or middle *belly*, in which the *Heart* as King keeps his Court, and by his arteries communicates life to the whole body. The third region is the lower *belly*, in which the liver resides as a *Legate à latere*, with the rest of those natural organs, serving for concoction, nourishment, expelling of excrements. This lower region is distinguished from the upper by the *midriff*, or *diaphragma*, and is subdivided again by [3]some into three concavities or regions,

[1] Cujus est pars similaris a vi cutifica, ut interiora muniat. Capivac. Anat. pag. 252. [2] Anat. lib. 1. c. 19. Celebris est et pervulgata partium divisio in principes et ignobiles partes. [3] D. Crooke, out of Galen and others.

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upper, middle, and lower; the upper of the hypochondries, in whose right side is the *liver*, the left the *spleen*. from which is denominated *hypochondriacal Melancholy;* the second of the navel and flanks, divided from the first by the *rim;* the last of the watercourse, which is again subdivided into three other parts. The *Arabians* make two parts of this region, *epigastrium* and *hypogastrium;* upper and lower. *Epigastrium* they call *myrach*, from whence comes *myrachialis melancholia*, sometimes mentioned of them. Of these several regions I will treat in brief apart: and first of the third region, in which the natural organs are contained.

But you that are readers in the mean time, *suppose you were now brought into some sacred temple, or majestical palace* (as [1] *Melancthon* saith) *to behold not the matter only, but the singular art, workmanship, and counsel, of this our great Creator. And 'tis a pleasant and profitable speculation, if it be considered aright.* The parts of this *region*, which present themselves to your consideration and view, are such as serve to *nutrition* or *generation*. Those of *nutrition* serve to the first or second concoction: as the *œsophagus* or gullet, which brings meat and drink into the *stomack*. The *ventricle* or stomack, which is seated in the midst of that part of the belly beneath the *midriff*, the kitchen (as it were) of the first concoction, and which turns our meat into *chylus*. It hath two mouths, one above, another beneath. The upper is sometimes taken for the stomack itself; the lower and nether door (as *Wecker* calls it) is named *pylorus*. This stomack is sustained by a large kell or caul, called *omentum;* which some will have the same with *peritoneum*, or rim of the belly. From the *stomack* to the very *fundament* are produced the *guts*, or *intestina*, which serve a little to alter and distribute the *chylus*, and convey away the excrements. They are divided into small and great, by reason of their site and substance, slender or thicker: the slender is *duodenum*, or whole gut, which is next to the stomack, some twelve inches long (saith [2] *Fuschius*); *jejunum*, or empty gut, continuate to the other, which hath many *meseraick veins* annexed to it, which take part of the *chylus* to the liver from it; *ilion* the third, which consists of many crinkles, which serves with the rest to receive, keep, and distribute the *chylus* from the *stomack*. The thick guts are three, the *blind gut*, *colon*, and *right gut*. The *blind* is a thick and short

[1] Vos vero veluti in templum ac sacrarium quoddam vos duci putetis, &c. Suavis et utilis cognitio. [2] Lib. 1. cap. 12. Sect. 5.

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gut, having one mouth, in which the *ilion* and *colon* meet: it receives the excrements, and conveys them to the *colon*. This *colon* hath many windings, that the excrements pass not away too fast: the *right gut* is straight, and conveys the excrements to the *fundament*, whose lower part is bound up with certain *muscles* called *sphincters*, that the excrements may be the better contained, until such time a man be willing to go to the stool. In the midst of these guts is situated the *mesenterium* or *midriff*, composed of many veins, arteries, & much fat, serving chiefly to sustain the guts. All these parts serve the first concoction. To the second, which is busied either in refining the good nourishment or expelling the bad, is chiefly belonging the liver, like in colour to congealed blood, the shop of blood, situate in the right *hypochondry*, in figure like to an half-moon, *generosum membrum* Melancthon styles it, a generous part; it serves to turn the *chylus* to blood, for the nourishment of the body. The excrements of it are either *cholerick* or *watery*, which the other subordinate parts convey. The *gall*, placed in the concave of the *liver*, extracts *choler* to it: the *spleen*, *melancholy;* which is situate on the left side, over against the *liver*, a spongy matter, that draws this black *choler* to it by a secret virtue, and feeds upon it, conveying the rest to the bottom of the stomack, to stir up appetite, or else to the guts as an excrement. That watery matter the two kidneys expurgate by those emulgent veins and *ureters*. The emulgent draw this superfluous moisture from the blood; the two *ureters* convey it to the *bladder*, which, by reason of his site in the lower belly, is apt to receive it, having two parts, neck and bottom: the bottom holds the water, the neck is constringed with a muscle, which, as a porter, keeps the water from running out against our will.

Members of generation are common to both sexes, or peculiar to one; which, because they are impertinent to my purpose, I do voluntarily omit.

Next in order is the *middle region*, or chest, which comprehends the vital faculties & parts: which (as I have said) is separated from the lower belly by the *diaphragma* or *midriff*, which is a skin consisting of many nerves, membranes; and amongst other uses it hath, is the instrument of laughing. There is also a certain thin membrane, full of sinews, which covereth the whole chest within, and is called *pleura*, the seat of the disease called *pleurisy*, when it is inflamed. Some add a third skin, which

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is termed *mediastinus*, which divides the chest into two parts, right and left. Of this region the principal part is the *Heart*, which is the seat and fountain of life, of heat, of spirits, of pulse, and respiration; the Sun of our body, the King and sole commander of it: the seat and organ of all passions and affections; (*primum vivens, ultimum moriens;* it lives first, and dies last, in all creatures); of a pyramidical form, and not much unlike to a pine-apple; a part worthy of [1]admiration, that can yield such variety of affections, by whose motion it is dilated or contracted, to stir and command the humours in the body: as in sorrow, melancholy; in anger, choler; in joy, to send the blood outwardly; in sorrow, to call it in; moving the humours, as horses do a chariot. This *heart*, though it be one sole member, yet it may be divided into two creeks *right* and *left*. The *right* is like the Moon increasing, bigger than the other part, and receives blood from *vena cava*, distributing some of it to the *lungs* to nourish them, the rest to the left side, to engender spirits. *The left creek* hath the form of a *cone*, & is the seat of life, which, as a torch doth oil, draws blood unto it, begetting of it spirits and fire; and, as fire in a torch, so are spirits in the blood, & by that great *artery* called *aorta* it sends vital spirits over the body, and takes air from the lungs by that *artery* which is called *venosa;* so that both creeks have their vessels; the right two veins, the left two arteries, besides those two common anfractuous ears, which serve them both, the one to hold blood, the other air, for several uses. The *lungs* is a thin spongy part, like an ox-hoof, (saith [2]*Fernelius*), the Town-Clerk, or Cryer ([3]one terms it), the instrument of voice, as an Orator to a King; annexed to the heart, to express his thoughts by voice. That it is the instrument of voice is manifest, in that no creature can speak or utter any voice, which wanteth these lights. It is besides the instrument of respiration, or breathing; & its office is to cool the *heart*, by sending air unto it by the *venosal artery*, which vein comes to the lungs by that *aspera arteria*, which consists of many gristles, membranes, nerves, taking in air at the nose and mouth, and by it likewise exhales the fumes of the *heart*.

In the upper *region* serving the animal faculties, the chief organ

[1] Hæc res est præcipuè digna admiratione, quod tantâ affectuum varietate cietur cor, quod omnes res tristes et lætæ statim corda feriunt et movent. [2] Physio. l. 1. c. 8. [3] Ut orator regi: sic pulmo vocis instrumentum annectitur cordi, &c. Melancth.

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is the *brain*, which is a soft, marrowish, & white substance, engendered of the purest part of seed and spirits, included by many skins, and seated within the skull or brain-pan, and it is the most noble organ under heaven, the dwelling-house and seat of the soul, the habitation of wisdom, memory, judgement, reason, and in which man is most like unto God: and therefore nature hath covered it with a skull of hard bone, and two skins or membranes, whereof the one is called *dura mater*, or *meninx*, the other *pia mater*. The *dura mater* is next to the skull, above the other, which includes and protects the brain. When this is taken away, the *pia mater* is to be seen, a thin membrane, the next and immediate cover of the brain, and not covering only, but entering into it. The *brain* itself is divided into two parts, the *fore* and and *hinder part;* the *fore part* is much bigger than the other, which is called the *little brain* in respect of it. This *fore part* hath many concavities distinguished by certain ventricles, which are the receptacles of the spirits, brought hither by the arteries from the heart, and are there refined to a more heavenly nature, to perform the actions of the soul. Of these ventricles there be three, *right*, *left*, & *middle*. The *right* and *left* answer to their site, and beget animal spirits; if they be any way hurt, sense and motion ceaseth. These ventricles, moreover, are held to be the seat of the common sense. The *middle ventricle* is a common concourse and cavity of them both, and hath two passages, the one to receive *pituita*, and the other extends itself to the fourth creek: in this they place *imagination* and *cogitation;* and so the three ventricles of the fore part of the *brain* are used. The fourth creek behind the head is common to the *cerebel* or little brain, and marrow of the backbone, the last, and most solid of all the rest, which receives the animal spirits from the other ventricles, and conveys them to the marrow in the back, and is the place where they say the memory is seated.

SUBSEC. 5.—*Of the Soul and her Faculties.*

ACCORDING to[1] *Aristotle*, the soul is defined to be *ἐντελέχεια*, *perfectio & actus primus corporis organici, vitam habentis in potentia*. the perfection or first act of an organical body, having power of life, which most[2] Philosophers approve. But many doubts arise about the *essence*, *subject*, *seat*, *distinction*, and subordinate faculties

[1] De anim. c. 1. [2] Scalig. exerc. 307. Tolet. in lib. de anima. cap. 1. &c.

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of it. For the essence and particular knowledge, of all other things it is most hard (be it of man or beast) to discern, as [1] *Aristotle* himself, [2] *Tully*, [3] *Picus Mirandula*, [4] *Tolet*, and other Neoterick Philosophers confess. [5] *We can understand all things by her, but what she is we cannot apprehend.* Some therefore make one *soul*, divided into three principal faculties: others, three distinct *souls:* (which question of late hath been much controverted by *Picolomineus*, and *Zabarel*): [6] *Paracelsus* will have four *souls*, adding to the three granted faculties a *spiritual soul:* which opinion of his *Campanella*, in his book *De*[7] *Sensu Rerum*, much labours to demonstrate and prove, because carcasses bleed at the sight of the murderer; with many such arguments; and [8] some again one soul of all creatures whatsoever, differing only in organs; and that beasts have reason as well as men, though, for some defect of organs, not in such measure. Others make a doubt whether it be all in all, and all in every part; which is amply discussed in *Zabarel* amongst the rest. The [9] common division of the *soul* is into three principal faculties, *vegetal*, *sensitive*, and *rational*, which make three distinct kind of living creatures: *vegetal* plants, *sensible* beasts, *rational* men. How these three principal faculties are distinguished and connected, *humano ingenio inaccessum videtur*, is beyond human capacity, as [10] *Taurellus*, *Philip*, *Flavius*, and others, suppose. The inferior may be alone, but the superior cannot subsist without the other; so *sensible* includes *vegetal*, *rational* both; which are contained in it (saith *Aristotle*) *ut trigonus in tetragono*, as a triangle in a quadrangle.

Vegetal, the first of the three distinct faculties, is defined to be *a substantial act of an organical body, by which it is nourished, augmented, and begets another like unto itself;* in which definition, three several operations are specified, *altrix*, *auctrix*, *procreatrix*. The first is [11] nutrition, whose object is nourishment, meat, drink, and the like; his organ the liver in sensible creatures, in plants the root or sap. His office is to turn the nutriment into the sub-

[1] De anima, cap. 1. [2] Tuscul. quæst. [3] Lib. 6. Doct. Val. Gentil. c. 13. pag. 1216. [4] Aristot. [5] Animâ quæque intelligimus, et tamen quæ sit ipsa intelligere non valemus. [6] Spiritualem animam a reliquis distinctam tuetur, etiam in cadavere inhærentem post mortem per aliquot menses. [7] Lib. 3. cap. 31. [8] Cœlius, lib. 2. c. 31. Plutarch in Gryllo. Lips. Cen. 1. ep. 50. Jossius de Risu et Fletu, Averroes, Campanella, &c. [9] Philip. de Anima. ca. 1. Cœlius, 20. antiq. cap. 3. Plutarch, de placit. Philos. [10] De vit. et mort. part. 2. c. 3. prop. 1. de vit. et mort. 2. c. 22. [11] Nutritio est alimenti transmutatio, viro naturalis. Scal. exerc. 101. sec. 17.

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stance of the body nourished, which he performs by natural heat. This nutritive operation hath four other subordinate functions, or powers belonging to it, *attraction, retention, digestion, expulsion.* [1] *Attraction* is a ministering faculty, which, as a loadstone doth iron, draws meat into the stomack, or as a lamp doth oil; and this attractive power is very necessary in plants, which suck up moisture by the root, as another mouth, into the sap, as a like stomack. *Retention* keeps it, being attracted unto the stomack, until such time it be concocted; for if it should pass away straight, the body could not be nourished. *Digestion* is performed by natural heat; for as the flame of a torch consumes oil, wax, tallow, so doth it alter and digest the nutritive matter. Indigestion is opposite unto it, for want of natural heat. Of this *digestion* there be three differences, *maturation, elixation, assation. Maturation* is especially observed in the fruits of trees: which are then said to be ripe, when the seeds are fit to be sown again. *Crudity* is opposed to it, which gluttons, epicures, and idle persons are most subject unto, that use no exercise to stir up natural heat, or else choke it, as too much wood puts out a fire. *Elixation* is the seething of meat in the stomack by the said natural heat, as meat is boiled in a pot; to which corruption or putrefaction is opposite. *Assation* is a concoction of the inward moisture by heat; his opposite is *semiustulation.* Besides these three several operations of *digestion*, there is a fourfold order of concoction: *mastication*, or chewing in the mouth; *chylification* of this so chewed meat in the stomack; the third is in the *liver*, to turn this *chylus* into blood, called *sanguification;* the last is *assimulation*, which is in every part. *Expulsion* is a power of *nutrition*, by which it expels all superfluous excrements, and reliques of meat and drink, by the guts, bladder, pores; as by purging, vomiting, spitting, sweating, urine, hairs, nails, &c.

As this *nutritive faculty* serves to nourish the body, so doth the *augmenting faculty* (the second operation or power of the *vegetal faculty*) to the increasing of it in quantity, according to all dimensions, long, broad, thick, and to make it grow till it come to his due proportion and perfect shape: which hath his period of augmentation, as of consumption: and that most certain, as the Poet observes:

[1] See more of Attraction in Scal. exer. 343.

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Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus
Omnibus est vitæ.[1]———

A term of life is set to every man,
Which is but short, and pass it no one can.

The last of these *vegetal faculties* is *generation*, which begets another by means of seed like unto itself, to the perpetual preservation of the *species*. To this faculty they ascribe three subordinate operations: the first to turn nourishment into seed, &c.

Necessary concomitants or affections of this *vegetal faculty* are life, and his privation, death. To the preservation of life the natural heat is most requisite, though siccity and humidity, and those first qualities, be not excluded. This heat is likewise in plants, as appears by their increasing, fructifying, *&c.*, though not so easily perceived. In all bodies it must have radical [2] moisture to preserve it, that it be not consumed; to which preservation our clime, country, temperature, and the good or bad use of those six non-natural things, avail much. For as this natural heat and moisture decays, so doth our life itself: and if not prevented before by some violent accident, or interrupted through our own default, is in the end dried up by old age, and extinguished by death for want of matter, as a lamp for defect of oil to maintain it.

SUBSECT. 6.—*Of the sensible Soul.*

NEXT in order is the *sensible faculty*, which is as far beyond the other in dignity, as a beast is preferred to a plant, having those vegetal powers included in it. 'Tis defined *an act of an organical body, by which it lives, hath sense, appetite, judgement, breath, and motion.* His object in general is a sensible or passible quality, because the sense is affected with it. The general organ is the brain, from which principally the sensible operations are derived. This *sensible soul* is divided into two parts, *apprehending* or *moving*. By the *apprehensive* power we perceive the species of sensible things, present or absent, and retain them as wax doth the print of a seal. By the *moving* the body is outwardly carried from one place to another, or inwardly moved by spirits & pulse. The *apprehensive* faculty is subdivided into two parts, *inward* or *outward; outward*, as the five senses, of *touching, hearing, seeing,*

[1 Virg. Æn. x. 467, 8.] [2] Vita consistit in calido et humido.

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smelling, tasting, to which you may add *Scaliger's* sixth sense of *titillation*, if you please; or that of *speech*, which is the sixth external sense according to *Lullius; inward* are three, *common sense, phantasy, memory*. Those five outward senses have their object in outward things only, and such as are present, as the eye sees no colour except it be at hand, the ear [no] sound. Three of these senses are of commodity, *hearing, sight*, and *smell:* two of necessity, *touch* and *taste*, without which we cannot live. Besides the *sensitive* power is *active* or *passive; active* in sight, the eye sees the colour; *passive* when it is hurt by his object, as the eye by the sun-beams; according to that Axiom, *visibile forte destruit sensum;*[1] or if the object be not pleasing, as a bad sound to the ear, a stinking smell to the nose, &c.

Of these five senses, *sight* is held to be most precious, and the best, and that by reason of his object; it sees the whole body at once; by it we learn and discern all things, a sense most excellent for use. To the *sight* three things are required, the *object*, the *organ*, and the *medium*. The *object* in general is *visible*, or that which is to be seen, as colours, and all shining bodies. The *medium* is the illumination of the air, which comes from [2]light, commonly called *diaphanum*; for in dark we cannot see. The *organ* is the eye, and chiefly the apple of it, which by those optick nerves, concurring both in one, conveys the sight to the common sense. Betwixt the organ and object a true distance is required, that it be not too near, or too far off. Many excellent questions appertain to this sense, discussed by Philosophers: as whether this sight be caused *intra mittendo, vel extra mittendo, &c.* by receiving in the visible species, or sending of them out; which [3]*Plato*, [4]*Plutarch*, [5]*Macrobius*, [6]*Lactantius*, and others dispute. And besides it is the subject of the *perspectives*, of which *Alhazen* the *Arabian, Vitellio, Roger Bacon, Baptista Porta, Guidus Ubaldus, Aquilonius, &c.*, have written whole volumes.

Hearing, a most excellent outward sense, *by which we learn and get knowledge*. His object is sound, or that which is heard; the *medium*, air; [the] *organ* the ear. To the sound, which is a collision of the air, three things are required; a body to strike, as the hand of a musician; the body strucken, which must be

[1 Too bright an object destroys the organ.] [2] Lumen est actus perspicui. Lumen à luce provenit, lux est in corpore lucido. [3] In Phædone. [4] De pract. Philos. 4. [5] Saturn. 7. c. 14. [6] Lac. cap. 8. de opif. Dei, 1.

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solid and able to resist, as a bell, lute-string, not wool, or sponge; the *medium*, the air, which is *inward*, or *outward;* the outward, being struck or collided by a solid body, still strikes the next air; until it come to that inward natural air, which, as an exquisite organ, is contained in a little skin formed like a drum-head, and struck upon by certain small instruments like drum-sticks, conveys the sound, by a pair of nerves appropriated to that use, to the *common sense*, as to a judge of sounds. There is great variety and much delight in them; for the knowledge of which consult with *Boethius*, and other Musicians.

Smelling is an *outward sense, which apprehends by the nostrils drawing in air;* and of all the rest it is the weakest sense in men; the organ in the nose, or two small hollow pieces of flesh a little above it: the *medium* the air to men, as water to fish: the *object*, *smell*, arising from a mixed body resolved, which whether it be a quality, fume, vapour, or exhalation, I will not now dispute, or of their differences, and how they are caused. This sense is an organ of health, as sight and hearing, saith [1]*A. Gellius*, are of discipline; and that by avoiding bad smells, as by choosing good, which do as much alter and affect the body many times as *diet* itself.

Taste, a necessary sense, *which perceives all savours by the tongue and palate, and that by means of a thin spittle, or watery juice.* His *organ* is the *tongue* with his tasting nerves; the *medium*, a watery juice; the *object*, *taste* or savour, which is a quality in the juice, arising from the mixture of things tasted. Some make eight species or kinds of savour, bitter, sweet, sharp, salt, &c., all which sick men (as in an ague) cannot discern, by reason of their organs misaffected.

Touch, the last of the senses, and most ignoble, yet of as great necessity as the others, and of as much pleasure. This sense is exquisite in men, and by his nerves dispersed all over the body, perceives any tactile quality. His *organ* the *nerves;* his *object* those first qualities, hot, dry, moist, cold; and those that follow them, hard, soft, thick, thin, &c. Many delightsome questions are moved by Philosophers about these five senses, their organs, objects, mediums, which for brevity I omit.

[1] Lib. 19. cap. 2.

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SUBSECT. 7.—*Of the Inward Senses.*

Inner senses are three in number, so called, because they be within the brain-pan, as *common sense, phantasy, memory*. Their objects are not only things present, but they perceive the sensible species of things to *come, past, absent*, such as were before in the sense. This *common sense* is the judge or moderator of the rest, by whom we discern all differences of objects; for by mine eye I do not know that I see, or by mine ear that I hear, but by my *common sense*, who judgeth of sounds and colours: they are but the organs to bring the species to be censured; so that all their objects are his, and all their offices are his. The fore-part of the brain is his organ or seat.

Phantasy, or imagination, which some call *estimative*, or *cogitative*, (confirmed, saith [1] *Fernelius*, by frequent meditation) is an inner sense which doth more fully examine the species perceived by *common sense*, of things present or absent, and keeps them longer, recalling them to mind again, or making new of his own. In time of sleep this faculty is free, and many times conceives strange, stupend, absurd shapes, as in sick men we commonly observe. His *organ* is the middle cell of the brain; his *objects* all the species communicated to him by the *common sense*, by comparison of which he feigns infinite others unto himself. In *melancholy* men this faculty is most powerful and strong, and often hurts, producing many monstrous and prodigious things, especially if it be stirred up by some terrible object, presented to it from *common sense* or *memory*. In Poets and Painters *imagination* forcibly works, as appears by their several fictions, anticks, images: as *Ovid's* House of Sleep,[2] *Psyche's* Palace in *Apuleius*,[3] &c. In men it is subject and governed by *reason*, or at least should be; but in brutes it hath no superior, and is *ratio brutorum*, all the reason they have.

Memory lays up all the species which the senses have brought in, and records them as a good *register*, that they may be forth-coming when they are called for by *phantasy* and *reason*. His object is the same with *phantasy*, his seat and *organ* the back part of the brain.

The affections of these senses are *sleep* and *waking*, common to all sensible creatures. *Sleep is a rest or binding of the outward*

[1] Phys. l. 5. c. 8. [2] Ovid, Metam. xi. 592 sq.] [3] Met. Book v. initio.]

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senses, and of the common sense, for the preservation of body and soul, (as [1] *Scaliger* defines it), for when the common sense resteth, the outward senses rest also. The phantasy alone is free, and his commander, reason: as appears by those imaginary dreams, which are of divers kinds, *natural, divine, demoniacal, &c.* which vary according to humours, diet, actions, objects, &c., of which, *Artemidorus, Cardan,* and *Sambucus,* with their several interpretators, have written great volumes. This ligation of senses proceeds from an inhibition of spirits, the way being stopped by which they should come; this stopping is caused of vapours arising out of the stomack, filling the nerves, by which the spirits should be conveyed. When these vapours are spent, the passage is open, and the spirits perform their accustomed duties; so that *waking is the action and motion of the senses, which the spirits dispersed over all parts cause.*

SUBSEC. 8.—*Of the Moving Faculty.*

THIS *moving faculty* is the other power of the *sensitive soul,* which causeth all those *inward and outward animal motions in the body.* It is divided into two faculties, the power of *appetite,* and of *moving from place to place.* This of *appetite* is threefold, so some will have it; *natural,* as it signifies any such inclination, as of a stone to fall downward, and such actions as *retention, expulsion,* which depend not on sense, but are *vegetal,* as the appetite of a meat and drink, hunger and thirst. *Sensitive* is common to men and brutes. *Voluntary,* the third, or intellective, which commands the other two in men, and is a curb unto them, or at least should be, but for the most part is captivated and over-ruled by them: and men are led like beasts by sense, giving reins to their concupiscence and several lusts. For by this appetite the soul is led or inclined to follow that good which the senses shall approve, or avoid that which they hold evil. His object being good or evil, the one he embraceth, the other he rejecteth: according to that Aphorism, *omnia appetunt bonum,*[2] all things seek their own good, or at least seeming good. This power is inseparable from sense; for where sense is, there is likewise pleasure and pain. His *organ* is the same with the *common sense,* and is divided into two powers, or

[1] Exercit. 280. [2] Aristot. Nicom. Eth. i. 1.]

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inclinations, *concupiscible* or *irascible:* or (as [1]one translates it) *coveting, anger invading,* or impugning. *Concupiscible* covets always pleasant and delightsome things, and abhors that which is distasteful, harsh, and unpleasant. *Irascible,* [2]*quasi aversans per iram & odium,* as avoiding it with anger and indignation. All affections and perturbations arise out of these two fountains, which although the *Stoicks* make light of, we hold natural, and not to be resisted. The good affections are caused by some object of the same nature; and, if present, they procure joy, which dilates the heart, & preserves the body; if absent, they cause hope, love, desire, and concupiscence. The *bad* are *simple* or *mixed: simple* for some bad object present, as sorrow, which contracts the heart, macerates the soul, subverts the good estate of the body, hindering all the operations of it, causing melancholy, and many times death itself: or future, as fear. Out of these two arise those mixed affections and passions of anger, which is a desire of revenge; hatred, which is inveterate anger; zeal, which is offended with him who hurts that he loves; and ἐπιχαιρεκακία,[3] a compound affection of joy and hate, when we rejoice at other men's mischief, and are grieved at their prosperity; pride, self-love, emulation, envy, shame, &c., of which elsewhere.

Moving from place to place is a faculty necessarily following the other. For in vain were it otherwise to desire and to abhor, if we had not likewise power to prosecute or eschew, by moving the body from place to place: by this faculty therefore we locally move the body, or any part of it, and go from one place to another. To the better performance of which, three things are requisite: that which moves; by what it moves; that which is moved. That which moves is either the efficient cause, or end. The end is the object, which is desired or eschewed, as in a dog to catch a hare, &c. The efficient cause in man is *reason,* or his subordinate *phantasy,* which apprehends good or bad objects: in brutes, *imagination* alone, which moves the *appetite,* the *appetite* this faculty, which, by an admirable league of nature, and by mediation of the spirit commands the organ by which it moves: and that consists of nerves, muscles, cords, dispersed through the whole body, contracted and relaxed as the spirits will, which move

[1] T. W. Jesuit, in his Passions of the Mind. [2] Velcurio. [3] See Aristotle, Nic. Eth. ii. 6. 18; 7. 14, 15.]

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the muscles, or [1]nerves in the midst of them, and draw the cord, and so *per consequens* the joint, to the place intended. That which is moved is the body or some member apt to move. The motion of the body is diverse, as going, running, leaping, dancing, sitting, & such like, referred to the predicament of *situs*. Worms creep, birds fly, fishes swim; and so of parts, the chief of which is *respiration* or breathing, and is thus performed. The outward air is drawn in by the *vocal artery*, and sent by mediation of the *midriff* to the lungs, which, dilating themselves as a pair of bellows, reciprocally fetch it in, and send it out to the heart to cool it: and from thence, now being hot, convey it again, still taking in fresh. Such a like motion is that of the *pulse*, of which, because many have written whole books, I will say nothing.

SUBSEC. 9.—*Of the Rational Soul.*

IN the precedent subsections I have anatomized those inferior faculties of the soul; the *rational* remaineth, *a pleasant, but a doubtful subject* (as [2]one terms it), and with the like brevity to be discussed. Many erroneous opinions are about the essence & original of it; whether it be fire, as *Zeno* held; harmony, as *Aristoxenus;* number, as *Xenocrates;* whether it be organical, or inorganical; seated in the brain, heart or blood; mortal or immortal; how it comes into the body. Some hold that it is *ex traduce*, as *Phil.* 1. *de Animâ, Tertullian, Lactantius, de opific. Dei, cap.* 19; *Hugo, lib. de Spiritu & Animâ, Vincentius Bellavic. spec. natural. lib.* 23. *cap.* 2 & 11; *Hippocrates, Avicenna*, and many [3]late writers, that one man begets another, body & soul: or as a candle from a candle, to be produced from the seed: otherwise, say they, a man begets but half a man, and is worse than a beast, that begets both matter and form; and besides, the three faculties of the soul must be together infused, which is most absurd, as they hold, because in beasts they are begot, the two inferior I mean, and may not be well separated in men. [4]*Galen* supposeth the soul *crasin esse*, to be the temperature itself; *Trismegistus, Musæus, Orpheus, Homer, Pindar, Pherecydes Syrius*,[5]

[1] Nervi à spiritu moventur, spiritus ab amima, Melanct. [2] Velcurio. Jucundum et anceps subjectum. [3] Goclenius in Ψιχολ. pag. 302. Bright in Phys. Scrib. l. 1. David Crusius, Melancthon, Hippius Hernius, Levinus Lemnius, &c. [4] Lib. an mores sequantur, &c. [5] Cic. Tusc. Book i. cap. xvi. § 38.]

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Epictetus, with the *Chaldees* and *Egyptians*, affirmed the soul to be immortal, as did those *British*[1] *Druids* of old. The [2]*Pythagoreans* defend *Metempsychosis* and *Palingenesia*, that souls go from one body to another, *epotâ prius Lethes undâ*,[3] as men into wolves, bears, dogs, hogs, as they were inclined in their lives, or participated in conditions;

> ——[4] "inque ferinas
> Possumus ire domus, pecudumque in corpora condi."

[5]*Lucian's* Cock was first *Euphorbus*, a Captain:

> "Ipse ego (nam memini) Trojani tempore belli
> Panthoides Euphorbus eram;" [6]

a horse, a man, a sponge. [7]*Julian* the Apostate thought *Alexander's* soul was descended into his body: *Plato* in his *Timæus*, and in his *Phædo* (for ought I can perceive) differs not much from this opinion, that it was from God at first, and knew all, but being inclosed in the body, it forgets, and learns anew, which he calls *reminiscentia*, or *recalling*, and that it was put into the body for a punishment, and thence it goes into a beast's, or man's, as appears by his pleasant fiction *de sortitione animarum, lib.* 10. *de rep.*[8] and after [9] 10,000 years is to return into the former body again,

> ——[10] "post varios annos, per mille figuras,
> Rursus ad humanæ fertur primordia vitæ."

Others deny the immortality of it, which *Pomponatius* of *Padua* decided out of *Aristotle* not long since, *Plinius Avunculus cap.* 7. *lib.* 2; *& lib.* 7. *cap.* 55; *Seneca, lib.* 7. *epist. ad Lucilium, epist.* 55; *Dicaearchus, in Tull. Tusc. Epicurus, Aratus, Hippocrates, Galen, Lucretius, lib.* 1.

> "(Prætereà gigni pariter cum corpore, et unà
> Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem);" [11]

Averroes, and I know not how many Neotericks. [12]*This question of the immortality of the soul is diversely and wonderfully impugned*

[1] Cæsar. 6. Com. [cap. 14.] [2] Read Æneas Gazeus dial. of the immortality of the Soul. [3] After having first drunk the water of Lethe.] [4] Ovid. Met. 15. [457, 8. We may take up our abode in wild beasts, or be transferred to the breasts of cattle.] [5] In Gallo. [§§ 13, 17.] [6] Ovid. Met. xv. 160, 161.] [7] Nicephorus, Hist. lib. 10. cap. 35. [8] P. 614 B. ad fin.] [9] Phædo. [p. 72 E., 92 D.] [10] Claudian, [In Rufinum,] lib. ii. [491 sq.] [11] [Lucret. iii. 445. 446. Besides, we observe that the mind is born with the body, grows with it, and becomes old with it.] [12] Hæc quæstio multos per annos variè ac mirabiliter impugnata, &c.

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and disputed, especially among the Italians of late, saith *Jab. Colerus, lib. de immort. animæ, cap.* 1. The Popes themselves have doubted of it, *Leo Decimus,* that *Epicurean* Pope, as [1] some record of him, caused this question to be discussed *pro* and *con* before him, and concluded at last, as a profane and atheistical *moderator,* with that verse of *Cornelius Gallus,*

Et redit in nihilum quod fuit ante nihil.

It began of nothing, and in nothing it ends. *Zeno* and his *Stoicks,* as [2]*Austin* quotes him, supposed the soul so long to continue, till the body was fully putrefied, and resolved into *materia prima:* but after that *in fumos evanescere,* to be extinguished and vanish; and in the mean time, whilst the body was consuming, it wandered all abroad, *& à longinquo multa annunciare,* and (as that *Clazomenian Hermotimus* averred) saw pretty visions, and suffered I know not what.

[3] Errant exsangues sine corpore et ossibus umbræ.

Others grant the immortality thereof, but they make many fabulous fictions in the mean time of it, after the departure from the body, like *Plato's Elysian Fields,* and that *Turkey Paradise.* The souls of good men they deified, the bad (saith [4]*Austin*) *became devils,* as they supposed; with many such absurd tenents, which he hath confuted. *Hierome, Austin,* and other Fathers of the Church, hold that the *soul* is immortal, created of nothing, and so infused into the child or *embryo* in his mother's womb six months after the [5] conception; not as those of brutes, which are *ex traduce,* and dying with them vanish into nothing. To whose divine treatises, and to the Scriptures themselves, I rejourn[6] all such Atheistical spirits, as *Tully* did *Atticus,* doubting of this point, to *Plato's Phædo.* Or, if they desire Philosophical proofs and demonstrations, I refer them to *Niphus, Nic. Faventinus'* tracts of this subject: to *Fran.* and *John Picus in digress. sup.* 3. *de Animâ, Tholosanus, Eugubinus, to Soto, Canas, Thomas, Peresius, Dandinus, Colerus,* to that elaborate tract in *Zanchius,* to *Tolet's* 60 reasons, and *Lessius'* 22 arguments, to prove the immortality of the soul.

[1] Colerus, ibid. [2] De eccles. dog. cap. 16. [3] Ovid. 4. Met. [443. "The bloodless shades *sans* bones or body wander."] [4] Bonorum lares, malorum verò larvas et lemures. [De Civitate Dei, Lib. ix. cap. xi.] [5] Some say at three days, some six weeks, others otherwise. [6 = Refer.

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Campanella, lib. de sensu rerum, is large in the same discourse, *Albertinus* the *School-man, Jacob. Nactantus, Tom.* 2. *op.* handleth it in four questions, *Antony Brunus, Aonius Palearius, Marinus Marcennus,* with many others. This *reasonable soul,* which *Austin* calls a spiritual substance moving itself, is defined by Philosophers to be *the first substantial act of a natural, human, organical body, by which a man lives, perceives, and understands, freely doing all things, and with election.* Out of which definition we may gather, that this *rational soul* includes the powers, and performs the duties of the two other, which are contained in it, and all three faculties make one *soul,* which is inorganical of itself, although it be in all parts, and incorporeal, using their organs, and working by them. It is divided into two chief parts, differing in office only, not in essence; the *understanding,* which is the *rational* power *apprehending;* the *will,* which is the *rational* power *moving:* to which two all the other *rational* powers are subject and reduced.

SUBSEC. 10.—*Of the Understanding.*

Understanding is a power of the soul, [1] *by which we perceive, know, remember, and judge, as well singulars as universals, having certain innate notices or beginnings of arts, a reflecting action, by which it judgeth of his own doings, and examines them.* Out of this definition (besides his chief office, which is to apprehend, judge, all that he performs, without the help of any instruments or organs) three differences appear betwixt a man and a beast; as first, the sense only comprehends *singularities,* the understanding *universalities;* secondly, the sense hath no innate notions; thirdly, brutes cannot reflect upon themselves. Bees indeed make neat and curious works, and many other creatures besides; but when they have done, they cannot judge of them. His object is God, *Ens,* all nature, and whatsoever is to be understood: which successively it apprehends. The object first moving the *understanding,* is some sensible thing; after, by discoursing, the mind finds out the corporeal substance, and from thence the spiritual. His actions (some say) are *apprehension, composition, division, discoursing, reasoning, memory,* which some include in *invention,* and *judgement.* The common divisions are of the understanding, *agent* and *patient; speculative,* and *practick;* in *habit,* or in *act;*

[1] Melancthon.

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simple, or *compound*. The *agent* is that which is called the *wit* of man, *acumen* or subtlety, *sharpness* of invention, when he doth invent of himself without a teacher, or learns anew, which abstracts those intelligible species from the phantasy, and transfers them to the passive understanding, [1] *because there is nothing in the understanding, which was not first in the sense.* That which the imagination hath taken from the sense, this *agent* judgeth of, whether it be true or false; and being so judged he commits it to the *passible* to be kept. The *agent* is a doctor or teacher, the *passive* a scholar; and his office is to keep and farther judge of such things as are committed to his charge: as a bare and raised table at first, capable of all forms and notions. Now these *notions* are two-fold, *actions* or *habits:* actions, by which we take notions of, and perceive things; *habits*, which are durable lights and notions, which we may use when we will. Some reckon up eight kinds of them, *sense, experience, intelligence, faith, suspicion, error, opinion, science;* to which are added *art, prudence, wisdom:* as also [2] *synteresis, dictamen rationis, conscience;* so that in all there be fourteen species of the *understanding*, of which some are *innate*, as the three last mentioned; the other are gotten by doctrine, learning, and use. *Plato* will have all to be innate: *Aristotle* reckons up but five intellectual habits: two *practick*, as *prudence*, whose end is to practise, to fabricate; *wisdom* to comprehend the use and experiments of all notions and habits whatsoever. Which division of *Aristotle* (if it be considered aright) is all one with the precedent; for three being innate, and five acquisite, the rest are improper, imperfect, and in a more strict examination excluded. Of all these I should more amply dilate, but my subject will not permit. Three of them I will only point at, as more necessary to my following discourse.

Synteresis, or the purer part of the conscience, is an innate habit, and doth signify *a conversation of the knowledge of the law of God and Nature, to know good or evil.* And (as our Divines hold) it is rather in the *understanding* than in the *will.* This makes the *major* proposition in a practick *syllogism.* The *dictamen rationis* is that which doth admonish us to do good or evil, and is the *minor* in the *syllogism.* The *conscience* is that which approves good or evil, justifying or condemning our actions, and is the conclusion of the

[1] Nihil in intellectu, quod non prius fuerat in sensu. Velcurio. [2] The pure par of the conscience.

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syllogism: as in that familiar example of *Regulus* the *Roman*, taken prisoner by the *Carthaginians*, and suffered to go to *Rome*, on that condition he should return again, or pay so much for his ransom. The *synteresis* proposeth the question; his word, oath, promise, is to be religiously kept, although to his enemy, and that by the law of nature. [1] *Do not that to another, which thou wouldst not have done to thyself. Dictamen* applies it to him, and dictates this or the like: *Regulus*, thou wouldst not another man should falsify his oath, or break promise with thee: *conscience* concludes, Therefore, *Regulus*, thou dost well to perform thy promise, and oughtest to keep thine oath. More of this in *Religious Melancholy*.

SUBSEC. II.—*Of the Will.*

Will is the other power of the *rational soul*, [2] *which covets or avoids such things as have been before judged and apprehended by the understanding.* If good, it approves; if evil, it abhors it: so that his object is either good or evil. *Aristotle* calls this our *rational appetite;* for as in the *sensitive* we are moved to good or bad by our *appetite*, ruled and directed by sense; so in this we are carried by *reason.* Besides, the *sensitive appetite* hath a particular object, good or bad: this an universal, immaterial; that respects only things delectable and pleasant, this honest. Again, they differ in liberty. The *sensual appetite* seeing an object, if it be a convenient good, cannot but desire it; if evil, avoid it: but this is free in his essence, [3] *much now depraved, obscured, and fallen from his first perfection; yet in some of his operations still free*, as to go, walk, move at his pleasure, and to choose whether it will do or not do, steal or not steal. Otherwise in vain were laws, deliberations, exhortations, counsels, precepts, rewards, promises, threats, and punishments: and God should be the author of sin. But in 'spiritual things we will no good, prone to evil (except we be regenerate, and led by the Spirit), we are egged on by our natural concupiscence, and there is *ἀταξία*, a confusion in our powers, [5] *our whole will is averse from God and his law*, not in natural

[1] Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. [See Lampridius' Life of Alexander Severus, cap. 51.] [2] Res ab intellectu monstratas recipit, vel rejicit; approbat, vel improbat. Philip. Ignoti nulla cupido. [Ovid. A. A. iii. 397.] [3] Melancthon. Operationes plerumque feræ, etsi libera sit illa in essentia sua. [4] In civilibus libera, sed non in spiritualibus. Osiander. [5] Tota voluntas aversa à Deo. Omnis homo mendax.

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things only, as to eat and drink, lust, to which we are led headlong by our temperature and inordinate appetite,

> [1] Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantùm
> Sufficimus,———

we cannot resist, our concupiscence is originally bad, our heart evil, the seat of our affections captivates and enforceth our will; so that in voluntary things we are averse from God and goodness, bad by nature, by [2] ignorance worse, by art, discipline, custom, we get many bad habits: suffering them to domineer and tyrannize over us; and the devil is still ready at hand with his evil suggestions, to tempt our depraved will to some ill-disposed action, to precipitate us to destruction, except our *will* be swayed and counterpoised again with some divine precepts, and good motions of the spirit, which many times restrain, hinder, and check us, when we are in the full career of our dissolute courses. So *David* corrected himself, when he had *Saul* at a vantage. Revenge and malice were as two violent oppugners on the one side; but honesty, religion, fear of God, withheld him on the other.

The actions of the *will* are *velle* and *nolle*, to will and nill: which two words comprehend all, and they are good or bad, accordingly as they are directed: and some of them freely performed by himself; although the *Stoicks* absolutely deny it, and will have all things inevitably done by *destiny*, imposing a fatal necessity upon us, which we may not resist; yet we say that our will is free in respect of us, and things contingent, howsoever (in respect of God's determinate counsel) they are inevitable and necessary. Some other actions of the *will* are performed by the inferior powers, which obey him, as the *sensitive* & *moving appetite*; as to open our eyes, to go hither and thither, not to touch a book, to speak fair or foul: but this *appetite* is many times rebellious in us, and will not be contained within the lists of sobriety and temperance. It was (as I said) once well agreeing with reason, and there was an excellent consent and harmony betwixt them, but that is now dissolved, they often jar, *reason* is overborne by *passion:*

> Fertur equis auriga, nec audit currus habenas,[3]

as so many wild horses run away with a chariot, and will not be

[1] Virg. [Æn. v. 21, 22.] [2] Vel propter ignorantiam, quod bonis studiis non sit instructa mens, ut debuit, aut divinis præceptis exculta. [3] Virg. G. i. 514.]

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curbed. We know many times what is good, but will not do it, as she said,

> [1] "Trahit invitum nova vis, aliudque cupido,
> Mens aliud suadet,——

lust counsels one thing, reason another, there is a new reluctancy in men.

> [2] Odi, nec possum, cupiens, non esse quod odi.
>
> [I hate, yet can't but be the thing I hate.]

We cannot resist, but, as *Phædra* confessed to her nurse, [3] *quæ loqueris, vera sunt, sed furor suggerit sequi pejora:* she said well and true, she did acknowledge it, but headstrong passion and fury made her to do that which was opposite. So *David* knew the filthiness of his fact, what a loathsome, foul, crying sin adultery was, yet, notwithstanding, he would commit murder, and take away another man's wife, enforced against reason, religion, to follow his appetite.

Those *natural* and *vegetal* powers are not commanded by *will* at all; for *who can add one cubit to his stature?* [4] These other may, but are not: and thence come all those headstrong passions, violent perturbations of the mind; and many times vicious habits, customs, feral diseases, because we give so much way to our *appetite*, and follow our inclination, like so many beasts. The principal *habits* are two in number, *virtue* and *vice*, whose peculiar definitions, descriptions, differences, and kinds, are handled at large in the *Ethicks*, and are indeed the subject of *Moral Philosophy*.

MEMB. III.

SUBSEC. I.—*Definition of Melancholy, Name, Difference.*

HAVING thus briefly anatomized the body and soul of man, as a preparative to the rest, I may now freely proceed to treat of my intended object to most men's capacity, and after many ambages perspicuously define what this *Melancholy* is, shew his *name* and *differences*. The *name* is imposed from the matter, and disease

[1] Medea. Ovid. [Met. vii. 19, 20.] [2] Ovid [Amores, ii. iv. 5.] [3] Seneca. Hipp. [177—179, memoriter.] [4] Matt. v 27.]

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denominated from the material cause, as *Bruel* observes, Μελαγχολία, *quasi* Μέλαινα χολή, from black Choler. And whether it be a cause or an effect, a disease, or symptom, let *Donatus Altomarus* and *Salvianus* decide, I will not contend about it. It hath several descriptions, notations, and definitions. [1] *Fracastorius*, in his second book of intellect, calls those *melancholy, whom abundance of that same depraved humour of black choler hath so misaffected, that they become mad thence, and dote in most things, or in all, belonging to election, will, or other manifest operations of the understanding.* [2] *Melanelius* out of *Galen, Ruffus, Aëtius*, describe it to be *a bad and peevish disease, which makes men degenerate into beasts: Galen, a privation or infection of the middle cell of the head, &c.* defining it from the part affected, which [3] *Hercules de Saxoniâ* approves, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 16, calling it *a depravation of the principal function: Fuschius lib.* 1. *cap.* 23; *Arnoldus, Breviar. lib.* 1. *cap.* 18; *Guianerius*, and others: *by reason of black choler, Paulus* adds. *Halyabbas* simply calls it a *commotion of the mind; Aretæus*, [4] *a perpetual anguish of the soul, fastened on one thing, without an ague*; which definition of his *Mercurialis, de affect. cap. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10, taxeth: but *Ælianus Montaltus* defends, (*lib. de morb. cap.* 1. *de Melan.*), for sufficient and good. The common sort define it to be *a kind of dotage without a fever, having for his ordinary companions fear and sadness, without any apparent occasion.* So doth *Laurentius, cap.* 4; *Piso. lib.* 1. *cap.* 43; *Donatus Altomarus, cap.* 7. *art. medic. Jacchinus in com. in lib.* 9; *Rhasis ad Almansor, cap.* 15; *Valesius exerc.* 17; *Fuschius, institut.* 3. *sec.* 1. *c.* 11. *&c.* which common definition, howsoever approved by most, [5] *Hercules de Saxonia* will not allow of, nor *David Crusius, Theat. morb. Herm. lib.* 2. *cap.* 6, he holds it insufficient, *as* [6] *rather shewing what it is not, than what it is:* as omitting the specifical difference, the phantasy and brain: but I descend to particulars. The *summum genus* is *dotage*, or *anguish of the mind*, saith *Aretæus, of a principal part, Hercules de Saxonia* adds, to distinguish it from cramp and palsy, and such diseases as belong to the outward sense and motions;

[1] Melancholicos vocamus, quos exsuperantia vel pravitas melancholiæ ita male habet, ut inde insaniant vel in omnibus, vel in pluribus, iisque manifestis, sive ad rectam rationem, voluntatem, pertinent, vel electionem, vel intellectûs operationes.
[2] Pessimum et pertinacissimum morbum qui homines in bruta degenerare cogit.
[3] Panth. Med. [4] Angor animi in una contentione defixus, absque febre.
[5] Cap. 16. l. 1. [6] Eorum definitio morbus quid non sit, potius quam quid sit, explicat.

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"*depraved*", [1] to distinguish it from folly and madness (which *Montaltus* makes *angor animi*, to separate) in which those functions are not depraved, but rather abolished; "*without an ague*" is added by all, to sever it from *phrenzy*, and that *melancholy* which is in a pestilent fever. "*Fear* and *Sorrow*" make it differ from *madness*: "*without a cause*" is lastly inserted, to specify it from all other ordinary passions of "*Fear* and *Sorrow*." We properly call that *dotage*, as [2] *Laurentius* interprets it, *when some one principal faculty of the mind, as imagination, or reason, is corrupted, as all melancholy persons have.* It is without a fever, because the humour is most part cold and dry, contrary to putrefaction. *Fear* & *sorrow* are the true characters, and inseparable companions, of most *melancholy*, not all, as *Her. de Saxonia, Tract. postumo de Melancholia, cap.* 2, well excepts; for to some it is most pleasant, as to such as laugh most part; some are bold again, and free from all manner of fear and grief, as hereafter shall be declared.

SUBSEC. 2.—*Of the part affected. Affection. Parties affected.*

SOME difference I find amongst writers about the principal part affected in this disease, whether it be the *brain*, or *heart*, or some other member. Most are of opinion that it is the *brain*: for, being a kind of *dotage*, it cannot otherwise be but that the *brain* must be affected, a similar part, be it by [3] *consent* or *essence*, not in his ventricles, or any obstructions in them, for then it would be an apoplexy or epilepsy, as [4] *Laurentius* well observes, but in a cold dry distemperature of it in his substance, which is corrupt and become too cold, or too dry, or else too hot, as in mad-men, and such as are inclined to it, and this [5] *Hippocrates* confirms, *Galen*, [the] *Arabians*, and most of our new writers. *Marcus de Oddis* (in a consultation of his, quoted by [6] *Hildesheim*), and five others there cited are of the contrary part, because fear and sorrow, which are passions, be seated in the heart. But this objection is sufficiently answered by [7] *Montaltus*, who doth not deny that the heart is affected (as [8] *Melanelius* proves out of *Galen*) by reason of

[1] Animæ functiones imminuntur in fatuitate, tolluntur in mania, depravantur solum in melancholia. Herc. de Sax. cap. 1. tract. de Melanch. [2] Cap. 4. de mel. [3] Per consensum, sive per essentiam. [4] Cap. 4. de mel. [5] Sec. 7. de mor. vulgar. lib. 6. [6] Spicil. de melancholia. [7] Cap. 3. de mel. Pars affecta cerebrum sive per consensum, sive per cerebrum contingat, et procerum auctoritate et ratione stabilitur. [8] Lib. de mel. Cor vero vicinitatis ratione unà afficitur, ac septum transversum, ac stomachus, cum dorsali spina, &c.

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his vicinity; and so is the *midriff* and many other parts. They do *compati*, and have a fellow-feeling, by the law of nature: but forasmuch as this malady is caused by precedent *imagination*, with the *appetite*, to whom spirits obey, and are subject to those principal parts, the *brain* must needs primarily be misaffected, as the seat of *reason;* and then the *heart*, as the seat of *affection*. [1] *Cappivaccius* and *Mercurialis* have copiously discussed this question, and both conclude the subject is the inner *brain*, and from thence it is communicated to the *heart*, and other inferior parts, which sympathize and are much troubled, especially when it comes by consent, and is caused by reason of the *stomack*, or *myrach*, as the *Arabians* term it, whole body, liver, or [2] spleen, which are seldom free, *pylorus*, *meseraick veins*, *&c.* For our body is like a clock; if one wheel be amiss, all the rest are disordered, the whole fabrick suffers: with such admirable art and harmony is a man composed, such excellent proportion, as *Lodovicus Vives*, in his *Fable of Man*, hath elegantly declared.

As many doubts almost arise about the [3] *affection*, whether it be *imagination* or *reason* alone, or both. *Hercules de Saxonia* proves it out of *Galen*, *Aëtius*, and *Altomarus*, that the sole fault is in [4] *imagination; Bruel* is of the same mind. *Montaltus*, in his 2. *cap.* of *melancholy*, confutes this tenent of theirs, and illustrates the contrary by many examples: as of him that thought himself a shell-fish, of a Nun, & of a desperate Monk that would not be persuaded but that he was damned. *Reason* was in fault as well as *imagination*, which did not correct this error. They make away themselves oftentimes, and suppose many absurd & ridiculous things. Why doth not *reason* detect the fallacy, settle and persuade, if she be free? [5] *Avicenna* therefore holds both corrupt, to whom most *Arabians* subscribe. The same is maintained by [6] *Aretæus*, [7] *Gorgonius*, *Guianerius*, *&c.* To end the controversy, no man doubts of *imagination*, but that it is hurt and misaffected here. For the other I determine with [8] *Albertinus Bottonus*, a Dr. of *Padua*, that it is first in *imagination*, *and afterwards in reason*, *if the disease be inveterate, or as it is more or less of continuance:*

[1] Lib. 1. cap. 10. Subjectum est cerebrum interius. [2] Rarò quisquam tumorem effugit lienis, qui hoc morbo afficitur. Piso. Quis affectus. [3] See Donat. ab Altomar. [4] Facultas imaginandi, non cogitandi, nec memorandi læsa hic. [5] Lib. 3. Fen. 1. Tract. 4. cap. 8. [6] Lib. 3. cap. 5. [7] Lib. Med. cap. 19. part. 2. Tract. 15, cap. 2. [8] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de Melanc. fol, 207, et fol. 127. Quandoque etiam rationalis si affectus inveteratus sit.

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but by accident, as [1] *Herc. de Saxonia* adds; *faith, opinion, discourse, ratiocination, are all accidentally depraved by the default of imagination.*

To the part affected, I may here add the parties, which shall be more opportunely spoken of elsewhere, now only signified. Such as have the *Moon, Saturn, Mercury*, misaffected in their genitures; such as live in over-cold or over-hot climes: such as are born of *melancholy* parents: [such] as offend in those six non-natural things, are black, or of an high sanguine complexion, [2] that have little heads, that have a hot heart, moist brain, hot liver and cold stomack, have been long sick: such as are solitary by nature, great students, given to much contemplation, lead a life out of action, are most subject to *melancholy*. Of sexes both, but men more often, yet [3] women misaffected are far more violent, and grievously troubled. Of seasons of the year, the *Autumn* is most melancholy. Of peculiar times; old age, from which natural melancholy is almost an inseparable accident; but this artificial malady is more frequent in such as are of a [4] middle age. Some assign 40 years, *Gariopontus* 30; *Jubertus* excepts neither young nor old from this adventitious. *Daniel Sennertus* involves all of all sorts, out of common experience,[5] *in omnibus omnino corporibus cujuscunque constitutionis dominatur.* *Aëtius* and *Aretæus* [6] ascribe into the number *not only* [7] *discontented, passionate, and miserable persons, swarthy, black; but such as are most merry & pleasant, scoffers & high coloured. Generally*, saith *Rhasis*, [8] *the finest wits, and most generous spirits, are before other obnoxious to it.* I cannot except any complexion, any condition, sex, or age, but [9] fools and *Stoicks*, which, according to [10] *Synesius*, are never troubled with any manner of passion, but, as *Anacreon's cicada, sine sanguine & dolore; similes ferè diis sunt.*[11] *Erasmus* vindicates fools from this melancholy catalogue, because they have most part moist brains, and light

[1] Lib. postumo de Melanc. edit. 1620. Deprivatur fides, discursus, opinio, &c., per vitium imaginationis, ex accidenti. [2] Qui parvum caput habent, insensati plerique sunt. Arist. in Physiognomia. [cap. 6.] [3] Aretæus, lib. 3. cap. 5. [4] Qui propè statum sunt. Aret. Mediis convenit ætatibus, Piso. [5] De quartano. [6] Lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 11. [7] Primus ad Melancholiam non tam mœstus, sed et hilares, jocosi, cachinnantes, irrisores, et qui plerumque prærubri sunt. [8] Qui sunt subtilis ingenii, et multæ perspicacitatis, de facili incidunt in Melancholiam. lib. 1. cont. Tract. 9. [9] Nunquam sanitate mentis excidit, aut dolore capitur. Erasm. [Moriæ Encomium.] [10] In laud. calvitii. [11] Anacreon, 34. 17. 18. "Anacreon's grasshopper, without blood or grief; such are nearly like the gods."]

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hearts, [1] *they are free from ambition, envy, shame and fear, they are neither troubled in conscience, nor macerated with cares, to which our whole life is most subject.*

SUBSEC. 3.—*Of the Matter of Melancholy.*

OF the Matter of *Melancholy* there is much question betwixt *Avicenna* & *Galen*, as you may read in [2] *Cardan's* Contradictions, [3] *Valesius'* Controversies, *Montanus*, *Prosper Calenus*, *Cappivaccius*, [4] *Bright*, [5] *Ficinus*, that have written either whole tracts, or copiously of it, in their several treatises of this subject. [6] *What this humour is, or whence it proceeds, how it is engendered in the body, neither* Galen, *nor any old writer, hath sufficiently discussed, as* Jacchinus *thinks:* the Neotericks canot agree. *Montanus*, in his Consultations, holds *melancholy* to be *material* or *immaterial*, & so doth *Arculanus*. The *material* is one of the four humours before mentioned, and natural; the *immaterial* or adventitious, acquisite, redundant, unnatural, artificial: which [7] *Hercules de Saxonia* will have reside in the spirits alone, and to proceed from an *hot, cold, dry, moist distemperature, which, without matter, alters the brain & functions of it. Paracelsus* wholly rejects and derides this division of four humours and complexions, but our *Galenists* generally approve of it, subscribing to this opinion of *Montanus*.

This material *Melancholy* is either *simple* or *mixed;* offending in *quantity* or *quality*, varying according to his place, where it settleth, as brain, spleen, meseraick veins, heart, womb, & stomack: or differing according to the mixture of those natural humours amongst themselves, or four unnatural adust humours, as they are diversely tempered & mingled. If natural *melancholy* abound in the body, which is cold & dry, *so that it be more* [8] *than the body is well able to bear, it must needs be distempered,* saith *Faventius, & diseased:* and so the other, if it be depraved, whether it arise from

1 Vacant conscientiæ carnificina, nec pudefiunt, nec verentur, nec dilacerantur millibus curarum, quibus tota vita obnoxia est. 2 Lib. 1. tract. 3. contradic. 18. 3 Lib. 1. cont. 21. 4 Bright, cap. 16. 5 Lib. 1. cap. 6. de sanit. tuenda. 6 Quisve aut qualis sit humor, aut quæ istius differentiæ et quomodo gignantur in corpore, scrutandum; hâc enim re multi veterum laboraverunt, nec facile accipere ex Galeno sententiam ob loquendi varietatem. Leon. Jacch. com. in 9. Rhasis, cap. 15. cap. 16. in 9. Rhasis. 7 Tract. postum. de Melan. edit. Venetiis 1620. cap. 7 et 8. Ab intemperie calida, humida, &c. 8 Secundum magis aut minus si in corpore fuerit ad intemperiem, plusquam corpus salubriter ferre poterit: inde corpus morbosum efficitur.

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that other *melancholy* of *choler* adust, or from *blood*, produceth the like effects, & is, as *Montaltus* contends, if it come by adustion of humours, most part hot & dry. Some difference I find, whether this *melancholy* matter may be engendered of all four humours, about the colour and temper of it. *Galen* holds it may be engendered of three alone, including *phlegm*, or *pituita*, whose true assertion [1] *Valesius* and *Menardus* stiffly maintain, and so doth [2] *Fuchsius*, *Montaltus*, [3] *Montanus*. How (say they) can white become black? But *Hercules de Saxonia*, *l. post. de mela. c.* 8. & [4] *Cardan* are of the opposite part (it may be engendered of phlegm, *etsi rarò contingat*, though it seldom come to pass); so is [5] *Guianerius*, and *Laurentius*, *c.* 1. with *Melancthon*, in his Book *de Anima*, & Ch. of Humours; he calls it *asininam*, dull, swinish *melancholy*, and saith that he was an eye-witness of it: so is [6] *Wecker*. From *melancholy* adust ariseth one kind, from *choler* another, which is most brutish: another from *phlegm*, which is dull; and the last from *blood*, which is best. Of these some are cold and dry, others hot & dry, [7] varying according to their mixtures, as they are intended, & remitted. And indeed, as *Rodericus à Fons. cons.* 12. *l.* determines, ichors & those serous matters being thickened become phlegm, and phlegm degenerates into choler, choler adust becomes *æruginosa melancholia*,[8] as vinegar out of purest wine putrefied, or by exhalation of purer spirits, is so made, and becomes sour and sharp; and from the sharpness of this humour proceed much waking, troublesome thoughts & dreams, &c. so that I conclude as before. If the humour be cold, it is, saith [9] *Faventinus*, *a cause of dotage, & produceth milder symptoms: if hot, they are rash, raving mad, or inclining to it.* If the brain be hot, the animal spirits are hot, much madness follows with violent actions: if cold, fatuity & sottishness, [10] *Capivaccius*. [11] *The colour of this mixture varies likewise according to the mixture, be it hot or cold; 'tis sometimes black, sometimes not, Altomarus.* The same [12] *Melanelius* proves out of

[1] Lib. 1. controvers. cap. 21. [2] Lib. 1. sec. 4. cap. 4. [3] Concil. 26. [4] Lib. 2. contradic. cap. 11. [5] De feb. tract. diff. 2. cap. 1. Non est negandum ex hac fieri melancholicos. [6] In Syntax. [7] Varie aduritur, et miscetur, unde variæ amentium species. Melanct. [Cap. de Humor. Lib. de Animâ.] [8] Troublesome melancholy.] [9] Humor frigidus delirii causa, furoris calidus, &c. [10] Lib. 1. cap. 10. de affect. cap. [11] Nigrescit hic humor, aliquando supercalefactus, aliquando superfrigefactus. cap. 7. [12] Humor hic niger aliquando præter modum calefactus, et alias refrigeratus evadit: nam recentibus carbonibus ei quid simile accidit, qui durante flamma pellucidissime candent, eâ extincta prorsus nigrescunt. Hippocrates.

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Galen: & *Hippocrates*, in his Book of *Melancholy* (if at least it be his) giving instance in a burning coal, *which when it is hot, shines; when it is cold, looks black; & so doth the humour.* This diversity of melancholy matter produceth diversity of effects. If it be within the [1] body, & not putrefied, it causeth black jaundice; if putrefied, a quartan ague; if it break out to the skin, leprosy; if to parts, several maladies, as scurvy, &c. If it trouble the mind, as it is diversely mixed, it produces several kinds of madness and dotage: of which in their place.

SUBSEC. 4.—*Of the species or kinds of Melancholy.*

WHEN the matter is diverse and confused, how should it otherwise be, but that the species should be diverse and confused? Many new and old writers have spoken confusedly of it, confounding *melancholy* and *madness*, as [2] *Heurnius, Guianerius, Gordonius, Sallustius Salvianus, Jason Pratensis, Savanarola*, that will have *madness* no other than *melancholy* in extent, differing (as I have said) in degrees. Some make two distinct species, as *Ruffus Ephesius*, an old writer, *Constantinus Africanus, Aretæus,* [3] *Aurelianus,* [4] *Paulus Ægineta:* others acknowledge a multitude of kinds, and leave them indefinite, as *Aëtius* in his *Tetrabiblos,* [5] *Avicenna, lib.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *cap.* 18; *Arculanus, cap.* 16. *in* 9. *Rhasis; Montanus, med. part.* 1. [6] *If natural melancholy be adust, it maketh one kind; if blood, another; if choler, a third, differing from the first; and so many several opinions there are about the kinds, as there be men themselves.* [7] *Hercules de Saxonia* sets down two kinds, *material and immaterial; one from spirits alone, the other from humours and spirits. Savanarola, Rub.* 11. *Tract.* 6. *cap.* 1, *de ægritud. capitis*, will have the kinds to be infinite; one from the *myrach*, called *myrachialis* of the *Arabians;* another *stomachalis*, from the *stomack;* another from the *liver, heart, womb, hemrods,* [8] *one beginning, another consummate. Melancthon* seconds him, [9] *as the humour is diversly adust and mixed, so are the species*

[1] Guianerius, diff. 2. cap. 7. [2] Non est mania, nisi extensa melancholia. [3] Cap. 6. lib. 1. [4] 2 Ser. 2. cap. 9. Morbus hic est omnifarius. [5] Species indefinitæ sunt. [6] Si aduratur naturalis melancholia, alia fit species, si sanguis, alia, si flava bilis, alia, diversa à primis. Maxima est inter has differentia, et tot Doctorum sententiæ, quot ipsi numero sunt. [7] Tract. de mel. cap. 7. [8] Quædam incipiens, quædam consummata. [9] Cap. de humor. lib. de anima. Variè aduritur et miscetur ipsa melancholia, unde variæ amentium species.

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diverse. But what these men speak of species, I think ought to be understood of symptoms, and so doth [1] *Arculanus* interpret himself: infinite species, *id est*, symptoms: and in that sense, as *Jo. Gorrhæus* acknowledgeth in his medicinal definitions, the species are infinite, but they may be reduced to three kinds, by reason of their seat; *head*, *body*, and *hypochondries*. This threefold division is approved by *Hippocrates* in his Book of Melancholy (if it be his, which some suspect); by *Galen*, *lib.* 3. *de loc. affectis*, *cap.* 6; by *Alexander*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 16; *Rhasis*, *lib.* 1. *Continent. Tract.* 9. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 16; *Avicenna*, & most of our new writers. *Th. Erastus* makes two kinds; one perpetual, which is *head melancholy;* the other interrupt, which comes and goes by fits, which he subdivides into the other two kinds, so that all comes to the same pass. Some again make four or five kinds, with *Rodericus à Castro*, *de morbis mulier. lib.* 2. *cap.* 3; and *Lod. Mercatus*, who in his second book *de mulier. affect. cap.* 4, will have that melancholy of nuns, widows, and more ancient maids, to be a peculiar species of melancholy differing from the rest. Some will reduce enthusiasts, exstatical and demoniacal persons, to this rank, adding [2] *love melancholy* to the first, and *lycanthropia*. The most received division is into three kinds. The first proceeds from the sole fault of the *brain*, & is called *head melancholy:* the second sympathetically proceeds from the *whole body*, when the whole temperature is melancholy: the third ariseth from the bowels, liver, spleen, or membrane called *mesenterium*, named *hypochondriacal or windy melancholy*, which [3] *Laurentius* subdivides into three parts, from those three members, *hepatick*, *splenetick*, *meseraick*. *Love melancholy*, which *Avicenna* calls *ilishi*, & *lycanthropia*, which he calls *cucubuth*, are commonly included in head melancholy: but of this last, which *Gerardus de Solo* calls *amorous*, and most *Knight melancholy*, with that of *religious melancholy*, *virginum*, *& viduarum*,[4] maintained by *Rod. a Castro* and *Mercatus*, and the other kinds of *love melancholy*, I will speak apart by themselves in my third partition. The three precedent species are the subject of my present discourse, which I will anatomize, & treat of, through all their causes, symptoms, cures, together and apart; that every man that is any measure affected with this malady, may know how to examine it in himself, and apply remedies unto it.

[1] Cap. 16. in 9. Rhasis. [2] Laurentius, cap. 4. de mel. [3] Cap. 13. [4] Of virgins and widows.]

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It is a hard matter, I confess, to distinguish these three species one from the other, to express their several causes, symptoms, cures, being that they are so often confounded amongst themselves, having such affinity, that they can scarce be discerned by the most accurate Physicians, & so often intermixed with other diseases, that the best experienced have been plunged. *Montanus, consil.* 26, names a patient that had this disease of melancholy & *caninus appetitus* both together: and, *consil.* 23, with *vertigo;* [1] *Julius Cæsar Claudinus* with stone, gout, jaundice; *Trincavellius* with an ague, jaundice, *caninus appetitus &c.* [2] *Paulus Regoline,* a great Doctor in his time, consulted in this case, was so confounded with a confusion of symptoms, that he knew not to what kind of melancholy to refer it. [3] *Trincavellius, Fallopius,* and *Francanzanus,* famous Doctors in *Italy,* all three conferred with about one party at the same time, gave three different opinions. And, in another place, *Trincavellius* being demanded what he thought of a melancholy young man, to whom he was sent for, ingenuously confessed, that he was indeed melancholy, but he knew not to what kind to reduce it. In his 17th consultation, there is the like disagreement about a melancholy monk. Those symptoms, which others ascribe to misaffected parts and humours, [4] *Herc. de Saxonia* attributes wholly to distempered spirits, & those immaterial, as I have said. Sometimes they cannot well discern this disease from others. In *Reinerus Solinander's* counsels, *sect. consil.* 5, he and Dr. *Brande* both agreed, that the patient's disease was hypochondriacal melancholy. Dr. *Matholdus* said it was *asthma,* and nothing else. [5] *Solinander* and *Guarionius,* lately sent for to the melancholy Duke of *Cleve,* with others, could not define what species it was, or agree among themselves. The species are so confounded, as in *Cæsar Claudinus* his 44th consultation for a *Polonian* Count; in his judgement [6] *he laboured of head melancholy, and that which proceeds from the whole temperature, both at once.* I could give instance of some that have had three kinds *semel & simul,*[7] and some successively. So that I conclude of our melancholy species, as [8] many Politicians do of their pure forms of

[1] 480. et 116. consult. consil. 12. [2] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. fol. 166. [3] Trincavellius, tom. 2. consil. 15. et 16. [4] Cap. 13. tract. post. de melan. [5] Guarion. cons. med. 2. [6] Laboravit per essentiam et a toto corpore. [7] At once and together.] [8] Machiavel, &c. Smithus, de rep. Angl. cap. 8. lib. 1; Buscoldus, discur. polit. discurs. 5. cap. 7; Arist. lib. 3. polit. cap. ult. Keckerm. alii, &c.

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Commonwealths, Monarchies, Aristocracies, Democracies, are most famous in contemplation, but in practice they are temperate and usually mixed, (so [1] *Polybius* informeth us) as the *Lacedæmonian*, the *Roman* of old, *German* now, and many others. What Physicians say of distinct species in their books, it much matters not, since that in their patients' bodies they are commonly mixed. In such obscurity, therefore, variety and confused mixture of symptoms, causes, how difficult a thing it is to treat of several kinds apart; to make any certainty or distinction among so many casualties, distractions, when seldom two men shall be like affected *per omnia*! [2] 'Tis hard, I confess, yet nevertheless I will adventure through the midst of these perplexities, & led by the clue or thread of the best writers, extricate myself out of a labyrinth of doubts and errors, and so proceed to the causes.

SECT. II. MEMB. I.

SUBSEC. 1.—*Causes of Melancholy. God a cause.*

IT *is in vain to speak of cures, or think of remedies, until such time as we have considered of the causes; so* [3]*Galen* prescribes *Glauco:* and the common experience of others confirms that those cures must be imperfect, lame, and to no purpose, wherein the causes have not first been searched, as [4] *Prosper Calenius* well observes in his tract *de atrâ bile* [5] to Cardinal *Cæsius:* insomuch that [6]*Fernelius puts a kind of necessity in the knowledge of the causes, and without which it is impossible to cure or prevent any manner of disease.* Empiricks may ease, and sometimes help, but not throughly root out: *sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus,*[7] as the saying is, if the cause be removed, the effect is likewise vanquished. It is a most difficult thing (I confess) to be able to discern these causes whence they are, and in such [8] variety to say what the beginning was. [9] He is happy that can perform it aright. I will adventure

[1] Lib. 6. [cap. 10.] [[2] In every respect.] [3] Primo artis curativæ. [4] Nostri primum sit propositi affectionum causas indagare. Res ipsa hortari videtur, nam alioqui earum curatio manca et inutilis esset. [[5] About black bile.] [6] Path. lib. 1. cap. 11. Rerum cognoscere causas, medicis imprimis necessarium, sine qua nec morbum curare, nec præcavere, licet. [[7] A Law Maxim.] [8] Tanta enim morbi varietas ac differentia, ut non facile dignoscatur unde initium morbus sumpserit. Melanelius, è Galeno. [9] Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. [Virg. Georg. ii. 490.]

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to guess as near as I can, and rip them all up, from the first to the last, *general* and *particular*, to every *species*, that so they may the better be descried.

General causes are either *supernatural* or *natural*. *Supernatural are from God and his angels*, or, *by God's permission, from the devil* and his ministers. That God himself is a cause, for the punishment of sin, and satisfaction of his justice, many examples & testimonies of holy Scriptures make evident unto us, *Ps.* 107. 17. *Foolish men are plagued for their offence, and by reason of their wickedness. Gehazi* was strucken with leprosy, 2 *Reg.* 5. 27; *Jehoram* with dysentery and flux, and great diseases of the bowels, 2 *Chron.* 21. 15; *David* plagued for numbering his people, 1 *Chron.* 21; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* swallowed up.[1] And this disease is peculiarly specified, *Psal.* 117. 12. *He brought down their heart through heaviness. Deut.* 28. 28. *He stroke them with madness, blindness, and astonishment of heart.* [2]*An evil spirit was sent by the Lord upon Saul, to vex him.* [3]*Neduchadnezzar* did eat grass like an ox, and his *heart was made like the beasts of the field.* Heathen stories are full of such punishments. *Lycurgas*, because he cut down the vines in the country, was by *Bacchus* driven into madness: so was *Pentheus* and his mother *Agave* for neglecting their sacrifice. [4]*Censor Fulvius* ran mad for untiling *Juno's* Temple, to cover a new one of his own, which he had dedicated to *Fortune*, [5]*and was confounded to death with grief and sorrow of heart.* When *Xerxes* would have spoiled [6] *Apollo's* Temple at *Delphi* of those infinite riches it possessed, a terrible thunder came from Heaven and struck 4,000 men dead, the rest ran mad. [7]A little after, the like happened to *Brennus*, lightning, thunder, earthquakes, upon such a sacrilegious occasion. If we may believe our pontifical writers, they will relate unto us many strange and prodigious punishments in this kind, inflicted by their saints:— how [8]*Clodoveus*, sometime King of *France*, the son of *Dagobert*, lost his wits for uncovering the body of S. *Denis:* and how a [9]sacrilegious *Frenchman*, that would have stolen away a silver image of S. *John*, at *Birgburge*, became frantick on a sudden, raging, and

[1 Gen. 19.] [2] 1 Sam. xvi. 14. [3] Dan. v. 21. [4] Lactant. instit. lib. 2. cap. 8. [5] Mente captus, et summo animi moerore consumptus. [6] Munster. cosmog. lib. 4. cap. 43. De cœlo substernebantur, tanquam insani, de saxis præcipitati, &c. [7] Livius lib. 38. [Rather Pausanias, x. 23. Much about Brennus in Livy l. c. but not this precise ref.] [8] Gaguin. l. 3. c. 4. Quod Dionysii corpus discooperuerat, in insaniam incidit. [9] Idem lib. 9. sub. Carol. 6. Sacrorum con-

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tyrannising over his own flesh; of a [1]Lord of *Radnor*, that, coming from hunting late at night, put his dogs into S. *Avan's* Church, (*Llan Avan* they called it), and rising betimes next morning, as hunters use to do, found all his dogs mad, himself being suddenly strucken blind; of *Tiridates*, an [2]*Armenian* King, for violating some holy nuns, that was punished in like sort, with loss of his wits. But Poets and Papists may go together for fabulous tales; let them free their own credits: howsoever they feign of their *Nemesis*, and of their *Saints*, or by the devil's means may be deluded; we find it true, that *ultor à tergo Deus*, [3]*He is God the avenger*, as *David* styles him; and that it is our crying sins that pull this and many other maladies on our heads; that he can by his Angels, which are his Ministers, strike and heal (saith [4]*Dionysius*) whom he will; that he can plague us by his creatures, sun, moon, and stars, which he useth as his instruments, as a husbandman (saith *Zanchius*) doth an hatchet. Hail, snow, winds, &c.

[5] Et conjurati veniunt in classica venti:

as in *Joshua's* time, as in *Pharaoh's* reign in *Egypt;* they are but as so many executioners of his justice. He can make the proudest spirits stoop, & cry out with *Julian* the Apostate, *Vicisti, Galilæe:*[6] or with *Apollo's* Priest in [7]*Chrysostom, O cælum! O terra!*[8] *unde hostis hic?* What an enemy is this? And pray with *David*, acknowledging his power, *I am weakened and sore broken, I roar for the grief of mine heart; mine heart panteth, &c. Psal.* 38. 8. *O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chastise me in thy wrath, Ps.* 38. 1. *Make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice, Psal.* 51. 8. *& verse* 12; *Restore to me the joy of thy salvation, and establish me with thy free spirit.* For these causes belike [9]*Hippocrates* would have a Physician take special notice whether the disease come not from a divine supernatural cause, or whether it follow the course of nature. But this is farther discussed by *Fran: Valesius, de sacr. philos. cap.* 8,

temptor, templi foribus effractis, dum D. Johannis argenteum simulacrum rapere contendit, simulacrum aversâ facie dorsum ei versat, nec mora sacrilegus mentis inops, atque in semet insaniens, in proprios artus desævit. [1] Giraldus Cambrensis, lib. 1. c. 1. Itinerar. Cambriæ. [2] Delrio, tom. 3. lib. 6. sect. 3. quæst. 3. [3] Psal. xliv. 1. [4] Lib. 8. cap. de Hierar. [5] Claudian [De Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti, 98.] [6] Theodoret, H. E. iii. 25; cf. Sozomen, vi. 2. Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!] [7] De Babilâ Martyre. [8] O heaven! O earth!] [9] Lib. cap. 5. prog.

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[1] *Fernelius*, and [2] *J. Cæsar Claudinus*, to whom I refer you, how this place of *Hippocrates* is to be understood. *Paracelsus* is of opinion, that such spiritual diseases (for so he calls them) are spiritually to be cured, and not otherwise. Ordinary means in such cases will not avail: *non est reluctandum cum Deo.*[3] When that monster-taming *Hercules* overcame all in the *Olympicks*, *Jupiter* at last in an unknown shape wrestled with him; the victory was uncertain, till at length *Jupiter* descried himself, and *Hercules* yielded. No striving with supreme powers.

Nil juvat immensos Cratero promittere montes,[4]

Physicians and Physick can do no good, [5] *we must submit under the mighty hand of God*, acknowledge our offences, call to him for mercy. If he strike us, *una eademque manus vulnus opemque feret*,[6] as it is with them that are wounded with the spear of *Achilles*, he alone must help; otherwise our diseases are incurable, and we not to be relieved.

SUBSEC. 2.—*A Digression of the nature of Spirits, bad Angels, or Devils, and how they cause Melancholy.*

How far the power of Spirits and Devils doth extend, and whether they can cause this, or any other disease, is a serious question, and worthy to be considered: for the better understanding of which, I will make a brief digression of the nature of Spirits. And although the question be very obscure, according to [7] *Postellus, full of controversy and ambiguity*, beyond the reach of human capacity, *fateor excedere vires intentionis meæ*, saith [8] *Austin*, I confess I am not able to understand it, *finitum de infinito non potest statuere*,[9] we can sooner determine with *Tully, de nat. deorum*,[10] *quid non sint quam quid sint*, our subtle Schoolmen, *Cardans, Scaligers*, profound *Thomists*, *Fracastoriana & Ferneliana acies*, are weak, dry, obscure, defective in these mysteries, and all our quickest wits, as an owl's eyes at the sun's light, wax dull, and are

[1] Lib. 1. de abditis rerum causis. [2] Respons. med. 12. resp. [3] We must not struggle with God.] [4] Pers. iii. 65. See Jahn's Note.] [5] 1 Pet. v. 6. [6] Ovid, Remed. Amoris, 44. One and the same hand will bring wound and help.] [7] Lib. 1. c. 7. de orbis concordia. In nullâ re major fuit altercatio, major obscuritas, minor opinionum concordia, quàm de dæmonibus et substantiis separatis. [8] Lib. 3. de Trinit. cap. 1. [9] The finite cannot deal with the infinite.] [10] i. 21, 60. what they are not than what they are.]

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not sufficient to apprehend them; yet, as in the rest, I will adventure to say something to this point. In former times, as we read *Acts* 23. [8], the *Sadducees* denied that there were any such Spirits, Devils, or Angels. So did *Galen* the Physician, the *Peripateticks*, even *Aristotle himself*, as *Pomponatius* stoutly maintains, and *Scaliger* in some sort grants; though *Dandinus* the Jesuit, *com. in lib. 2. de animâ*, stiffly denies it. *Substantiæ separatæ*, and intelligences, are the same which Christians call Angels, and Platonists Devils, for they name all the Spirits *dæmones*, be they good or bad Angels, as *Julius Pollux*, *Onomasticon*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1, observes. *Epicures* and *Atheists* are of the same mind in general, because they never saw them. *Plato*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, *Proclus*, insisting in the steps of *Trismegistus*, *Pythagoras* and *Socrates*, make no doubt of it: nor *Stoicks*, but that there are such spirits, though much erring from the truth. Concerning the first beginning of them, the [1] *Talmudists* say that *Adam* had a wife called *Lilis*,[2] before he married *Eve*, & of her he begat nothing but Devils. The *Turks'* [3] *Alcoran* is altogether as absurd and ridiculous in this point: but the Scripture informs us *Christians*, how *Lucifer*, the chief of them, with his associates, [4] fell from heaven for his pride and ambition; created of God, placed in heaven, and sometimes an Angel of light, now cast down into the lower aerial sublunary parts, or into Hell, and *delivered into chains of darkness* (2 Pet. 2. 4.) *to be kept unto damnation.* There is a foolish opinion, which some hold, that they are the souls of men departed, good and more noble were deified, the baser grovelled on the ground, or in the lower parts, and were devils; the which, with *Tertullian*, *Porphyrius* the Philosopher, *M. Tyrius*, *ser.* 27, maintains. *These spirits*, he saith, [5] *which we call Angels and Devils, are nought but souls of men departed, which, either through love and pity of their friends yet living, help and assist them, or else persecute their enemies, whom they hated*, as *Dido* threatened to persecute *Æneas:*

> Omnibus umbra locis adero: dabis, improbe, pœnas.[6]
> [I'll haunt you in all places like a ghost:
> Wretch, you shall pay full penalty.]

[1] Pererius, in Genesin, lib. 4. in cap. 3. v. 23. [2] Or Lilith. [3] See Strozzius Cicogna, omnifariæ Mag. lib. 2. c. 15. Jo. Aubanus, Bredenbachius. [4] Angelus per superbiam separatus à Deo, qui in veritate non stetit. Austin. [De Genesi, lib. xi. c. 16.] [5] Nihil allud sunt Dæmones quam nudæ animæ, qui, corpore deposito, priorem miserati vitam, cognatis succurrunt commoti misericordia, &c. [6] Virg. Æn. iv. 386 sq.]

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They are (as others suppose) appointed by those higher Powers to keep men from their nativity, and to protect or punish them, as they see cause: and are called *boni* and *mali Genii*[1] by the *Romans; Heroes, Lares*, if good, *Lemures* or *Larvæ*, if bad[2] by the *Stoicks*, governors of countries, men, cities, saith [3]*Apuleius; Deos appellant qui ex hominum numero, justè ac prudenter vitæ curriculo gubernato, pro numine postea, ab hominibus præditi fanis & cæremoniis, vulgò admittuntur, ut in* Ægypto *Osiris; &c. Præstites, Capella* calls them, *which protected particular men as well as princes. Socrates* had his *Dæmonium saturninum & ignium*,[4] which of all spirits is best, *ad sublimes cogitationes animum erigentem*,[5] as the Platonists supposed; *Plotinus* his; and we Christians our assisting Angel, as *Andreas Victorellus*, a copious writer of this subject, *Lodovicus de La-Cerda*, the Jesuit, in his *voluminous* Tract *de Angelo Custode, Zanchius*, and some Divines think. But this absurd Tenent of *Tyrius, Proclus* confutes at large in his book *de Animâ & dæmone.*

[6] *Psellus*, a Christian, and sometime Tutor (saith *Cuspinian*) to *Michael Parapinatius*, Emperor of *Greece*, a great observer of the nature of Devils, holds they are [7] corporeal, and have *aerial bodies, that they are mortal, live and die*, (which *Martianus Capella* likewise maintains, but our Christian Philosophers explode), *that* [8] *they are nourished and have excrements, that they feel pain if they be hurt* (which *Cardan* confirms, and *Scaliger* justly laughs him to scorn for; *si pascantur ære, cur non pugnant ob puriorem aera?*[9] *&c.*) *or stroken:* &, if their bodies be cut, with admirable celerity they come together again. *Austin, in Gen. lib.* 3, *lib. arbit.* approves as much, *mutato casu corpora in deteriorem qualitatem aeris spissioris;* so doth *Hierome, Comment. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap.* 3, *Origen. Tertullian, Lactantius*, and many ancient Fathers of the Church: that in their fall their bodies were changed into a more aerial and gross substance. *Bodine, lib.* 4. *Theatri Naturæ*, and *David Crusius, Hermeticæ Philosophiæ, lib.* 1. *cap.* 4, by several

[1 Good and bad Genii.] [2 See Note 4, p. 187.] [3 De Deo Socratis. [689, 690. All those mortals are called gods, who, their course of life having been prudently guided and governed, are honoured by men with temples and sacrifices, as Osiris in Egypt, &c.] [4 Saturnine and fiery demon.] [5 Raising the mind to sublime thoughts.] [6 He lived 500 years since. [7 Apuleius. [De Deo Socratis, 684.] Spiritus animalia sunt animo passibilia, mente rationalia, corpore aeria, tempore sempiterna. [8 Nutriuntur, et excrementa habent; quod pulsata doleant solido percussa corpore. [9 If they feed on air, why do they not fight for purer air?]

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arguments proves Angels and Spirits to be corporeal: *quicquid continetur in loco corporeum est: at spiritus continetur in loco*, ergo.[1] *Si spiritus sunt quanti, erunt corporei: at sunt quanti*, ergo. *Sunt finiti*, ergo *quanti*, &c. [2]*Bodine* goes farther yet, and will have these *animæ separatæ, genii*, Spirits, Angels, Devils, and so likewise souls of men departed, if corporeal (which he most eagerly contends), to be of some shape, and that absolutely round, like Sun and Moon, because that is the most perfect form, *quæ nihil habet asperitatis, nihil angulis incisum, nihil anfractibus involutum, nihil eminens, sed inter corpora perfecta est perfectissimum*;[3] therefore all spirits are corporeal, he concludes, & in their proper shapes round. That they can assume other aerial bodies, all manner of shapes at their pleasures, appear in what likeness they will themselves, that they are most swift in motion, can pass many miles in an instant, & so likewise [4]transform bodies of others into what shape they please, and with admirable celerity remove them from place to place; (as the Angel did *Habakkuk* to *Daniel*, and as *Philip* the *Deacon* was carried away by the Spirit, when he had baptized the *Eunuch*; so did *Pythagoras* and *Apollonius* remove themselves and others, with many such feats); that they can represent castles in the air, palaces, armies, spectrums, prodigies, and such strange objects to mortal men's eyes, [5]cause smells, savours, &c. deceive all the senses; most writers of this subject credibly believe; and that they can foretell future events, and do many strange miracles. *Juno's* image spake to *Camillus*, and *Fortune's* statue to the *Roman* matrons, with many such. *Zanchius, Bodine, Spondanus*, and others, are of opinion that they cause a true Metamorphosis, as *Nebuchadnezzar* was really translated into a beast, *Lot's* wife into a pillar of salt, *Ulysses'* companions into hogs and dogs by *Circe's* charms; turn themselves and others, as they do witches, into cats, dogs, hares, crows, &c. *Strozzius Cicogna* hath many examples, *lib.* 3. *omnif. mag. capp.* 4 & 5. which

[1] Whatever occupies space is corporeal:—spirit occupies space, *therefore*, &c. &c.] [2] Lib. 4. Theol. nat. fol. 535. [3] Which has no roughness, angles, tortuousness, prominences, but is the most perfect amongst perfect bodies.] [4] Cyprianus, in Epist. Montes etiam et animalia transferri possunt: as the devil did Christ to the top of the pinnacle; and witches are often translated. See more in Strozzius Cicogna, lib. 3. cap. 4. omnif. mag. Per aera subducere, et in sublime corpora ferre possunt. Biarmanus. Percussi dolent, et uruntur in conspicuos cineres. Agrippa, lib. 3. cap. de occult. Philos. [5] Agrippa de occult. Philos. lib. 3. cap. 18.

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he there confutes, as *Austin* likewise doth, *de civ. Dei, lib.* 18. That they can be seen when, and in what shape, and to whom they will, saith *Psellus, tametsi nil tale viderim, nec optem videre,* though he himself never saw them nor desired it; and use sometimes carnal copulation (as elsewhere I shall [1] prove more at large) with women and men. Many will not believe they can be seen, and if any man shall say, swear, and stiffly maintain, though he be discreet and wise, judicious and learned, that he hath seen them, they account him a timorous fool, a melancholy dizzard, a weak fellow, a dreamer, a sick or a mad man, they contemn him, laugh him to scorn, and yet *Marcus* of his credit told *Psellus* that he had often seen them. And *Leo Suavius*, a Frenchman, (*c.* 8. *in Commentar. l.* 1. *Paracelsi de vitâ longâ*, out of some *Platonists*,) will have the air to be as full of them as snow falling in the skies, and that they may be seen, and withal sets down the means how men may see them; *Si irreverberatis oculis, sole splendente, versus cælum continuaverint obtutus, &c.*,[2] & saith moreover he tried it, *præmissorum feci experimentum*, & it was true that the *Platonists* said. *Paracelsus* confesseth that he saw them divers times, & conferred with them, & so doth *Alexander ab* [3] *Alexandro, that he so found it by experience, when as before he doubted of it.* Many deny it, saith *Lavater, de spectris, par.* 1. *c.* 2. *& par.* 2. *c.* 11; *because they never saw them themselves;* but as he reports at large all over his book, especially *c.* 19. *par.* 1; they are often seen & heard, & familiarly converse with men, as *Lod. Vives* assureth us, innumerable records, histories, and testimonies evince in all ages, times, places, and [4] all travellers besides; in the West *Indies* and our Northern climes, *nihil familiarius quam in agris & urbibus spiritus videre, audire qui vetent, jubeant, &c.*[5] *Hieronymus, vita Pauli, Basil, ser.* 40, *Nicephorus, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus,*[6] *Jacobus Boissardus*, in his Tract *de spirituum apparitionibus, Petrus Loyerus, l. de spectris, Wierus l.* 1, have infinite variety of such examples of apparitions of spirits, for him to read that farther doubts, to his ample satisfaction. One alone I will briefly insert. A nobleman in *Germany* was sent ambassador to the King of *Sweden*

[1] Part. 3. Sect. 2. Mem. 1. Subs. 1. Love Melancholy. [2] By gazing steadfastly on the sun illuminated with its brightest rays.] [3] Genial. dierum. Ita sibi visum et compertum, quum prius an essent ambigeret. Fidem suam liberet. [4] Lib. 1. de verit. fidei. Benzo, &c. [5] Nothing is more common than to see spirits in the fields and cities, to hear them bidding or forbidding.] [6] Lib. de Divinatione et Magiâ.

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(for his name, the time, & such circumstances, I refer you to *Boissardus*, mine [1] Author). After he had done his business, he sailed to *Livonia*, on set purpose to see those familiar spirits, which are there said to be conversant with men, & do their drudgery works. Amongst other matters, one of them told him where his wife was, in what room, in what clothes, what doing, & brought him a ring from her, which at his return, *non sine omnium admiratione*,[2] he found to be true; and so believed that ever after, which before he doubted of. *Cardan, l.* 19. *de subtil.* relates of his father, *Facius Cardan*, that after the accustomed solemnities, *An.* 1491, 13 *August*, he conjured up 7 Devils in Greek apparel, about 40 years of age, some ruddy of complexion, & some pale, as he thought; he asked them many questions, & they made ready answer, that they were aerial Devils, that they lived & died as men did, save that they were far longer liv'd, (700 or 800. [3]years); they did as much excel men in dignity, as we do juments, and were as far excelled again of those that were above them; our [4] governors & keepers they are moreover, which [5] *Plato* in *Critias* delivered of old, & subordinate to one another, *ut enim homo homini, sic dæmon dæmoni dominatur*,[6] they rule themselves as well as us, & the spirits of the meaner sort had commonly such offices, as we make horse-keepers, neat-herds, & the basest of us overseers of our cattle; & that we can no more apprehend their natures and functions, than an horse a man's. They knew all things, but might not reveal them to men; & ruled & domineered over us, as we do over our horses; the best Kings amongst us, & the most generous spirits, were not comparable to the basest of them. Sometimes they did instruct men, & communicate their skill, reward & cherish, and sometimes again terrify & punish, to keep them in awe, as they thought fit, *nihil magis cupientes* (saith *Lysius, Phys. Stoicorum*) *quam adorationem hominum*.[7] The same author, *Cardan*, in his *Hyperchen*, out of the doctrine of *Stoicks*, will have some of these *Genii* (for so he calls them) to be [8] de-

[1] Cap. 8. Transportavit in Livoniam, cupiditate videndi, &c. [2] Not without wondering at everything.] [3] Sic Hesiodus, de Nymphis, vivere dicit 10 ætates phœnicum, vel 9. [Hesiod's lines are in Plutarch, De defectu Oraculorum, § xi.] [4] Custodes hominum et provinciarum, &c. tanto meliores hominibus, quanto hi brutis animantibus. [5] Præsides, Pastores, Gubernatores hominum, et illi animalium. [6] For as man rules man, so demon rules demon.] [7] Desiring nothing more than the admiration of mankind.] [8] Natura familiares ut canes hominibus; multi aversantur et abhorrent.

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sirous of men's company, very affable, & familiar with them, as dogs are; others again to abhor as serpents, & care not for them. The same, belike, *Trithemius* calls *igneos & sublunares, qui nunquam demergunt ad inferiora, aut vix ullum habent in terris commercium.*[1] [2] *Generally they far excel men in worth, as a man the meanest worm;* though some of them are *inferior to those of their own rank in worth, as the black guard in a Prince's Court, and to men again, as some degenerate, base, rational creatures, are excelled of brute beasts.*

That they are mortal, besides these testimonies of *Cardan, Martianus, &c.* many other Divines and Philosophers hold, *post prolixum tempus moriuntur omnes;*[3] the [4] *Platonists* and some *Rabbins, Porphyrius* and *Plutarch,* as appears by that relation of *Thamus:* [5] *The great God Pan is dead: Apollo Pythius* ceased; and so the rest. S. *Hierome,* in the life of *Paul* the Eremite, tells a story how one of them appeared to S. *Antony* in the wilderness, and told him as much. [6] *Paracelsus,* of our late writers, stiffly maintains that they are mortal, live and die, as other creatures do. *Zozimus, l.* 2, farther adds, that religion and policy dies and alters with them. The [7] Gentiles' gods, he saith, were expelled by *Constantine,* and together with them *imperii Romani majestas et fortuna interiit, & profligata est;* the Fortune and Majesty of the Roman Empire decayed and vanished, as that heathen in [8] *Minucius* formerly bragged, when the *Jews* were overcome by the *Romans,* the *Jews'* God was likewise captivated by that of *Rome;* and *Rabshakeh* to the *Israelites,* no God should deliver them out of the hands of the *Assyrians.*[9] But these paradoxes of their power, corporeity, mortality, taking of shapes, transposing bodies, and carnal copulations, are sufficiently confuted by *Zanch. c.* 10. *l.* 4, *Pererius,* in his comment, and *Tostatus,* questions on the sixth of *Gen. Th. Aquin. S. Austin, Wierus, Th. Erastus, Delrio, tom.* 2. *l.* 2. *quæst.* 29: *Sebastian Michaelis, cap.* 2. *de spiritibus, D. Reinolds, Lect.* 47. They may deceive the eyes of men, yet not take true bodies, or make a real metamorphosis: but, as *Cicogna* proves at

[1] Fiery and sublunary, which never go to the lower parts, and have scarce any dealings on the earth.] [2] Ab homine plus distant quam homo ab ignobilissimo verne, et tamen quidam ex his ab hominibus superantur, ut homines à feris, &c. [3] After a long time they all die.] [4] Cibo et potu uti et venere cum hominibus, ac tandem mori, Cicogna. 1. part. 2. c. 3. [5] Plutarch. De defect. oraculorum. [§ xvii.] [6] Lib. de Zilphis et Pygmaeis. [7] Dii gentium a Constantio profligati sunt, &c. [8] Octovian. dial. Judæorum deum fuisse Romanorum numinibus una cum gente captivum. [capp. x. xxxiii.] [9] Isaiah, 36.]

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large, they are [1] *illusoriæ & præstigiatrices transformationes, (omnif. mag. lib. 4. cap. 4.)* mere illusions and cozenings, like that tale of *Pasetis obolus in Suidas,*[2] or that of *Autolycus, Mercury's* son, that dwelt in *Parnassus,* who got so much treasure by cozenage and stealth. His father, *Mercury,* because he could leave him no wealth, taught him many fine tricks to get means, [3] for he could drive away men's cattle, and if any pursued him, turn them into what shapes he would, and so did mightily enrich himself, *hoc astu maximam prædam est adsecutus.* This no doubt is as true as the rest; yet thus much in general, *Thomas, Durand,* and others, grant that they have understanding far beyond men, can probably conjecture, and [4] foretell many things; they can cause and cure most diseases, deceive our senses; they have excellent skill in all Arts and Sciences: and that the most illiterate Devil is *quovis homine scientior,*[5] as [6] *Cicogna* maintains out of others. They know the virtues of herbs, plants, stones, minerals, &c. of all creatures, birds, beasts, the four elements, stars, planets; can aptly apply and make use of them as they see good, perceiving the causes of all meteors, and the like. *Dant se coloribus* (as [7] *Austin* hath it), *accommodant se figuris, adhærent sonis, subjiciunt se odoribus, infundunt se saporibus, omnes sensus, etiam ipsam intelligentiam, dæmones fallunt,* they deceive all our senses, even our understanding itself at once. [8] They can produce miraculous alterations in the air, and most wonderful effects, conquer armies, give victories, help, further, hurt, cross and alter, human attempts and projects (*Dei permissu* [9]) as they see good themselves. [10] When *Charles* the Great attempted to make a channel [11] betwixt the *Rhine* and *Danube,* [12] look what his workmen did in the day, these spirits flung down in the night, *ut conatu Rex desisteret pervicere.* [13] Such

[1] Omnia spiritibus plena, et ex eorum concordia et discordia omnes boni et mali effectus promanant, omnia humana reguntur. Paradoxa veterum, de quo Cicogna, omnif. mag. l. 2. c. 3. [2] See Erasmi Adagia, p. 620.] [3] Oves quas abacturus erat, in quascunque formas vertebat. Pausanias. [vii. 20.] Hyginus. [Fable 201.] [4] Austin in l. 2. de Gen. ad literam, cap. 17. Partim quia subtilioris sensus acumine, partim scientia callidiore vigent, et experientia propter magnam longitudinem vitæ, partim ab Angelis discunt, &c. [5] More knowing than any man.] [6] Lib. iii. omnif. mag. cap. 3. [7] Lib. 18. quest. [8] Quum tanta sit et tam profunda spirituum scientia, mirum non est tot tantasque res visu admirabiles ab ipsis patrari, et quidem rerum naturalium ope, quas multo melius intelligunt, multoque peritius suis locis et temporibus applicare norunt quam homo. Cicogna. [9] By God's permission.] [10] Aventinus. Quicquid interdiu exhauriebatur, noctu explebatur. Inde pavefacti curatores, &c. [11] =Canal.] [12] See p. 106, Note 4.] [13] So that they made the King desist from his attempt.]

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feats can they do. But that which *Bodine, l.* 4. *Theat. nat.* thinks, (following *Tyrius* belike and the Platonists), [that] they can tell the secrets of a man's heart, *aut cogitationes hominum,* is most false; his reasons are weak, and sufficiently confuted by *Zanch. lib.* 4. *cap.* 9, *Hierom. lib.* 2. *com. Mat. ad cap.* 15, *Athanasius, quæst.* 27. *ad Antiochum Principem,* and others.

As for those orders of good & bad Devils, which the Platonists hold, [it] is altogether erroneous, & those Ethnicks' *boni* & *mali Genii*[1] are to be exploded. These heathen writers agree not in this point among themselves, as *Dandinus* notes, *an sint*[2] *mali non conveniunt,* some will have all spirits good or bad to us by a mistake; as if an ox or horse could discourse, he would say the butcher was his enemy because he kill'd him, the grazier his friend because he fed him; an hunter preserves and yet kills his game, and is hated nevertheless of his game; *nec piscatorem piscis amare potest,*[3] &c. But *Iamblicus, Psellus, Plutarch,* & most Platonists acknowledge bad, *& ab eorum maleficiis cavendum,* for they are enemies of man-kind, & this *Plato* learned in Egypt, that they quarrelled with *Jupiter,* and were driven by him down to hell.[4] That which [5] *Apuleius, Xenophon,* & *Plato* contend of *Socrates' Dæmonium,* is most absurd: that which *Plotinus* of his, that he had likewise *Deum pro Dæmonio:*[6] and that which *Porphyry* concludes of them all in general, if they be neglected in their sacrifice they are angry; nay more, as *Cardan* in his *Hyperchen* will, they feed on men's souls, *elementa sunt plantis elementum, animalibus plantæ, hominibus animalia, erunt & homines aliis, non autem diis, nimis remota est eorum natura à nostrâ, quapropter dæmonibus:* and so, belike, that we have so many battles fought in all ages, countries, is to make them a feast, and their sole delight. But to return to that I said before, if displeased, they fret and chafe, (for they feed, belike, on the souls of beasts, as we do on their bodies), & send many plagues amongst us; but, if pleased, they do much good; is as vain as the rest, & confuted by *Austin, l.* 9. *c.* 8. *de Civ. Dei; Euseb. l.* 4. *præpar. Evan. c.* 6; & others. Yet thus much I find, that our School-men & other

[1 Good and bad Genii.] [2 In lib. 2. de Anima, text. 29. Homerus discriminatim omnes spiritus dæmones vocat. [3 Martial, vi. 63. 6. Nor can the fish love the fisherman.] [4 A Jove ad inferos pulsi, &c. [5 De Deo Socratis. Adest mihi divina sorte Dæmonium quoddam, à prima pueritia me secutum; sæpe dissuadet, impellit nonnunquam, instar vocis. Plato. [See Apol. 40 A, Theaet. 151 A, Euthyd. 272 E.] [6 God as his Dæmonium.]

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[1] Divines make 9 kinds of bad Spirits, as *Dionysius* hath done of Angels. In the first rank are those false gods of the Gentiles, which were adored heretofore in several Idols, and gave Oracles at *Delphi*, and elsewhere; whose Prince is *Beelzebub*. The second rank is of Liars, and Equivocators, as *Apollo Pythius*, and the like. The third are those vessels of anger, inventors of all mischief; as that *Theuth* in *Plato*; [2] *Esay* calls them [3] vessels of fury; their Prince is *Belial*. The fourth are malicious revenging Devils; and their Prince is *Asmodæus*. The fifth kind are cozeners, such as belong to Magicians and Witches; their Prince is *Satan*. The sixth are those aerial devils that [4] corrupt the air, & cause plagues, thunders, fires; *&c.* spoken of in the *Apocalypse*, and *Paul* to the *Ephesians*[5] names them the Princes of the air; *Meresin* is their Prince. The seventh is a destroyer, Captain of the Furies, causing wars, tumults, combustions, uproars, mentioned in the *Apocalypse*, [ix. 11], and called *Abaddon*. The eighth is that accusing or calumniating Devil, whom the Greeks call Διάβολος, that drives men to despair. The ninth are those tempters in several kinds, and their Prince is *Mammon*. *Psellus* makes six kinds, yet none above the Moon. *Wierus*, in his *Pseudomonarchiâ Dæmonis*, out of an old book, makes many more divisions and subordinations, with their several names, numbers, offices, &c. but *Gazæus* cited by [6] *Lipsius* will have all places full of Angels, Spirits, and Devils, above and beneath the Moon,[7] ætherial and aerial, which *Austin* cites out of *Varro*, *l.* 7, *de Civ. Dei c.* 6. *The celestial Devils above, & aerial beneath*, or as some will, gods above, *Semidei* or half Gods beneath, *Lares*, *Heroes*, *Genii*, which climb higher, if they lived well, as the *Stoicks* held, but grovel on the ground as they were baser in their lives, nearer to the earth: & are *Manes*, *Lemures*, *Lamiæ*, &c. [8] They will have no place void but all full of Spirits, Devils, or some other inhabitants; *plenum cœlum*, *aer*, *aqua*, *terra*, *& omnia sub terrâ*, saith [9] *Gazæus*; though *Anthony Rusca* in his book *de Inferno*, *lib.* 5. *C.* 7, would confine them to the middle Region, yet they will have them everywhere. Not so much as an hair breadth empty in

[1] Agrippa lib. 3. de occult. ph. c. 18. Zanch. Pictorius, Pererius, Cicogna, l. 3. cap. 1. [2] Phaedr. 274 C. E. Phileb. 18 B.] [3] Vasa iræ. c. 13. [5.] [4] Quibus datum est nocere terræ et mari, &c. [Apocalypse, vii. 2.] [5] vi. 12, or ii. 2, or a combination of both passages memoriter.] [6] Physiol. Stoicorum è Senec. lib. 1. cap. 28. [7] Usque ad lunam animas esse æthereas vocarique heroas, lares genios. [8] Mart. Capella. [9] Nihil vacuum ab his, ubi vel capillum in aerem vel aquam jaceas.

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heaven, earth, or waters, above or under the earth. The air is not so full of flies in summer, as it is at all times of invisible devils: this [1] *Paracelsus* stiffly maintains, and that they have every one their several *Chaos;* others will have infinite worlds, and each world his peculiar Spirits, Gods, Angels, and Devils, to govern and punish it.

> Singula [2] nonnulli credunt quoque sidera posse
> Dici orbes, terramque appellant sidus opacum,
> Cui minimus divûm præsit.——
>
> [Some persons think that every star's a world,
> And call this earth of ours an opaque star,
> Presided over by the least of gods.]

[3] *Gregorius Tholosanus* makes seven kinds of ætherial Spirits or Angels, according to the number of the seven Planets, Saturnine, Jovial, Martial, [etc.] of which *Cardan* discourseth, *lib.* 20. *de subtil.* he calls them *substantias primas,*[4] *Olympicos dæmones Trithemius, qui præsunt Zodiaco,*[5] *&c.* and will have them to be good Angels above, Devils beneath the Moon, their several names and offices he there sets down, and, which *Dionysius* of Angels, will have several spirits for several countries, men, offices, &c. which live about them, & as so many assisting powers cause their operations; will have in a word innumerable, as many of them as there be stars in the skies. [6] *Marcilius Ficinus* seems to second this opinion, out of *Plato,* or from himself, I know not, (still ruling their inferiors, as they do those under them again, all subordinate, and the nearest to the earth rule us, whom we subdivide into good and bad Angels, call Gods or Devils, as they help or hurt us, and so adore, love or hate), but it is most likely from *Plato,* for he relying wholly on *Socrates, quem mori potius quam mentiri voluisse scribit,* [who (he writes) would rather die than tell a lie], out of *Socrates'* authority alone, made nine kinds of them: which opinion, belike, *Socrates* took from *Pythagoras,* & he from *Trismegistus,* he from *Zoroaster,* first God, secondly Ideæ; 3. Intelligences, 4. Arch-Angels, 5. Angels, 6. Devils, 7. Heroes, 8. Principalities, 9. Princes: of which some were absolutely good, as Gods, some bad, some indifferent *inter deos & homines,*[7] as heroes and *dæmones,* which ruled men, and were called *genii,* or, as [8] *Proclus* and

[1] Lib. de Zilp. [2] Palingenius. [3] Lib. 7. cap. 34 et 5. Syntax. art. mirab. [4] Prime substances.] [5] Trithemius calls them Olympian demons, who rule over the Zodiac.] [6] Comment in dial. Plat. de amore, cap. 5. Ut sphæra quælibet super nos, ita præstantiores habent habitatores suæ sphæræ cor ortes, ut habet nostra. [7] Between gods and men.] [8] Lib. de Animâ et Dæmone. Med. inter deos et homines, divina ad nos et nostra æqualiter ad deos ferunt.

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Iamblicus will, the middle betwixt God and men, Principalities and Princes, which commanded & swayed Kings and countries, and had several places in the Spheres perhaps, for as every Sphere is higher, so hath it more excellent inhabitants: which, belike, is that *Galilæus à Galilæo* and *Kepler* aims at in his *Nuncio Siderio*, when he will have [1] *Saturnine* and *Jovial* inhabitants: and which *Tycho Brahe* doth in some sort touch or insinuate in one of his Epistles: but these things [2] *Zanchius* justly explodes, *cap.* 3. *lib.* 4, *P. Martyr. in* 4. *Sam.* 28. So that, according to these men, the number of ætherial Spirits must needs be infinite: for if that be true that some of our Mathematicians say: if a stone could fall from the starry heaven, or eighth sphere, and should pass every hour an hundred miles, it would be 65 years, or more, before it would come to ground, by reason of the great distance of heaven from earth, which contains, as some say, 170 millions 803 miles, besides those other heavens, whether they be crystalline or watery, which *Maginus* adds, which peradventure hold as much more, how many such spirits may it contain? And yet for all this [3] *Thomas*, *Albertus*, and most, hold that there be far more Angels than Devils.

But be they more or less, *Quod supra nos nihil ad nos.*[4] Howsoever, as *Martianus* foolishly supposeth, *Ætherii Dæmones non curant res humanas*, they care not for us, do not attend our actions, or look for us, those ætherial spirits have other worlds to reign in, belike, or business to follow. We are only now to speak in brief of these sublunary Spirits or Devils: for the rest, our Divines determine that the Devil had no power over stars, or heavens. [5] *Carminbus cælo possunt deducere lunam, &c.*[6] Those are poetical fictions, and that they can [7] *sistere aquam fluviis, & vertere sidera retro; &c.*[8] as *Canidia* in *Horace*,[9] 'tis all false. [10] They are confined until the day of judgement to this sublunary world, and can work

[1] Saturninas et Joviales accolas. [2] In loca detrusi sunt infra cælestes orbes in aerem silicet et infra ubi Judicio generali reservantur. [3] q. 36. art. 9. [4] What is above us does not concern us. Originally a saying of Socrates. See Lactantius, lib. 3. cap. 19. Minucius Felix, c. xiii.] [5] Virg. 8. Ecl. [69.] [6] By their charms (verses) they can draw down the moon from the heavens.] [7] Æn. 4. [489.] [8] Stop rivers, and turn the stars backwards in their courses.] [9] Epodes, iii. v. xvii.] [10] Austin: [De Agone Christiano, cap. iii.] Hoc dixi, ne quis existimet habitare ibi mala dæmonia ubi Solem et Lunam et Stellas Deus ordinavit. Et alibi: nemo arbitraretur Dæmonem cœlis habitare cum Angelis suis unde lapsum credimus. Idem Zanch. l. 4. c. 3. de Angel. malis. Pererius, in Gen. cap. 6. lib. 8. in ver. 2.

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no farther than the four elements, and as God permits them. Wherefore of these sublunary Devils, though others divide them otherwise according to their several places and offices, *Psellus* makes six kinds, fiery, aerial, terrestrial, watery, and subterranean Devils, besides those Fairies, Satyrs, Nymphs, *&c.*

Fiery Spirits or Devils are such as commonly work by blazing stars, firedrakes, or *ignes fatui;* which lead men often *in flumina aut præcipitia,*[1] saith *Bodine, lib.* 2. *Theat. naturæ, fol.* 221. *Quos, inquit, arcere si volunt viatores, clara voce Deum appellare, aut prona facie terram contingente adorare oportet; & hoc amuletum majoribus nostris acceptum ferre debemus, &c.*[2] Likewise they counterfeit suns and moons, stars oftentimes, and sit on ship masts; *in navigiorum summitatibus visuntur;* and are called *Dioscuri,* as *Eusebius, l. contra Philosophos, c.* 48, informeth us, out of the authority of *Zenophanes;* or little clouds, *ad motum nescio quem volantes;* which never appear, saith *Cardan,* but they signify some mischief or other to come unto men; though some again will have them to pretend good, and victory to that side they come towards in sea-fights; St. *Elmo's* fires they commonly call them, & they do likely appear after a sea storm. *Radzivilius,* the *Polonian* Duke, calls this apparition *Sancti Germani sidus;* and saith moreover that he saw the same after, in a storm, as he was sailing, 1582, from *Alexandria* to *Rhodes.*[3] Our stories are full of such apparitions in all kinds. Some think they keep their residence in that *Hecla,* a mountain in *Iceland, Ætna* in *Sicily, Lipari, Vesuvius, &c.* These Devils were worshipped heretofore by that superstitious Πυρομαντέια [4] and the like.

Aerial Spirits or Devils are such as keep quarter most part in the [5] air, cause many tempests, thunder, and lightnings, tear oaks, fire steeples, houses, strike men and beasts, make it rain stones, as in *Livy's* time,[6] wool, frogs, &c. counterfeit armies in the air, strange noises, swords, &c. as at *Vienna,* before the coming of the *Turks,* & many times in *Rome,* as *Scheretzius, lib. de spect. c.* 1. *part.* 1; *Lavater, de spect. part.* 1. *c.* 17, *Julius Obsequens,* an old *Roman,* in his book of prodigies, *ab urb. cond.* 505; [7] *Machiavel*

[1 Into rivers or precipices.] [2 Whom if travellers wish to keep off, they must pronounce the name of God with a clear voice, or adore him with their faces prone on the ground; we owe this amulet to our ancestors, &c.] [3 Peregrin. Hierosol. [4 Divination by fire.] [5 Domus diruunt, muros dejiciunt, immiscent se turbinibus et procellis, et pulverem instar columnæ evehunt. Cicogna, l. 5. c. 5. [6 e.g. Livy, xliii. 13.] [7 Quaest. in Liv.

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hath illustrated by many examples, and *Josephus*, in his book *de bello Judaico*,[1] before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. All which *Guil. Postellus* in his first book, *c.* 7. *de orbis concordiâ*, useth as an effectual argument (as indeed it is) to persuade them that will not believe there be Spirits or Devils. They cause whirlwinds on a sudden, & tempestuous storms; which though our Meteorologists generally refer to natural causes, yet I am of *Bodine's* mind, *Theat. Nat. l.* 2, they are more often caused by those aerial Devils, in their several quarters; for *tempestatibus se ingerunt*,[2] saith [3] *Rich. Argentine;* as when a desperate man makes away himself, which by hanging or drowning they frequently do, as *Kornmannus* observes, *de mirac. mort. par.* 7. *c.* 76, *tripudium agentes*, dancing and rejoicing at the death of a sinner. These can corrupt the air, and cause plagues, sickness, storms, shipwrecks, fires, inundations. At *Mons Draconis* in *Italy*, there is a most memorable example in [4] *Jovianus Pontanus:* and nothing so familiar (if we may believe those relations of *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Olaus Magnus*, *Damianus A. Goes*) as for Witches and Sorcerers, in *Lapland*, *Lithuania*, and all over *Scandia*, to sell winds to mariners, and cause tempests, which *Marco Polo* the Venetian relates likewise of the *Tartars*. These kind of Devils. much [5] delighted in sacrifices, (saith *Porphyry*), held all the world in awe, and had several names, idols, sacrifices, in *Rome*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, and at this day tyrannize over, and deceive, those Ethnicks, and Indians, being adored and worshipped for [6] Gods. For the Gentile Gods were Devils, (as [7] *Trismegistus* confesseth in his *Asclepius*, and he himself could make them come to their images by magic spells): and are now as much *respected by our Papists* (saith [8] *Pictorius*) *under the name of Saints*. These are they which, *Cardan* thinks, desire so much carnal copulation with Witches, (*Incubi* and *Succubi*), transform bodies, and are so very cold, if they be touched; and that serve Magicians. His father had one of them (as he is not ashamed to relate [9]) an aerial Devil, bound to him for twenty and eight years. As *Agrippa's* dog had a Devil tied to his collar; some think that *Paracelsus* (or else *Erastus* belies him) had one confined to his

[1 Bk. vi. c. v.] [2 They show themselves in stormy weather.] [3 De præstigiis dæmonum. c. 16. Convelli culmina videmus, prosterni sata, &c. [4 De bello Neapolitano, lib. v. [5 Suffitibus gaudent. Idem Justin Martyr, Apolog. pro Christianis. [6 In Dei imitationem, saith Eusebius. [7 Dii gentium Dæmonia, &c. ego in eorum statuas pellexi. [8 Et nunc sub Divorum nomine coluntur à Pontificiis. [9 Lib. [xvi. cap. 93.] de rerum var[ietate].

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sword pummel; others wear them in rings, &c. *Jannes* and *Jambres*[1] did many things of old by their help; *Simon Magus*, *Cinops*, *Apollonius Tyanæus*, *Iamblicus* & *Trithemius* of late, that showed *Maximilian* the Emperor his wife, after she was dead; *et verrucam in collo ejus* (saith [2] *Godolman*) so much as the wart on her neck. *Delrio*, *lib.* 2, hath divers examples of their feats; *Cicogna*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3, and *Wierus*, in his book *de præstig. dæmonum: Boissardus*, *de magis & veneficis.*

Water-devils are those *Naiades* or Water-nymphs, which have been heretofore conversant about waters and rivers. The water (as *Paracelsus* thinks) is their Chaos, wherein they live; some call them Fairies and say that *Habundia* is their Queen; these cause inundations, many times shipwrecks, and deceive men divers ways, as *Succubae*, or otherwise, appearing most part, (saith *Trithemius*), in women's shapes. [3] *Paracelsus* hath several stories of them that have lived and been married to mortal men, & so continued for certain years with them, and after, upon some dislike, have forsaken them. Such a one as *Egeria*,[4] with whom *Numa* was so familiar, *Diana*, *Ceres*, *&c.* [5] *Olaus Magnus* hath a long narration of one *Hotherus*, a King of *Sweden*, that, having lost his company, as he was hunting one day, met with these Water-nymphs or Fairies, and was feasted by them; and *Hector Boethius* of *Macbeth* and *Banquo*, two Scottish Lords, that, as they were wandering in the woods, had their fortunes told them by three strange women. To these heretofore they did use to sacrifice, by that ὑδρομαντέια, or divination by waters.

Terrestrial devils are those [6] *Lares*, *Genii*, *Fauns*, *Satyrs*, [7] Wood-nymphs, Foliots, Fairies, *Robin Goodfellows*, *Trolli*, &c. which as they are most conversant with men, so they do them most harm. Some think it was they alone that kept the heathen people in awe of old, and had so many idols and temples erected to them. Of this range [8] was *Dagon* amongst the Philistines, *Bel* amongst the Babylonians, *Astarte* amongst the Sidonians, *Baal* amongst the Samaritans, *Isis* and *Osiris* amongst the Egyptians, &c. Some put our [9] Fairies into this rank, which have been in former times adored with much superstition, with sweeping their

[1] See 2 Tim. iii. 8.] [2] Lib. 3. cap. 3. de magis et veneficis, &c. Nereides. [3] Lib. de Zilphis. [4] Livy, i. 19, 21.] [5] Lib. 3. [6] Pro salute hominum excubare se simulant, sed in eorum perniciem omnia moliuntur. Aust. [7] Dryades, Oreades, Hamadryades. [8] =rank] [9] Elvas Olaus vocat, lib. 3.

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houses, and setting of a pail of clean water, good victuals, and the like, and then they should not be pinched, but find money in their shoes, and be fortunate in their enterprizes. These are they that dance on heaths and greens, as [1] *Lavater* thinks with *Trithemius*, &, as [2] *Olaus Magnus* adds, leave that green circle, which we commonly find in plain fields, which others hold to proceed from a meteor falling, or some accidental rankness of the ground; [3] so Nature sports herself. They are sometimes seen by old women and children. *Hierom. Pauli*, in his description of the city of *Bercino* in *Spain*, relates how they have been familiarly seen near that town, about fountains & hills. *Nonnunquam* (saith *Trithemius*) *in sua latibula montium simpliciores homines ducunt, stupenda mirantibus ostendentes miracula, nolarum sonitus, spectacula, &c.*[4] *Giraldus Cambrensis* gives instance in a Monk of *Wales* that was so deluded. [5] *Paracelsus* reckons up many places in *Germany*, where they do usually walk in little coats some two foot long. A bigger kind there is of them, called with us *Hobgoblins*, & *Robin Goodfellows*, that would in those superstitious times grind corn for a mess of milk, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery work. They would mend old irons in those *Æolian* Isles of *Lipari* in former ages, and have been often seen and heard. [6] *Tholosanus* calls them *Trollos* and *Getulos*, and saith that in his days they were common in many places of *France*. *Dithmarus Bleskenius*, in his description of *Iceland*, reports for a certainty, that almost in every family they have yet some such familiar spirits; & *Felix Malleolus*, in his book *de crudel. dæmon.* affirms as much, that these *Trolli*, or *Telchines*, are very common in *Norway, and* [7] *seen to do drudgery work;* to draw water, saith *Wierus*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 22, dress meat, or any such thing. Another sort of these there are, which frequent forlorn [8] houses, which the Italians call *Foliots*, most part innoxious, [9] *Cardan* holds. *They will make strange noises in the night, howl sometimes*

[1] Part. 1. cap. 19. [2] Lib. 3. cap. 11. Elvarum choreas Olaus lib. 3. vocat. Saltum adeo profundè in terras imprimunt, ut locus insigni deinceps virore orbicularis sit, et gramen non pereat. [3] Cf. Shakespeare's *Tempest*, A. v. Sc. 1. 36-38.] [4] Sometimes they lead simple men into their mountain retreats, where they exhibit wonderful sights to their marvelling eyes, and astonish their ears by the sound of bells, &c.] [5] Lib. de Zilph. et Pygmæis, Olaus, lib. 3. [6] Lib. 7. cap. 14. Qui et in famulitio viris et fœminis inserviunt, conclavia scopis purgant, patinas mundant, ligna portant, equos curant, &c. [7] Ad ministeria utuntur. [8] Where treasure is hid (as some think) or some murder, or such like villainy committed. [9] Lib. 16. de rerum varietate.

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pitifully, and then laugh again, cause great flame and sudden lights, fling stones, rattle chains, shave men, open doors and shut them, fling down platters, stools, chests, sometimes appear in the likeness of hares, crows, black dogs, &c. of which read [1] *Pet. Thyræus* the Jesuit, in his tract *de locis infestis, part.* 1. *&* *cap.* 4, who will have them to be Devils, or the souls of damned men that seek revenge, or else souls out of Purgatory that seek ease. For such examples peruse [2] *Sigismundus Scheretzius, lib. de spectris, part.* 1. *c.* 1, which he saith he took out of *Luther* most part; there be many instances. [3] *Plinius Secundus* remembers such a house at *Athens*, which Athenodorus the Philosopher hired, which no man durst inhabit for fear of Devils. *Aus.in, de Civ. Dei, lib.* 22. *cap.* 8, relates as much of *Hesperius* the Tribune's house at *Zubeda*, near their city of *Hippo*, vexed with evil spirits, to his great hindrance, *cum afflictione animalium & servorum suorum.*[4] Many such instances are to be read in *Niderius, Formicar. lib.* 5. *cap.* 12. 3. *&c.* Whether I may call these *Ziim* and *Ochim*, which *Isa. cap.* 13. 21, speaks of, I make a doubt. See more of these in the said *Scheretz. lib.* 1. *de spect. cap* 4; he is full of examples. These kind of Devils many times appear to men, and affright them out of their wits, sometimes walking at [5] noon day, sometimes at nights, counterfeiting dead men's ghosts, as that of *Caligula*, which (saith *Suetonius*) was seen to walk in *Lavinia's* garden, where his body was buried, spirits haunted, and the house where he died; [6] *nulla nox sine terrore transacta, donec incendio consumpta*, every night this happened, there was no quietness, till the house was burned. About *Hecla* in *Iceland* Ghosts commonly walk, *animas mortuorum simulantes*, saith *Joh. Anan. lib.* 3. *de nat. dæm. Olaus; lib.* 2. *cap.* 2; *Natal. Tallopid. lib. de apparit. spir. Kornmannus, de mirac. mort. part.* 1. *cap.* 44. Such sights are frequently seen *circa sepulchra & monasteria*, saith *Lavat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 19, in Monasteries, and about church-yards, *loca paludinosa, ampla ædificia, solitaria, & cæde hominum notata, &c.*[7] *Thyræus* adds, *ubi gravius peccatum est*

[1] Vel spiritus sunt hujusmodi damnatorum, vel è purgatorio, vel ipsi dæmones, c. 4. [2] Quidam lemures domesticis instrumentis noctu ludunt: patinas, ollas, cantharas, et alia vasa. dejiciunt; et quidam voces emittunt, ejulant, risum emittunt, &c. ut canes nigri, feles, variis formis, &c. [3] Epist. Lib. 7. [Ep. 27.] [4 Together with the affliction of his animals and slaves.] [5] Meridionales Dæmones Cicogna calls them or Alastores, l. 3. cap. 9. [6] Sueton, c. 59, in Caligula. [7 Marshes, great buildings, solitary places, or places remarkable as the scenes of some murder.]

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commissum, impii, pauperum oppressores, & nequiter insignes, habitant.[1] These spirits often foretell men's deaths by several signs, as knocking, groanings, &c. [2]though *Rich. Argentine, c.* 18. *de præstigiis dæmonum*, will ascribe these predictions to good Angels, out of the authority of *Ficinus* and others; *prodigia in obitu principum sæpius contingunt, &c.*[3] as in the *Lateran* Church in [4]*Rome*, the Popes' deaths are foretold by *Sylvester's* tomb. Near *Rupes Nova* in *Finland*, in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, there is a *Lake*, in which, before the Governor of the Castle dies, a *spectrum*, in the habit of *Arion* with his harp, appears, and makes excellent musick, like those blocks in *Cheshire*, which (they say) presage death to the master of the family; or that [5]oak in *Lanthadran* Park in *Cornwall*, which foreshows as much. Many families in *Europe* are so put in mind of their last by such predictions, and many men are forewarned (if we may believe *Paracelsus*) by familiar spirits in divers shapes, as cocks, crows, owls, which often hover about sick men's chambers, *vel quia morientium fœditatem sentiunt*, as [6]*Baracellus* conjectures, *& ideo super tectum infirmorum crocitant*,[7] because they smell a corse; or for that (as [8]*Bernardinus de Bustis* thinketh) God permits the devil to appear in the form of crows, and such like creatures, to scare such as live wickedly here on earth. A little before *Tully's* death (saith *Plutarch*)[9] the crows made a mighty noise about him, *tumultuosè perstrepentes*, they pulled the pillow from under his head. *Rob. Gaguinus, Hist. Franc. lib.* 8, telleth such another wonderful story at the death of *Johannes de Montefort*, a *French* Lord, *Anno* 1345; *tanta corvorum multitudo ædibus morientis insedit, quantam esse in Gallia nemo judicâsset.*[10] Such prodigies are very frequent in authors. See more of these in the said *Lavater, Thyræus, de locis infestis, part* 3. *cap.* 58, *Pictorius, Delrio, Cicogna, lib.* 3. *cap.* 9. Necromancers take upon them to raise and lay them at their pleasures. And so likewise those which *Mizaldus* calls *Ambulones*, that walk about midnight on great heaths and desert places, which (saith

[1 Where some very dreadful crime has been committed, there the impious, and infamous, and oppressors of the poor, generally dwell.] [2] Strozzius Cicogna, lib 3. mag. cap. 5. [3 Prodigies frequently occur at the deaths of illustrious men.] [4] Strozzius Cicogna, lib. 3. mag. cap. 18. [5] M. Carew, Survey of Cornwall, lib. 2, folio 140. [6] Horto Geniali, folio 137. [7 And so croak over the house of the sick.] [8] Part. 1. c. 19. Abducunt eos à recta via, et viam iter facientibus intercludunt. [9 Plut. Cicero, cap. 47.] [10 Such a multitude of crows alighted on the house of the dying man, as no one imagined could have existed in France.]

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[1] *Lavater*) *draw men out of the way, and lead them all night a by-way, or quite bar them of their way.* These have several names in several places; we commonly call them *Pucks.* In the deserts of *Lop* in *Asia*, such illusions of walking spirits are often perceived, as you may read in *Marco Polo* the *Venetian*, his travels. If one lose his company by chance, these devils will call him by his name, and counterfeit voices of his companions to seduce him. *Hieronym. Pauli*, in his book of the hills of Spain, relates of a great [2] mount in Cantabria, where such *spectrums* are to be seen. *Lavater* and *Cicogna* have variety of examples of spirits and walking devils in this kind. Sometimes they sit by the highway side, to give men falls, and make their horses stumble and start as they ride, if you will believe the relation of that holy man *Ketellus*, in [3] *Nubrigensis*, that had an especiall grace to see devils, *gratiam divinitus collatam*, & talk with them, *et impavidus cum spiritibus sermonem miscere*, without offence; & if a man curse or spur his horse for stumbling, they do heartily rejoice at it; with many such pretty feats.

Subterranean devils are as common as the rest, and do as much harm. *Olaus Magnus, lib.* 6. *cap.* 19, makes six kinds of them, some bigger, some less. These (saith [4] Munster) are commonly seen about mines of metals, and are some of them noxious, some again do no harm. The metal-men in many places count it good luck, a sign of treasure, and rich ore, when they see them. *Georgius Agricola*, in his book *de subterraneis animantibus, cap.* 37, reckons two more notable kinds of them, which he calls [5] *Gætuli* and *Cobali*; both *are clothed after the manner of metal-men, and will many times imitate their works.* Their office, as *Pictorius* & *Paracelsus* think, is to keep treasure in the earth, that it be not all at once revealed; and, besides, [6] *Cicogna* avers, that they are the frequent causes of those horrible earthquakes, *which often swallow up, not only houses, but whole islands and cities*; in his third book, *cap.* 11, he gives many instances.

[1] Lib. 1. cap. 44. Dæmonum cernuntur et audiuntur ibi frequentes illusiones, unde viatoribus cavendum, ne se dissocient, aut à tergo maneant; voces enim fingunt sociorum, ut à recto itinere abducant, &c. [2] Mons sterilis et nivosus, ubi intempesta nocte umbræ apparent. [3] Lib. 2. cap. 21. Offendicula faciunt transeuntibus in via, et petulanter rident, cum vel hominem vel jumentum ejus pedes atterere faciant, et maximè si homo maledictis et calcaribus sæviat. [4] In Cosmogr. [5] Vestiti more metallicorum, gestus et opera eorum imitantur. [6] Immisso in terræ carceres vento horribiles terræ motus efficiunt, quibus sæpe non domus modo et turres, sed civitates integræ et insulæ, haustæ sunt.

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The last are conversant about the centre of the earth, to torture the souls of damned men to the Day of Judgement. Their egress and regress some suppose to be about *Ætna*, *Lipari*, *Mons Hecla* in *Iceland*, *Vesuvius*, *Terra del Fuego*, *&c.*, because many shrieks and fearful cries are continually heard thereabouts, and familiar apparitions of dead men, Ghosts and Goblins.

Thus the Devil reigns, and in a thousand several shapes, *as a roaring lion still seeks whom he may devour*, 1 Pet. 5. [8], by earth, sea, land, air, as yet unconfined, though [1] some will have his proper place the air, all that space betwixt us & the Moon for them that transgressed least, & Hell for the wickedest of them; *hic velut in carcere ad finem mundi, tunc in locum funestiorem trudendi*, as *Austin* holds, *de Civ. Dei. c. 22. lib. 14. cap. 3. &* 23. But be [he] where he will, he rageth while he may to comfort himself, as [2] *Lactantius* thinks, with other men's falls, he labours all he can to bring them into the same pit of perdition with him. For [3] *men's miseries, calamities, and ruins, are the Devil's banqueting dishes.* By many temptations, and several engines, he seeks to captivate our souls. The Lord of lies, saith [4] *Austin, as he was deceived himself, he seeks to deceive others*, the ring-leader to all naughtiness, as he did by *Eve* & *Cain*, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, so would he do by all the world. Sometimes he tempts by covetousness, drunkenness, pleasure, pride, &c., errs,[5] dejects, saves, kills, protects, and rides some men, as they do their horses. He studies our overthrow, and generally seeks our destruction; and although he pretend many times human good, and vindicate himself for a God, by curing of several diseases, *ægris sanitatem, & cæcis luminis usum restituendo*,[6] as *Austin* declares, *lib. 10. de Civ. Dei*,

[1] Hierom. in 3. Ephes. Idem Michaelis, c. 4. de spiritibus. Idem Thyræus de locis infestis. [2] Lactantius, 2. de origine erroris cap. 15. Hi maligni spiritus per omnem terram vagantur, et solatium perditionis suæ perdendis hominibus operantur. [3] Mortalium calamitates epulæ sunt malorum dæmonum. Synesius. [4] Dominus mendacii à seipso deceptus, alios decipere cupit, adversarius humani generis. Inventor mortis, superbiæ institutor, radix malitiæ, scelerum caput, princeps omnium vitiorum, furit inde in Dei contumeliam, hominum perniciem. De horum conatibus et operationibus lege Epiphanium, 2 Tom. lib. 2; Dionysium, c. 4; Ambros. Epistol. lib. 10. ep. 84; August. de Civ. Dei, lib. 5. c. 9. lib. 8. cap. 22. lib. 9. 18. lib. 10. 21; Theophil. in 12. Mat. Basil. ep. 141; Leonem, Ser. Theodoret. in 11 Cor. ep. 22; Chrys. hom. 53. in 12. Gen. Greg. in l. c. John. Barthol. de prop. l. 2. c. 20; Zanch. l. 4. de malis angelis; Perer. in Gen. l. 8. in c. 6. 2; Origen. Sæpe prælliis intersunt, itinera et negotia nostra quæcunque dirigunt, clandestinis subsidiis optatos sæpe præbent successus. Pet. Mar. in Sam. &c. Ruscam de Inferno. [5 =causes to err.] [6 By restoring health to the sick and sight to the blind.]

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c. 6. as *Apollo, Æsculapius, Isis,* of old have done; divert plagues, assist them in wars, pretend their happiness, yet *nihil his impurius, scelestius, nihil humano generi infestius,* nothing so impure, nothing so pernicious, as may well appear by their tyrannical and bloody sacrifices of men to *Saturn* and *Moloch,* which are still in use amongst those barbarous *Indians,* their several deceits and cozenings to keep men in obedience, their false oracles, sacrifices, their superstitious impositions of fasts, penury, &c., heresies, superstitious observations of meats, times, &c. by which they [1] crucify the souls of mortal men, as shall be shewed in our Treatise of Religious Melancholy. *Modico adhuc tempore sinitur malignari,* as [2] *Bernard* expresseth it, by God's permission he rageth a while, hereafter to be confined to hell and darkness, *which is prepared for him and his Angels,* Mat. 25. [41.]

How far their power doth extend, it is hard to determine; what the Ancients held of their effects, force, and operations, I will briefly shew you. *Plato in Critias,*[3] and after him his followers, gave out that these spirits or devils *were men's governors and keepers, our lords and masters, as we are of our cattle.* [4] *They govern Provinces and Kingdoms by oracles, auguries,* dreams, rewards and punishments, prophecies, inspirations, sacrifices, and religious superstitions, varied in as many forms as there be diversity of spirits; they send wars, plagues, peace, sickness, health, dearth, plenty, [5] *adstantes hic jam nobis, spectantes & arbitrantes, &c.* as appears by those histories of *Thucydides, Livy, Dionysius Halicarnasseus,* with many others that are full of their wonderful stratagems, and were therefore by those *Roman* and *Greek* Commonwealths adored and worshipped for gods, with prayers, and sacrifices, &c. [6] In a word, *nihil magis quærunt quam metum & admirationem hominum;*[7] and, as another hath it, *dici non potest, quam impotenti ardore in homines dominium, & divinos cultus, maligni spiritus affectent.*[8] *Trithemius,* in his book *de septem secundis,* assigns names to such Angels as are Governors of particular Provinces, by what authority I know not, and gives them several

[1] Et velut mancipia circumfert, Psellus. [2] Lib. de transmut. Malac. ep. [3] p. 109 B.] [4] Custodes sunt hominum, et eorum, ut nos animalium: tum et provinciis præpositi regunt auguriis, somniis, oraculis, præmiis, &c. [5] Lipsius, Physiol. Stoic. lib. 1. cap. 19. [6] Leo Suavis. Idem et Trithemius. [7] They seek nothing more earnestly than the fear and admiration of men.] [8] It is scarcely possible to describe the impotent ardour with which these malignant spirits aspire to dominion over men and divine worship.]

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jurisdictions. *Asclepiades* a *Grecian*, *Rabbi Achiba* the Jew, *Abraham Avenesra*, and *Rabbi Azariel*, Arabians, (as I find them cited by [1]*Cicogna*) farther add, that they are not our Governors only, *sed ex eorum concordiâ & discordiâ boni & mali affectus promanant*, but as they agree, so do we and our Princes, or disagree, stand or fall. *Juno* was a bitter enemy to *Troy*, *Apollo* a good friend, *Jupiter* indifferent, *Æqua Venus Teucris*, *Pallas iniqua fuit*;[2] some are for us still, some against us, *Premente Deo*, *fert Deus alter opem*.[3] Religion, policy, publick and private quarrels, wars are procured by them, and they are [4]delighted perhaps to see men fight, as men are with cocks, bulls and dogs, bears, &c. Plagues, dearths, depend on them, our *bène* and *malè esse*, and almost all our other peculiar actions, (for, as *Anthony Rusca* contends, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 18. every man hath a good and a bad Angel attending of him in particular all his life long, which *Iamblicus* calls *dæmonem*), preferments, losses, weddings, deaths, rewards, and punishments, and, as [5]*Proclus* will, all offices whatsoever, *alii genetricem*, *alii opificem potestatem habent*, *&c.* and several names they give them according to their offices, as *Lares*, *Indigetes*, *Præstites*, *&c.*[6] When the *Arcades* in that battle at *Chæronea*, which was fought against King *Philip* for the liberty of *Greece*, had deceitfully carried themselves, long after, in the very same place, *diis Græciæ ultoribus* (saith mine Author)[7] they were miserably slain by *Metellus* the *Roman*: so likewise, in smaller matters, they will have things fall out, as these *boni* & *mali Genii* favour or dislike us. *Saturnini non conveniunt Jovialibus*, *&c.* He that is *Saturninus* shall never likely be preferred. [8]That base fellows are often advanced, undeserving *Gnathos*,[9] and vicious parasites, when as discreet, wise, virtuous, and worthy men are neglected, and unrewarded, they refer to those domineering spirits, or subordinate *Genii*; as they are inclined, or favour men, so they thrive, are ruled & overcome, for, as [10]*Libanius* supposeth, in our

[1] Omnif. mag. lib. 2. cap. 23. [2] Ovid. Tr. i. ii. 6. Venus was favourable, Pallas unfavourable, to the Trojans.] [3] Ov. Tr. i. ii. 4. Sæpe prem.] [4] Ludus deorum sumus. [Plato, Legg. 803 C.] [5] Lib. de anima et dæmone. [6] Ov. F. v. 129.] [7] Pausanias, vii. 15. the Gods of Greece being avengers.] [8] Quoties fit, ut Principes novitium aulicum divitiis et dignitatibus pene obruant, et multorum annorum ministrum, qui non semel pro hero periculum subiit, ne teruntio donent, &c. Idem. Quod Philosophi non remunerentur, cum scurra et ineptus ob insulsum jocum sæpe præmium reportet, inde fit, &c. [9] Gnatho is the name of a parasite in Terence's Eunuch.] [10] Lib. de Cruent. Cadaver.

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ordinary conflicts and contentions, *Genius Genio cedit & obtemperat*, one *Genius* yields and is overcome by another. All particular events almost they refer to these private spirits; & (as *Paracelsus* adds) they direct, teach, inspire, and instruct men. Never was any man extraordinarily famous in any art, action, or great commander, that had not *familiarem dæmonem*,[1] to inform him, as *Numa*, *Socrates*, and many such, as *Cardan* illustrates, *cap.* 128. *Arcanis prudentiæ civilis*, [2] *speciali siquidem gratia, se à Deo donari asserunt magi, à Geniis cælestibus instrui, ab iis doceri.* But these are most erroneous paradoxes, *ineptæ & fabulosæ nugæ*, rejected by our Divines & Christian Churches. 'Tis true they have, by God's permission, power over us, and we find by experience that they can [3] hurt not our fields only, cattle, goods, but our bodies and minds. At *Hammel* in *Saxony*, *An.* 1484, 20 *Junii*, the Devil, in likeness of a pied piper, carried away 130 children, that were never after seen.[4] Many times men are [5] affrighted out of their wits, carried away quite, as *Scheretzius* illustrates, *lib.* 1. *c.* 4. and severally molested by his means. *Plotinus* the *Platonist*, *lib.* 14. *advers. Gnost.* laughs them to scorn, that hold the Devil or Spirits can cause any such diseases. Many think he can work upon the body, but not upon the mind. But experience pronounceth otherwise, that he can work both upon body and mind. *Tertullian* is of this opinion, *c.* 22, [6] *that he can cause both sickness and health*, and that secretly. [7] *Taurellus* adds, *by clancular poisons he can infect the bodies, & hinder the operations of the bowels, though we perceive it not, closely creeping into them*, saith [8] *Lipsius*, & so crucify our souls: *et nociva melancholia furiosos efficit.*[9] For being a spiritual body, he struggles with our spirits, saith *Rogers*, and suggests (according to [10] *Cardan*), *verba sine voce, species sine visu*,[11] envy, lust, anger, &c., as he sees men inclined.

[1 A familiar.] [2] Boissardus, c. 6. magia. [3] Godelmannus, cap. 3. lib. 1. de Magis. Idem Zanchius, lib. 4. cap. 10 et 11. de malis angelis. [4 Robert Browning's well-known Poem on this is called *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*. The Poet says in it that Hamelin is in Brunswick, near Hanover, the river Weser washing its walls on the southern side.] [5] Nociva Melancholia furiosos efficit, et quandoque penitus interficit. G. Picolomineus. Idemque Zanch. cap. 10. lib. 4. Si Deus permittat, corpora nostra movere possunt, alterare, quovis morborum et malorum genere afficere, imo et in ipsa penetrare et sævire. [6] Inducere potest morbos et sanitates. [7] Viscerum actiones potest inhibere latenter, et venenis nobis ignotis corpus inficere. [8] Irrepentes corporibus occultò morbos fingunt, mentes terrent, membra distorquent. Lips. Phys. Stoic. l. 1. c. 19. [9 And makes people mad by injurious melancholy.] [10] De rerum var. l. 16. c. 93. [11 Words without a voice, apparitions without a sight.]

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The manner how he performs it, *Biarmannus*, in his Oration against *Bodine*, sufficiently declares. *He* [1] *begins first with the phantasy, & moves that so strongly, that no reason is able to resist.* Now he moves the *phantasy* by mediation of humours; although many Physicians are of opinion, that the Devil can alter the mind, and produce this disease of himself. *Quibusdam medicorum visum*, saith [2] *Avicenna, quòd Melancholia contingat à dæmonio.* Of the same mind is *Psellus*, & *Rhasis* the *Arab, lib.* 1. *Tract.* 9. *Cont.* [3] *that this disease proceeds especially from the Devil, & from him alone. Arculanus, cap.* 6. *in* 9. *Rhasis, Ælianus Montaltus* in his 9 *cap. Daniel Sennertus, lib.* 1. *part* 2. *c.* 11. confirm as much, that the Devil can cause this disease; by reason many times that the parties affected prophesy, speak strange language, but *non sine interventu humoris*, not without the humour, as he interprets himself; no more doth *Avicenna, si contingat à dæmonio, sufficit nobis ut convertat complexionem ad choleram nigram, & sit causa ejus propinqua cholera nigra;* the immediate cause is choler adust, which [4] *Pomponatius* likewise labours to make good: *Galgerandus* of *Mantua*, a famous Physician, so cured a dæmoniacal woman in his time, that spake all languages, by purging black choler; and thereupon belike this humour of Melancholy is called *Balneum Diaboli*, the Devil's Bath; the Devil, spying his opportunity of such humours, drives them many times to despair, fury, rage, &c., mingling himself amongst these humours. This is that which *Tertullian* avers, *corporibus infligunt acerbos casus, animæque repentinos; membra distorquent, occultè repentes,* [5] *&c.*, and which *Lemnius* goes about to prove, *immiscent se malæ Genii pravis humoribus atque atræ bili,* [6] *&c.* and [7] *Jason Pratensis, that the Devil, being a slender incomprehensible spirit, can easily insinuate and wind himself into human bodies, and, cunningly couched in our bowels, vitiate our healths,*

[1] Quum mens immediatè decipi nequit, primum movet phantasiam, et ita obfirmat vanis conceptibus, ut ne quem facultati æstimativæ rationive locum relinquat. Spiritus malus invadit animam, turbat sensus, in furorem conjicit. Austin. de vit. Beat. [2] Lib. 3. Fen. 1. Tract. 4. c. 18. [3] A Dæmone maxime proficisci, et sæpe solo. [4] Lib. de incant. [5] They inflict shrewd and sudden turns on body and mind, and distort limbs, stealthily making their attack.] [6] The bad Genii mix themselves with depraved humours and black bile.] [7] Cap. de mania, lib. de morbis cerebri. Dæmones, quum sint tenues et incomprehensibiles spiritus, se insinuare corporibus humanis possunt, et occulte in visceribus operti, valetudinem vitiare, somniis animas terrere, et mentes furoribus quatere. Insinuant se melancholicorum penetralibus intus, ibique considunt et deliciantur, tanquam in regione clarissimorum siderum, coguntque animum furere.

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terrify our souls with fearful dreams, and shake our mind with furies. And in another place, *These unclean spirits settled in our bodies, and now mixed with our melancholy humours, do triumph as it were, and sport themselves as in another heaven.* Thus he argues, and that they go in and out of our bodies, as bees do in a hive, and so provoke and tempt us, as they perceive our temperature inclined of itself, and most apt to be deluded. [1]*Agrippa* and [2]*Lavater* are persuaded, that this humour invites the Devil to it, wheresoever it is in extremity, and, of all other, melancholy persons are most subject to diabolical temptations and illusions, and most apt to entertain them, and the Devil best able to work upon them; but whether by obsession, or possession, or otherwise, I will not determine; 'tis a difficult question. *Delrio* the Jesuit, *Tom.* 3. *lib.* 6, *Springer* and his colleague, *malt. malef. Pet. Thyreus* the Jesuit, *lib. de dæmoniacis, de locis infestis, de terrificationibus nocturnis, Hieronymus Mengus, Flagel. dæm.* and others of that rank of pontifical writers, it seems, by their exorcisms and conjurations approve of it, having forged many stories to that purpose. A nun did eat a lettuce [3]*without grace, or without signing with the sign of the cross*, and was instantly possessed. *Durand, lib.* 6. *Rational. c.* 86. *num.* 8, relates that he saw a wench possessed in *Bononia* with two devils, by eating an unhallowed pomegranate, as she did afterwards confess, when she was cured by exorcisms. And therefore our papists do sign themselves so often with the sign of the cross, *ne dæmon ingredi ausit*,[4] and exorcise all manner of meats, as being unclean or accursed otherwise, as *Bellarmine* defends. Many such stories I find amongst pontifical writers, to prove their assertions; let them free their own credits; some few I will recite in this kind out of most approved Physicians. *Cornelius Gemma, lib.* 2. *de nat. mirac. c.* 4, relates of a young maid, called *Katherine Gualter*, a cooper's daughter, *An.* 1571, that had such strange passions and convulsions, three men could not sometimes hold her; she purged a live eel, which he saw, a foot and a half long, and touched himself, but the eel afterwards vanished; she vomited some 24 pounds of fulsome stuff of all colours twice a day for 14 days; and after that she voided great balls of hair, pieces of wood, pigeons' dung, parchment, goose

[1] Lib. 1. cap. 6. occult. Philos. part 1. cap. 1. de spectris. [2] Sine cruce et sanctificatione sic à dæmone obsessa, dial. [3] Greg. pag. c. 9. [4] That the demon may not dare to enter.]

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dung, coals; and after them two pounds of pure blood, and then again coals and stones, of which some had inscriptions, bigger than a walnut, some of them pieces of glass, brass, &c., besides paroxysms of laughing, weeping and ecstasies, &c. *Et hoc* (*inquit*) *cum horrore vidi*, this I saw with horror. They could do no good on her by physick, but left her to the Clergy. *Marcellus Donatus, lib. 2. c. 1. de med. mirab.* hath such another story of a country fellow, that had four knives in his belly, *instar serræ dentatos*, indented like a saw, every one a span long, with a wreath of hair like a globe, with much baggage of like sort, wonderful to behold. How it should come into his guts, he concludes, *certè non alio quam dæmonis astutiâ & dolo.*[1] *Langius, Epist. med. lib. 1. Epist.* 38, hath many relations to this effect, and so hath *Christopherus à Vega. Wierus, Skenkius, Scribonius*, all agree that they are done by the subtilty and illusion of the Devil. If you shall ask a reason of this, 'tis to exercise our patience; for, as [2]*Tertullian* holds, *virtus non est virtus, nisi comparem habet aliquem, in quo superando vim suam ostendat;*[3] 'tis to try us and our faith, 'tis for our offences, and for the punishment of our sins, by God's permission they do it, *carnifices vindictæ justæ Dei*, as [4]*Tolosanus* styles them, executioners of his will; or rather as *David, Ps.* 78. *ver.* 49; *He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, indignation, wrath, and vexation, by sending out of evil Angels.* So did he afflict *Job, Saul*, the lunaticks and dæmoniacal persons whom Christ cured, *Mat.* 4. 8. *Luke* 4. 11. *Luke* 13. [16.] *Mark* 9. [17, sq.] *Tobit.* 8. 3. *&c.* This, I say, happeneth for a punishment of sin, for their want of faith, incredulity, weakness, distrust, &c.

SUBSEC. 3.—*Of Witches and Magicians, how they cause Melancholy.*

YOU have heard what the Devil can do of himself, now you shall hear what he can perform by his instruments, who are many times worse (if it be possible) than he himself, and to satisfy their revenge and lust cause more mischief. *Multa enim mala non egisset Dæmon, nisi provocatus à Sagis*, as [5]*Erastus* thinks; much harm had never been done [by him], had he not been provoked by Witches to it. He had not appeared in *Samuel's* shape, if the

[1] It assuredly only could have been through the artifice and craft of a demon.] [2] Penult. de opific. Dei. [3] Virtue is not virtue, unless it has an antagonist by conquering whom it shows its merit.] [4] Lib. 28. cap. 26. tom. 2. [5] De Lamiis.

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Witch of *Endor* had let him alone; or represented those Serpents in *Pharaoh's* presence, had not the Magicians urged him unto it: *nec morbos vel hominibus vel brutis infligeret* (*Erastus* maintains) *si Sagæ quiescerent;* men and cattle might go free, if the Witches would let him alone. Many deny Witches at all, or, if there be any, they can do no harm. Of this opinion is *Wierus, lib.* 3. *cap.* 53. *de præstig. dæm. Austin Lerchemer*, a Dutch writer, *Biarmannus, Ewichius, Euwaldus*, our countryman *Scot;*[1] with hi in *Horace*,[2]

> Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
> Nocturnos Lemures, portentaque Thessala risu
> Excipiunt———
>
> [Dreams, magic terrors, miracles, and witches,
> And nightly spectres, and Thessalian portents,
> All these they laugh at.]

They laugh at all such stories; but on the contrary are most Lawyers, Divines, Physicians, Philosophers, *Austin, Hemingius, Danæus, Chytræus, Zanchius, Aretius, &c., Delrio, Springer,*[3] *Niderius, lib.* 5. *Formicar. Cuiatius, Bartolus, consil.* 6. *tom.* 1, *Bodine, dæmoniant. lib.* 2. *cap.* 8, *Godelman, Damhoderius, &c. Paracelsus, Erastus, Scribanius, Camerarius, &c.* The parties by whom the Devil deals, may be reduced to these two, such as command him in shew at least, as Conjurers, and Magicians, whose detestable and horrid mysteries are contained in their book called [4]*Arbatell; dæmones enim advocati præsto sunt, seque exorcismis & conjurationibus quasi cogi patiuntur, ut miserum magorum genus in impietate detineant*;[5] or such as are commanded, as Witches, that deal *ex parte implicitè*, or *explicitè*, as the [6]*King* hath well defined. Many subdivisions there are, & many several species of Sorcerers, Witches, Enchanters, Charmers, &c. They have been tolerated heretofore some of them; and Magick hath been publickly professed in former times, in [7]*Salamanca*, [8]*Cracovia*, and other places, though after censured by several [9] Universities, and now generally contradicted, though practised by some still, main-

[1 Reginald Scot, who published his Discovery of Witchcraft in 1584.] [2 Epist. ii. 2. 208 sq.] [3 Et quomodo venefici fiant enarrat. [4 De quo plura legas in Boissardo, lib. 1. de præstig. [5 For the demons appear when invoked, and suffer themselves to be, as it were, compelled by exorcisms and conjurations, that they may keep the wretched race of magi in their impiety.] [6 Rex Jacobus, Dæmonol. l. 1. c. 3. [7 An University in Spain in old Castile. [8 The chief town in Poland. [9 Oxford and Paris, see finem P. Lombardi.

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tained and excused, *tanquam res secreta, quæ non nisi viris magnis & peculiari beneficio de cælo instructis communicatur* (I use [1]*Boissardus* his words): and so far approved by some Princes, *ut nihil ausi aggredi in politicis, in sacris, in consiliis, sine eorum arbitrio;* they consult still with them, and dare indeed do nothing without their advice. *Nero* and *Heliogabalus*, *Maxentius*, and *Julianus Apostata*, were never so much addicted to Magick of old, as some of our modern Princes and Popes themselves are nowadays. *Erricus*, King of *Sweden*, had an [2]enchanted Cap, by virtue of which, and some magical murmur or whispering terms, he could command spirits, trouble the air, and make the wind stand which way he would; insomuch that when there was any great wind or storm, the common people were wont to say, the King now had on his conjuring Cap. But such examples are infinite. That which they can do, is as much almost as the Devil himself, who is still ready to satisfy their desires, to oblige them the more unto him. They can cause tempests, storms, which is familiarly practised by Witches in *Norway*, *Iceland*, as I have proved. They can make friends enemies, and enemies friends, by philters; [3]*turpes amores conciliare*, enforce love, tell any man where his friends are, about what employed, though in the most remote places; and, if they will, [4]*bring their sweethearts to them by night, upon a goat's back flying in the air*, (*Sigismund Scheretzius*, *part.* 1. *cap.* 9. *de spect.* reports confidently, that he conferred with sundry such, that had been so carried many miles, and that he heard Witches themselves confess as much); hurt, and infect men and beasts, vines, corn, cattle, plants, make women abortive, not to conceive, [5]*barren*, men and women unapt and *unable*, married and unmarried, fifty several ways, saith *Bodine*, *lib.* 2. *c.* 2, fly in the air, meet when and where they will, as *Cicogna* proves, and *Lavat. de spect. part.* 2. *c.* 17, *steal young children out of their cradles*, ministerio dæmonum, [6]*and put deformed in their rooms, which we call changelings*, saith [7]*Scheretzius*, *part.* 1. *c.* 6, make men victorious, fortunate, eloquent; and therefore in those ancient monomachies and combats they were searched of old, [8]they had no magical charms; they can

[1] Præfat. de magis et veneficis, lib. [2] Rotatum Pileum habebat, quo ventos violentos cieret, aerem turbaret, et in quam partem, &c. [3] Erastus. [4] Ministerio hirci nocturni. [5] Steriles nuptos et inhabiles. Vide Petrum de Palude, lib. 4. distinct. 34. Paulum Guiclandum. [6] By the assistance of demons.] [7] Infantes matribus suffurantur, aliis suppositivis in locum verorum conjectis. [8] Milles.

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make [1] stick frees, such as shall endure a rapier's point, musket shot, and never be wounded: of which read more in *Boissardus, cap.* 6. *de Magiâ*, the manner of the adjuration, and by whom 'tis made, where and how to be used *in expeditionibus bellicis, prœliis, duellis*,[2] *&c.*, with many peculiar instances and examples; they can walk in fiery furnaces, make men feel no pain on the rack, *aut alias torturas sentire*;[3] they can stanch blood, [4] represent dead men's shapes, alter and turn themselves and others into several forms at their pleasures. [5] *Agaberta*, a famous Witch in *Lapland*, would do as much publickly to all spectators, *modò pusilla, modò anus, modò procera ut quercus, modò vacca, avis, coluber, &c.*, now young, now old, high, low, like a cow, like a bird, a snake, and what not? She could represent to others what forms they most desired to see, shew them friends absent, reveal secrets, *maximâ omnium admiratione*,[6] *&c.* And yet for all this subtilty of theirs, as *Lipsius* well observes, *Physiolog. Stoicor. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17, neither these Magicians nor Devils themselves can take away gold or letters out of mine or *Crassus'* chest, *& clientelis suis largiri*,[7] for they are base, poor, contemptible, fellows most part. As [8] *Bodine* notes, they can do nothing *in Judicum decreta aut pœnas, in Regum Concilia vel arcana, nihil in rem nummariam aut thesauros*, they cannot give money to their Clients, alter Judges' decrees, or Councels of Kings, these *minuti Genii* cannot do it, *altiores Genii hoc sibi adservârunt*, the higher powers reserve these things to themselves. Now and then peradventure there may be some more famous Magicians, like *Simon Magus*, [9] *Apollonius Tyanæus, Pases*,[10] *Iamblicus, Eudo de Stellis*,[11] that for a time can build castles in the air, represent armies, &c., as they are [12] said to have done, command wealth and treasure, feed thousands with all variety of meats upon a sudden, protect themselves and their followers from all Princes' persecutions, by removing from place to place in an instant, reveal secrets, future events, tell what is done in far countries, make them appear that died long since, &c., and do many such miracles, to the world's terror, admiration, and opinion

[1] D. Luther, in primum præceptum, et Leon. Varius lib. 1. de Fascino. [2] In warlike expeditions, and in wars.] [3] Or feel any other tortures.] [4] Lavat. Cicog. [5] Boissardus, de Magis. [6] To the greatest wonder of everybody.] [7] And give them to their clients.] [8] Dæmon. lib. 3. cap. 3. [9] Vide Philostratum, vitâ ejus; Boissardum de Magis. [10] Vide Suidam de Pasete. [See Erasmi Adagia, p. 620.] [11] Nubrigensem lege, lib. 1. c. 19. [12] Erastus. Adolphus Scribanius.

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of Deity to themselves; yet the Devil forsakes them at last, they come to wicked ends, and *rarò aut nunquam*[1] such Impostors are to be found. The vulgar sort of them can work no such feats. But to my purpose, they can, last of all, cure and cause most diseases to such as they love or hate, and this of [2]*Melancholy* amongst the rest. *Paracelsus, Tom.* 4. *de morbis amentium, Tract.* 1, in express words affirms, *multi fascinantur in melancholiam*, many are bewitched into melancholy, out of his experience. The same, saith *Danæus lib.* 3. *de sortiariis. Vidi, inquit, qui melancholicos morbos gravissimos induxerunt:* I have seen those that have caused melancholy in the most grievous manner, [3]*dried up women's paps, cured gout, palsy, this and apoplexy, falling sickness, which no physick could help, solo tactu*, by touch alone. *Ruland, in his* 3. *Cent. Cura* 91, gives an instance of one *David Helde*, a young man, who, by eating cakes which a Witch gave him, *mox delirare cæpit*, began to dote on a sudden, and was instantly mad. *F. H. D.* in [4]*Hildesheim*, consulted about a melancholy man, thought his disease was partly magical and partly natural, because he vomited pieces of iron and lead, and spake such languages as he had never been taught; but such examples are common in *Scribanius, Hercules de Saxonia*, and others. The means by which they work, are usually charms, images, as that in *Hector Boethius* of King *Duff;* characters stamped of sundry metals, and at such and such constellations, knots, amulets, words, philters, &c. which generally make the parties affected melancholy; as [5]*Monavius* discourseth at large in an Epistle of his to *Acolsius*, giving instance in a *Bohemian* Baron that was so troubled by a philter taken. Not that there is any power at all in those spells, charms, characters, and barbarous words; but that the Devil doth use such means to delude them; *ut fideles inde magos* (saith [6]*Libanius*) *in officio retineat, tum in consortium malefactorum vocet.*[7]

[1 Seldom or never.] [2 Virg. Æneid. 4. [487, 488.] Incantatricem describens. Hæc se carminibus promittit solvere mentes, Quas velit; ast aliis duras immittere curas. [3 Godelmannus, cap. 7. lib. 1. Nutricum mammas præsiccant; solo tactu podagram, apoplexiam, paralysin, et alios morbos, quos medicina curare non poterat. [4 Factus inde Maniacus. Spic. 2. fol. 147. [5 Omnia philtra, etsi inter se differant, hoc habent commune, quod hominem efficiant melancholicum; epist. 231. Scholtzii. [6 De Cruent. Cadaver. [7 That he may so keep the faithful magi to their duty, and also call them to the aid of malefactors.]

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SUBSEC. 4.—*Stars a cause. Signs from Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, Chiromancy.*

Natural causes are either *primary* and *universal*, or *secundary* and more *particular*. *Primary* causes are the heavens, planets, stars, &c. by their influence (as our Astrologers hold) producing this and such like effects. I will not here stand to discuss *obiter*,[1] whether stars be causes, or signs; or to apologize for judicial Astrology. If either *Sextus Empiricus*, *Picus Mirandula*, *Sextus ab Heminga*, *Pererius*, *Erastus*, *Chambers*, *&c.* have so far prevailed with any man, that he will attribute no virtue at all to the heavens, or to sun or moon, more than he doth to their signs at an inn-keeper's post, or tradesman's shop, or generally condemn all such Astrological Aphorisms approved by experience: I refer him to *Bellantius*, *Pirovanus*, *Marascallerus*, *Goclenius*, *Sir Christopher Heydon*, *&c.* If thou shalt ask me what I think, I must answer, *nam & doctis hisce erroribus versatus sum*,[2] they do incline, but not compel; no necessity at all, [3]*agunt non cogunt:* and so gently incline, that a wise man may resist them; *sapiens dominabitur astris:*[4] they rule us, but God rules them. All this (methinks) [5]*Joh. de Indagine* hath comprised in brief. *Quæris a me quantum in nobis operantur astra? &c. Wilt thou know how far the stars work upon us? I say they do but incline, & that so gently, that if we will be ruled by reason, they have no power over us; but if we follow our own nature, and be led by sense, they do as much in us as in brute beasts, and we are no better.* So that, I hope, I may justly conclude with [6]*Cajetan*, *cœlum est vehiculum divinæ virtutis*, *&c.* that the heaven is God's instrument, by mediation of which he governs and disposeth these elementary bodies; or a great book, whose letters are the stars, (as one calls it) wherein are written many strange things for such as can read, [7]*or an*

[1] [By the way.] [2] For I too am conversant with these learned errors.] [3] Astra regunt homines, et regit astra Deus. [4] "The wise man will rule the stars." Jeremy Taylor quotes these lines, but his best and most recent editor, C. P. Eden, could not find their author.] [5] Chirom. lib. Quæris à me quantum operantur astra? Dico, in nos nihil astra urgere, sed animos proclives trahere: qui sic tamen liberi sunt, ut si ducem sequantur rationem, nihil efficiant, sin vero naturam, id agere quod in brutis fere. [6] Cœlum vehiculum divinæ virtutis, cujus mediante motu, lumine, et influentia, Deus elementaria corpora ordinat et disponit. Th. de Vio. Cajetanus in Psa. 104. [7] Mundus iste quasi lyra ab excellentissimo quodam artifice concinnata, quem qui nôrit mirabiles eliciet harmonias. J. Dee. Aphorismo 11.

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excellent harp, made by an eminent workman, on which he that can but play will make most admirable musick. But to the purpose.

[1] *Paracelsus* is of opinion, *that a Physician without the knowledge of stars can neither understand the cause or cure of any disease, either of this, or gout, nor so much as tooth-ache; except he see the peculiar geniture and scheme of the party affected.* And for this proper malady, he will have the principal and primary cause of it proceed from the heaven, ascribing more to stars than humours, [2] *and that the constellation alone many times produceth melancholy, all other causes set apart.* He gives instance in lunatick persons, that are deprived of their wits by the moon's motion, and in another place refers all to the ascendant, and will have the true and chief cause of it to be sought from the stars. Neither is it his opinion only, but of many *Galenists* and Philosophers, though they not so stiffly and peremptorily maintain as much. *This variety of melancholy symptoms proceeds from the stars,* saith *Melancthon:* [3] the most generous melancholy, as that of *Augustus,* comes from the conjunction of *Saturn* & *Jupiter* in *Libra:* the bad, as that of *Catiline's,* from the meeting of *Saturn* and the *Moon* in *Scorpio. Jovianus Pontanus,* in his 10th Book, and 13th Chap. *de rebus cœlestibus,* discourseth to this purpose at large; *ex atra bile varii generantur morbi, &c.* [4] *many diseases proceed from black choler, as it shall be hot or cold; & though it be cold in its own nature, yet it is apt to be heated, as water may be made to boil, and burn as bad as fire, or made cold as ice: and thence proceed such variety of symptoms, some mad, some solitary, some laugh, some rage, &c.* the cause of all which intemperance he will have chiefly and primarily proceed from the heavens: [5] *from the position of Mars, Saturn, and Mercury.* His Aphorisms be these: [6] *Mercury in any geniture, if he shall be found in Virgo, or Pisces his opposite sign, & that in the horoscope, irradiated by those*

[1] Medicus sine cœli peritia nihil est, &c. nisi genesim sciverit, ne tantillum poterit. lib. de podag. [2] Constellatio in causa est; et influentia cœli morbum hunc movet interdum, omnibus aliis amotis. Et alibi. Origo ejus à Cœlo petenda est. Tr. de morbis amentium. [3] Lib. de anima, cap. de humorib. Ea varietas in Melancholia habet cælestes causas ♂ ♄ et ♃ in □ ☌ ♂ et ☾ in ♏. [4] Ex atra bile varii generantur morbi, perinde ut ipse multum calidi aut frigidi in se habuerit, quum utrique suscipiendo quam aptissima sit, tametsi suâpte naturâ frigida sit. Annon aqua sic afficitur a calore ut ardeat; et a frigore, ut in glaciem concrescat? et hæc varietas distinctionum, alii flent, rident, &c. [5] Hanc ad intemperantiam gignendam plurimum confert ♂ et ♄ positus, &c. [6] ☿ Quoties alicujus genitura in ♏ et ♓ adverso signo positus, horoscopum partiliter tenuerit, atque etiam a ♂ vel ♄ □ radio percussus fuerit, natus ab insania vexabitur.

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quartile aspects of Saturn or Mars, the child shall be mad or melancholy. Again, [1] *He that shall have Saturn or Mars, the one culminating, the other in the 4th house, when he shall be born, shall be melancholy, of which he shall be cured in time, if Mercury behold them.* [2] *If the Moon be in conjunction or opposition at the birth time with the Sun, Saturn or Mars, or in a quartile aspect with them, (è malo cœli loco,* [3] *Leovitius* adds), *many diseases are signified, especially the head and brain is like to be mis-affected with pernicious humours, to be melancholy, lunatick, or mad, Cardan* adds, *quartâ lunâ natos,*[4] [or those born in] eclipses, [or in] earth-quakes. *Garcæus* and *Leovitius* will have the chief judgement to be taken from the Lord of the geniture, or when there is an aspect betwixt the *Moon* and *Mercury*, and neither behold the *horoscope*, or *Saturn* and *Mars* shall be Lord of the present conjunction or opposition in *Sagittary* or *Pisces*, of the *Sun* or *Moon*, such persons are commonly epileptick, dote, dæmonical, melancholy: but see more of these Aphorisms in the above-named *Pontanus, Garcæus, cap.* 23. *de Jud. genitur. Schoner. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8, which he hath gathered out of [5] *Ptolemy, Albubater*, and some other *Arabians, Junctine, Ranzovius, Lindhout, Origan, &c.* But these men you will reject peradventure, as Astrologers, and therefore partial judges; then hear the testimony of Physicians, *Galenists* themselves. [6] *Crato* confesseth the influence of stars to have a great hand to this peculiar disease, so doth *Jason Pratensis, Lonicerius, Præfat. de Apoplexiâ, Ficinus, Fernelius, &c.* [7] *P. Cnemander* acknowledgeth the stars an universal cause, the particular from parents, and the use of the six non-natural things. *Baptista Porta, mag. l.* 1. *c.* 10, 12, 15, will have them causes to every particular *individuum.* Instances and examples, to evince the truth of those Aphorisms, are common amongst those Astrologian Treatises. *Cardan* in his 37th geniture, gives instance in *Math. Bolognius, Camerar. hor. natalit. centur.* 7. *genit.* 6, & 7. of *Daniel Gare*, and others; but see *Garcæus cap.* 33. *Luc. Gauricus. Tract.* 6. *de Azemenis, &c.* The time of this melancholy is, when the significators of any geniture are directed

[1] Qui ♄ et ♂ habet, alterum in culmine, alterum imo cœlo, cum in lucem venerit, melancholicus erit, à qua sanabitur, si ☿ illos irradiârit. [2] Hac configuratione natus, aut lunaticus, aut mente captus. [3] From a bad quarter of the heaven,] [4] Those born on the fourth day after a new moon.] [5] Ptolomæus, centiloquio, et quadripartito tribuit omnium melancholicorum symptomata siderum infinentiis. [6] Arte Medica. Accedunt ad has causas affectiones siderum. Plurimum incitant et provocant influentiæ cælestes. Velcurio, lib. 4. cap. 15. [7] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de mel.

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according to art, as the hor. moon, hylech, &c. to the hostile beams or terms of ♄ and ♂ especially, or any fixed star of their nature, or if ♄ by his revolution, or *transitus*, shall offend any of those radical promissors in the geniture.

Other signs there are taken from Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, Chiromancy, which because *Joh. de Indagine*, and *Rotman*, the Landgrave of *Hesse* his Mathematician, not long since in his Chiromancy, *Baptista Porta*, in his celestial Physiognomy, have proved to hold great affinity with Astrology, to satisfy the curious, I am the more willing to insert.

The general notions [1] Physiognomers give, be these; *black colour argues natural melancholy: so doth leanness, hirsuteness, broad veins, much hair on the brows*, saith [2] *Gratanarolus, cap.* 7, and a little head, out of *Aristotle;* high, sanguine, red colour, shews head melancholy; they that stutter and are bald will be soonest melancholy, (as *Avicenna* supposeth) by reason of the dryness of their brains. But he that will know more of the several signs of humours and wits out of Physiognomy, let him consult with old *Adamantus* and *Polemus*, that comment, or rather paraphrase, upon *Aristotle's* Physiognomy, *Baptista Porta's* four pleasant books, *Michael Scot de secretis naturæ, John de Indagine, Montaltus, Antony Zara, anat. ingeniorum. sect.* 1. *memb.* 13. & *lib.* 4.

Chiromancy hath these Aphorisms to foretell melancholy. *Tasnier, lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. who hath comprehended the sum of *John de Indagine, Tricassus, Corvinus*, and others, in his book, thus hath it; [3] *The Saturnine line going from the rascetta through the hand to Saturn's mount, and there intersected by certain little lines, argues melancholy; so if the vital and natural make an acute angle, Aphorism* 100. *The Saturnine, hepatick and natural lines, making a gross triangle in the hand, argue as much;* which *Goclenius cap.* 5. *Chiros.* repeats *verbatim* out of him. In general they conclude all, that, if *Saturn's* mount be full of many small lines and intersections, [4] *such men are most part melancholy, miserable and full of*

[1] Joh. de Indag. cap. 9. Montaltus, cap. 22. [2] Caput parvum qui habent cerebrum et spiritus plerumque angustos, facile incident in Melancholiam rubicundi. Aëtius. Idem Montaltus, c. 21. è Galeno. [3] Saturnina à Rascetta per mediam manum decurrens usque ad radicem montis Saturni, à parvis lineis intersecta, arguit melancholicos. Aphorism. 78. [4] Agitantur miseriis, continuis inquietudinibus, neque unquam à sollicitudine liberi sunt; anxie affliguntur amarissimis intra cogitationibus, semper tristes, suspiciosi, meticulosi: cogitationes sunt, velle agrum colere, stagna amant et paludes, &c. Jo. de Indagine, lib. 1.

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disquietness, care and trouble, continually vexed with anxious and bitter thoughts, alway sorrowful, fearful, suspicious; they delight in husbandry, buildings, pools, marshes, springs, woods, walks, &c. Thaddæus Haggesius, in his *Metoposcopia*, hath certain Aphorisms derived from *Saturn's* lines in the fore-head, by which he collects a melancholly disposition; and [1] *Baptista Porta* makes observations from those other parts of the body, as if a spot be over the spleen; [2] *or in the nails, if it appear black, it signifieth much care, grief, contention, and melancholy;* the reason he refers to the humours, and gives instance in himself, that for seven years' space he had such black spots in his nails, and all that while was in perpetual law-suits, controversies for his inheritance, fears, loss of honour, banishment, grief, care, &c., and when his miseries ended, the black spots vanished. *Cardan,* in his book *de libris propriis*, tells such a story of his own person, that a little before his son's death he had a black spot, which appeared in one of his nails, and dilated itself as he came near to his end. But I am overtedious in these toys, which howsoever, in some men's too severe censures, they may be held absurd and ridiculous, I am the bolder to insert, as not borrowed from circumforanean [3] Rogues and Gipsies, but out of the writings of worthy Philosophers and Physicians, yet living some of them, and religious Professors in famous Universities, who are able to patronize that which they have said, and vindicate themselves from all cavillers and ignorant persons.

SUBSEC. 5.—*Old age a cause.*

SECUNDARY peculiar causes efficient, so called in respect of the other precedent, are either *congenitæ, internæ, innatæ*, as they term them, inward, innate, inbred; or else outward and adventitious, which happen to us after we are born: congenite, or born with us, are either natural, as old age, or *præter naturam* [4] (as [5] *Fernelius* calls it) that distemperature which we have from our parents' seed, it being an hereditary disease. The first of these, which is natural to all, and which no man living can avoid, is [6] old age,

[1] Cælestis Physiognom. lib. 10. [2] Cap. 14. lib. 5. Idem. Maculæ in ungulis nigræ lites, rixas, melancholiam significant, ab humore in corde tali. [3] Itinerant, or mountebank, rogues.] [4] Unnatural.] [5] Lib. 1. Path. cap. 11. [6] Venit enim properata malis inopina senectus: Et dolor ætatem jussit inesse meam. Boethius, met. 1. de consol. Philos.

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which being cold and dry, and of the same quality as Melancholy is, must needs cause it, by diminution of spirits and substance, and increasing of adust humours. Therefore [1] *Melancthon* avers out of *Aristotle*, as an undoubted truth, *senes plerumque delirasse in senectâ*, that old men familiarly dote, *ob atram bilem*, for black choler, which is then superabundant in them: and *Rhasis*, that *Arabian* Physician, in his *Cont. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9, calls it [2] *a necessary and inseparable accident* to all old & decrepid persons. *After* 70 *years* (as the Psalmist saith) [3] *all is trouble and sorrow;* and common experience confirms the truth of it in weak and old persons, especially in such as have lived in action all their lives, had great employment, much business, much command, and many servants to oversee, and leave off *ex abrupto;* as [4] *Charles* the Fifth did to King *Philip*, resign up all on a sudden. They are overcome with melancholy in an instant: or, if they do continue in such courses, they dote at last, (*senex bis puer* [5]), and are not able to manage their estates through common infirmities incident in their age; full of ache, sorrow, and grief, children again, dizzards, they carle [6] many times as they sit, and talk to themselves, they are angry, waspish, displeased with every thing, *suspicious of all, wayward, covetous, hard,* (saith *Tully* [7]) *self-willed, superstitious, self-conceited, braggers, & admirers of themselves*, as [8] *Balthasar Castalio* hath truly noted of them. This natural infirmity is most eminent in old women, and such as are poor, solitary, live in most base esteem and beggary, or such as are witches; insomuch that *Wierus, Baptista Porta, Ulricus Molitor, Edwicus*, do refer all that witches are said to do to imagination alone, and this humour of melancholy. And whereas it is controverted, whether they can bewitch cattle to death, ride in the air upon a coulstaff out of a chimney-top, transform themselves into cats, dogs, &c., translate bodies from place to place, meet in companies, and dance, as they do, or have carnal copulation with the Devil, they ascribe all to this redundant melancholy which domineers in them, to [9]somniferous

[1] Cap. de humoribus, lib. de anima. [2] Necessarium accidens decrepitis, et inseparabile. [3] Psa. xc. 10. [4] Meteran. Belg. hist. lib. 1. [5] Oration in Meineke Fr. 5. 16. An old man is twice a boy.] [6] =act like a carle, or churl. I once thought *carke* might be the right reading.] [7] Sunt morosi, et anxii, et iracundi, et difficiles senes, si quærimus, etiam avari. Tull. de senectute [18. 65.] [8] Lib. 2. de Aulico. Senes avari, morosi, jactabundi, philauti, deliri, superstitiosi, suspiciosi, &c. Lib. 3. de Lamiis, cap. 17. et 18. [9] Solanum, opium, lupi adeps, lac asini, &c., sanguis infantum, &c.

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potions, and natural causes, the Devil's policy. *Non lædunt omnino* (saith *Wierus*) *aut quid mirum faciunt* (*de Lamiis, lib. 3. cap. 36,*) *ut putatur, solam vitiatam habent phantasiam;* they do no such wonders at all, only their [1]brains are crazed. [2] *They think they are Witches and can do hurt, but do not.* But this opinion *Bodine, Erastus, Danæus, Scribanius, Sebastian Michaelis, Campanella, de Sensu rerum, lib. 4. cap. 9,* [3]*Dandinus* the Jesuit, *lib. 2. de Anima, explode;* [4] *Cicogna* confutes at large. That Witches are melancholy they deny not, but not out of corrupt phantasy alone, so to delude themselves and others, or to produce such effects.

SUBSEC. 6.—*Parents a cause by propagation.*

THAT other inward inbred cause of Melancholy is our temperature, in whole or part, which we receive from our parents, which [5] *Fernelius* calls *præter naturam*, or unnatural, it being an hereditary disease; for as he justifies, [6] *quale parentum maximè patris semen obtigerit, tales evadunt similares spermaticæque partes, quocunque etiam morbo pater quum generat tenetur, cum semine transfert in prolem;* such as the temperature of the father is, such is the son's, and look what disease the father had when he begot him, his son will have after him, [7] *and is as well inheritor of his infirmities as of his lands. And where the complexion and constitution of the father is corrupt, there* ([8] saith *Roger Bacon*) *the complexion and constitution of the son must needs be corrupt, and so the corruption is derived from the father to the son.* Now this doth not so much appear in the composition of the body, according to that of *Hippocrates,* [9] *in habit, proportion, scars, and other lineaments, but in manners and conditions of the mind,*

Et patrum in natos abeunt cum semine mores.

Seleucus had an anchor on his thigh, so had his posterity, as *Trogus* records *l. 15. Lepidus* in *Pliny l. 7. c. 17.* was purblind, so was his son. That famous family of *Ænobarbi* were known of old,

[1] Corrupta est iis ab humore melancholico phantasia. Nymannus. [2] Putant se lædere quando non lædunt. [3] Qui hæc in imaginationis vim referre conati sunt, aut atræ bilis, inanem prorsus laborem susceperunt. [4] Lib. 3. cap. 4. omnif. mag. [5] Lib. 1. cap 11. path. [6] Ut arthritici, epilep. etc. [7] Ut filii non tam possessionum quam morborum hæredes sint. [8] Epist. de secretis artis et naturæ c. 7. Nam in hoc quod patres corrupti sunt, generant filios corruptæ complexionis, et compositionis, et filii eorum eâdem de causâ se corrumpunt, et sic derivatur corruptio à patribus ad filios. [9] Non tam (inquit Hippocrates) gibbos et cicatrices oris et corporis habitum agnoscis ex iis, sed verum incessum, gestus, mores, morbos, etc.

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and so surnamed, from their red beards.[1] The *Austrian* lip, and those Indians' flat noses are propagated, the *Bavarian* chin, and goggle eyes amongst the Jews, as [2] *Buxtorfius* observes. Their voice, pace, gesture, looks, is likewise derived with all the rest of their conditions & infirmities; such a mother, such a daughter; their very [3] affections *Lemnius contends to follow their seed, and the malice and bad conditions of children are many times wholly to be imputed to their parents.* I need not therefore make any doubt of Melancholy, but that it is an hereditary disease. [4] *Paracelsus* in express words affirms it, *lib. de morb. amentium, To.* 4. *Tr.* 1; so doth [5] *Crato* in an Epistle of his to *Monavius.* So doth *Bruno Seidelius* in his book *de morbo incurab. Montaltus* proves, *cap.* 11, out of *Hippocrates* and *Plutarch*, that such hereditary dispositions are frequent, *& hanc (inquit) fieri reor ob participatam melancholicam intemperantiam* (speaking of a patient), I think he became so by participation of Melancholy. *Daniel Sennertus, lib.* 1. *part* 2. *cap.* 9, will have his melancholy constitution derived not only from the father to the son, but to the whole family sometimes; *quandoque totis familiis hæreditativam.* [6] *Forestus*, in his medicinal observations, illustrates this point, with an example of a merchant his patient, that had this infirmity by inheritance; so doth *Rodericus à Fonseca, Tom.* 1. *consul.* 69, by an instance of a young man that was so affected *ex matre melancholica*, had a melancholy mother, *& victu melancholico*, and bad diet together. *Lodovicus Mercatus*, a Spanish Physician, in that excellent tract which he hath lately written of hereditary diseases, *Tom.* 2. *oper. l.* 5, reckons up leprosy, as those [7] *Galbots* [8] in *Gascony*, hereditary lepers, pox, stone, gout, epilepsy, &c. Amongst the rest, this and madness after a set time comes to many, which he calls a miraculous thing in nature, and sticks for ever to them as an incurable habit. And that which is more to be wondered at, it skips in some families the father, and goes to the son, [9] *or takes every other, & sometimes every third in a lineal descent, and doth*

[1 See Suetonius, Nero, § i.] [2] Synagog. Jud. [3] Affectus parentum in fœtus transeunt, et puerorum malitia parentibus imputanda, lib. 4. cap. 3. de occult nat. mirac. [4] Ex pituitosis pituitosi, ex biliosis biliosi, ex lienosis et melancholicis melancholici. [5] Epist. 174. in Scoltz. Nascitur nobiscum illa aliturque, et unà cum parentibus habemus malum hunc assem. Jo. Pelesius, lib. 2. de cura humanorum affectuum. [6] Lib. 10. observat. 15. [7] Maginus, Geog. [8 *Qu.* Cagots, a word said to have been originally given to the lepers of Bearn. See *Ménage.* I can find nowhere the word in text.] [9] Sæpe non eundem, sed similem producit effectum, et illæso parente transit in nepotem.

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not always produce the same, but some like, and a symbolizing disease. These secundary causes hence derived are commonly so powerful, that (as [1] *Wolfius* holds) *sæpe mutant decreta siderum*, they do often alter the primary causes, and decrees of the heavens. For these reasons belike the Church and Commonwealth, human and divine laws, have conspired to avoid hereditary diseases, forbidding such marriages as are any whit allied; and as *Mercatus* adviseth all families to take such, *si fieri possit, quæ maximè distant natura*,[2] and to make choice of those that are most differing in complexion from them, if they love their own, and respect the common good. And sure, I think, it hath been ordered by God's especial providence, that in all ages there should be (as usually there is) once in [3] 600 years a transmigration of Nations, to amend and purify their blood, as we alter seed upon our land, and that there should be as it were an inundation of those Northern *Goths* and *Vandals*, and many such like people which came out of that continent of *Scandia*, and *Sarmatia* (as some suppose) and overran, as a deluge, most part of *Europe* and *Africa*, to alter for our good our complexions, which were much defaced with hereditary infirmities, which by our lust and intemperance we had contracted. A sound generation of strong and able men were sent amongst us, as those Northern men usually are, innocuous, free from riot, and free from diseases; to qualify and make us as those poor naked Indians are generally at this day; and those about *Brazil* (as a late Writer [4] observes) in the Isle of *Maragnan*, free from all hereditary diseases, or other contagion, whereas without help of physick they live commonly 120 years or more, as in the *Orcades* and many other places. Such are the common effects of temperance and intemperance, but I will descend to particulars, and shew by what means, and by whom especially, this infirmity is derived unto us.

Filii ex senibus nati raro sunt firmi temperamenti, old men's children are seldom of a good temperament, as *Scoltzius* supposeth, Consult. 177, and therefore most apt to this disease; and, as [5] *Levinus Lemnius* farther adds, old men beget most part way-

[1] Dial. præfix. genituris Leovitii. [[2] If possible, as are most distant by nature.] [3] Bodine, de rep. cap. de periodis reip. [4] Claudius Abaville, Capuchin, in his voyage to Maragnan, 1614, cap. 45. Nemo fere ægrotus, sano omnes et robusto corpore, vivunt annos 120, 140, sine medicina. Idem Hector Boethius de insulis Orcad. et Damianus à Goes de Scandia. [5] Lib. 4. c. 3. de occult. nat. mir. Tetricos plerumque filios senes progenerant et tristes, rarius exhilaratos.

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ward, peevish, sad, melancholy sons, and seldom merry. He that begets a child on a full stomack, will either have a sick child or a crazed son (as [1] *Cardan* thinks, *contradict. med. lib.* 1. *contradict.* 18), or if the parents be sick, or have any great pain of the head, or megrim, headache, (*Hieronymus Wolfius* [2] doth instance in a child of *Sebastian Castalio's*) or if a drunken man get a child, it will never likely have a good brain, as *Gellius* argues, *lib.* 12. *cap.* 1. *Ebrii gignunt ebrios*, one drunkard begets another, saith [3] *Plutarch, symp. lib.* 1. *quest.* 5, whose sentence [4] *Lemnius* approves, *l.* 1. *c.* 4, *Alsarius Crutius, Gen. de qui sit med. cent.* 3. *fol.* 182, *Macrobius, lib.* 1, *Avicenna lib.* 3. *Fen.* 21. *Tract.* 1. *cap.* 8, and *Aristotle* himself, *sect.* 2. *prob.* 4. Foolish, drunken, or hair-brain, women most part bring forth children like unto themselves, *morosos & languidos*, and so likewise he that lies with a menstruous woman. *Intemperantia veneris, quam in nautis praesertim insectatur* [5] Lemnius, *qui uxores ineunt, nulla menstrui decursus ratione habita, nec observato interlunio, præcipua causa est, noxia perniciosa (concubitum hunc exitialem ideo, & pestiferum vocat* [6] Rodericus a Castro, Lusitanus, *detestantur ad unum omnes medici*), *tum & quarta luna concepti infelices plerumque & amentes, deliri, stolidi, morbosi, impuri, invalidi, tetra lue sordidi, minimè vitales, omnibus bonis corporis atque animi destituti:* ad laborem nati, *si seniores, inquit* Eustathius, *ut* Hercules, *& alii.* [7] Judæi *maxime insectantur fœdum hunc & immundum apud* Christianos *concubitum, ut illicitum abhorrent, & apud suos prohibent; & quod* Christiani *toties leprosi, amentes, tot morbilli, impetigines, alphi, psoræ, cutis & faciei decolorationes, tam multi morbi epidemici, acerbi, & venenosi sint, in hunc immundum concubitum rejiciunt, & crudeles in pignora vocant, qui quarta luna profluente hac mensium illuvie concubitum hunc non perhorrescunt. Damnavit olim divina lex, & morte mulctavit hujusmodi homines*, Lev. [chs.] 18. 20, *& inde nati, si qui deformes aut mutili, pater dilapidatus, quod non contineret ab* [8] *immundâ muliere.* Gregorius Magnus, *petenti* Augustino *numquid apud* [9] Britannos *hujusmodi concubitum toleraret, severe prohibuit viris suis tum misceri fœminas in consuetis*

[1] Coitus super repletionem pessimus, et filii qui tum gignuntur, aut morbosi sunt, aut stolidi. [2] Dial præfix. Leovitio. [3] L. de ed. liberis. [§ iii.] [4] De occult. nat. mir. Temulentæ et stolidæ mulieres liberos plerumque producunt sibi similes. [5] Lib. 2, c. 8. de occult. nat. mir. Good Master Schoolmaster, do not English this. [6] De nat. mul. lib. 3. cap. 4. [7] Buxtorfius, c. 31. Synag. Jud. Ezek. 18. 6. [8] Drusius, obs. lib. 3. cap. 20. [9] Beda, Eccl. hist. lib. 1. c. 27, respons. 10.

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suis menstruis, &c. I spare to English this which I have said. Another cause some give, inordinate diet, as if a man eat garlick, onions, fast overmuch, study too hard, be over-sorrowful, dull, heavy, dejected in mind, perplexed in his thoughts, fearful, &c. *their children* (saith [1] *Cardan subtil. lib.* 18.) *will be much subject to madness & melancholy; for if the spirits of the brain be fusled or misaffected by such means at such a time, their children will be fusled in the brain; they will be dull, heavy, timorous, discontented, all their lives.* Some are of opinion and maintain that paradox, or problem, that wise men beget commonly fools; *Suidas* gives instance in *Aristarchus* the Grammarian, *duos reliquit filios, Aristarchum & Aristachorum, ambos stultos;* [2] &, which [3] *Erasmus* urgeth in his *Moria*, fools beget wise men. *Card. subt. l.* 12, gives this cause, *quoniam spiritus sapientum ob studium resolvuntur, & in cerebrum feruntur a corde:* because their natural spirits are resolved by study, and turned into animal; drawn from the heart, and those other parts to the brain. *Lemnius* subscribes to that of *Cardan*, and assigns this reason, *quod persolvant debitum languide, & oscitanter, unde fœtus à parentum generositate desciscit:* they pay their debt (as *Paul* calls it) [4] to their wives remissly, by which means their children are weaklings, and many times idiots and fools.

Some other causes are given, which properly pertain, and do proceed from the mother. If she be over-dull, heavy, angry, peevish, discontented, and melancholy, not only at the time of conception, but even all the while she carries the child in her womb (saith *Fernelius, path. l.* 1. 11.) her son will be so likewise affected, and worse, as [5] *Lemnius* adds, *l.* 4. *c.* 7. If she grieve overmuch, be disquieted, or by any casualty be affrighted, & terrified by some fearful object, heard or seen, she endangers her child, and spoils the temperature of it; for the strange imagination of a woman works effectually upon her infant, that, as *Baptista Porta* proves, *Physiog. cælestis, l.* 5. *c.* 2, she leaves a mark upon it, which is most especially seen in such as prodigiously long for such & such meats; the child will love those meats, saith *Fernelius*, and

[1] Nam spiritus cerebri si tum male afficiantur, tales procreant; et quales fuerint affectus, tales filiorum: ex tristibus tristes, ex jucundis jucundi nascuntur, etc. [2] He left two sons, Aristarchus and Aristachorus, both fools.] [3] Fol. 129. mer. Socrates' children were fools. Sabel. [4] I. Cor. vii. 3.] [5] De occul. nat. mir. Pica morbus mulierum.

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be addicted to like humours: [1] *if a great-bellied woman see a hare, her child will often have an harelip*, as we call it. *Garcæus, de judiciis geniturarum, cap.* 33, hath a memorable example of one *Thomas Nickell*, born in the City of *Brandenburg*, 1551,[2] *that went reeling and staggering all the days of his life, as if he would fall to the ground, because his mother being great with child saw a drunken man reeling in the street.* Such another I find in *Martin Wenrichius, com. de ortu monstrorum, c.* 17. I saw (saith he) at *Wittenberg* in *Germany*, a citizen that looked like a carkass. *I asked him the cause, he replied,*[3] *his mother, when she bore him in her womb, saw a carkass by chance, and was so sore affrighted with it, that* ex eo fœtus ei assimilatus, *from a ghastly impression the child was like it.*

So many several ways are we plagued and punished for our fathers' defaults: in so much that, as *Fernelius* truly saith, [4] *it is the greatest part of our felicity to be well born, & it were happy for human kind, if only such parents as are sound of body & mind should be suffered to marry.* An husbandman will sow none but the best & choicest seed upon his land; he will not rear a bull or an horse, except he be right shapen in all parts, or permit him to cover a mare, except he be well assured of his breed; we make choice of the best rams for our sheep, rear the neatest kine, and keep the best dogs, *quanto id diligentius in procreandis liberis observandum!* And how careful then should we be in begetting of our children! In former times some [5] countries have been so chary in this behalf, so stern, that, if a child were crooked or deformed in body or mind, they made him away; so did the *Indians* of old by the relation of *Curtius*,[6] & many other well-governed commonwealths, according to the discipline of those times. Heretofore in *Scotland*, saith [7] *Hect. Boethius, if any were visited with the*

[1] Baptista Porta, loco præd. Ex leporum intuitu pleraeque infantes edunt bifido superiore labello. [2] Quasi mox in terram collapsurus per omnem vitam incedebat, cum mater gravida ebrium hominem sic incedentem viderat. [3] Civem facie cadaverosa, qui dixit, &c. [4] Optimum bene nasci, maxima pars felicitatis nostræ bene nasci; quamobrem præclare humano generi consultum videretur, si soli parentes bene habiti et sani liberis operam darent. [5] Infantes infirmi præcipitio necati. Bohemus, lib. 3. c. 3. Apud Laconas olim. Lipsius, epist. 85. cent. ad Belgas, Dionysio Villerio. Si quos aliqua membrorum parte inutiles notaverint, necari jubent. [6] Lib. 9. cap. 1.] [7] Lib. I. De veterum Scotorum moribus. Morbo comitiali, dementiâ, maniâ, leprâ, etc. aut simili labe, quæ facile in prolem transmittitur, laborantes inter eos, ingenti factâ indagine, inventos, ne gens fœdâ contagione læderetur ex iis nata, castraverunt; mulieres hujusmodi procul a virorum consortio ablegârunt; quod si harum aliqua concepisse inveniebatur, simul cum fœtu nondum edito defodiebatur viva.

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falling sickness, madness, gout, leprosy, or any such dangerous disease, which was likely to be progagated from the father to the son, he was instantly gelded: a woman kept from all company of men; and if by chance, having some such disease, she were found to be with child, she with her brood were buried alive: and this was done for the common good, lest the whole nation should be injured or corrupted. A severe doom, you will say, and not to be used amongst Christians, yet more to be looked into than it is. For now by our too much facility in this kind, in giving way for all to marry that will, too much liberty and indulgence in tolerating all sorts, there is a vast confusion of hereditary diseases, no family secure, no man almost free from some grievous infirmity or other. When no choice is had, but still the eldest must marry, as so many stallions of the race; or if rich, be they fools or dizzards, lame or maimed, unable, intemperate, dissolute, exhaust through riot, as he said, [1] *jure hæreditario sapere jubentur*, they must be wise and able by inheritance: it comes to pass that our generation is corrupt, we have many weak persons, both in body and mind, many feral diseases raging amongst us, crazed families, *parentes peremptores;* [2] our fathers bad, and we are like to be worse.[3]

MEMB. II

SUBSEC. I.—*Bad Diet a cause. Substance. Quality of Meats.*

ACCORDING to my proposed method, having opened hitherto these secundary causes, which are inbred with us, I must now proceed to the outward and adventitious, which happen unto us after we are born. And those are either evident, remote; or inward, antecedent, and the nearest: continent causes some call them. These outward, remote, precedent causes are subdivided again into *necessary* and *not necessary*. *Necessary* (because we cannot avoid them, but they will alter us, as they are used or abused) are those six non-natural things, so much spoken of amongst Physicians, which are principal causes of this disease. For almost in every consultation, whereas they shall come to speak of the causes, the fault is found, and this most part objected to the patient,

[1] Euphormio Satyr. [Part iv. cap. iv. memoriter.] [2] Our fathers the cause of our ruin.] [3] Cf. Hor. Odes. iii. 6. 46-48.]

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peccavit circa res sex non naturales: he hath still offended in one of those six. *Montanus, consil.* 22, consulted about a melancholy Jew, gives that sentence, so did *Frisemelica* in the same place; and in his 244th counsel, censuring a melancholy soldier, assigns that reason of his malady, [1] *he offended in all those six non-natural things, which were the outward causes, from which came those inward obstructions;* and so in the rest.

These six non-natural things are diet, retention, and evacuation, which are more material than the other, because they make new matter, or else are conversant in keeping or expelling of it. The other four are air, exercise, sleeping, waking, and perturbations of the mind, which only alter the matter. The first of these is diet, which consists in meat and drink, and causes melancholy, as it offends in substance, or accidents, that is, quantity, quality, or the like. And well may it be called a material cause, since that, as [2] *Fernelius* holds, *it hath such a power in begetting of diseases, & yields the matter and sustenance of them; for neither air, nor perturbations, nor any of those other evident causes take place, or work this effect, except the constitution of body & preparation of humours do concur; that a man may say this diet is the mother of diseases, let the father be what he will; and from this alone melancholy and frequent other maladies arise.* Many physicians I confess have written copious volumes of this one subject, of the nature and qualities of all manner of meats; as namely, *Galen, Isaac* the *Jew; Halyabbas, Avicenna, Mesue, Arabians; Gordonius, Villanovanus, Wecker, Iohannes Bruerinus, Sitologia de Esculentis & Poculentis, Michael Savanarola, Tract.* 2. *c.* 8, *Anthony Fumanellus, lib. de regimine senum, Curio* in his Comment on *Schola Salerna,*[3] *Godefridus Stekius, arte med. Marsilius Cognatus, Ficinus, Ranzovius, Fonseca, Lessius, Magninus, regim. sanitatis, Frietagius, Hugo Fridevallius, &c.*, besides many other in [4] English, and almost every peculiar physician discourseth at large of all

[1] Fecit omnia delicta quæ fieri possunt circa res sex non naturales, et eæ fuerunt causæ extrinsecæ, ex quibus postea ortæ sunt obstructiones. [2] Path. l. 1. c. 2. Maximam in gignendis morbis vim obtinet, pabulum, materiamque morbi suggerens: nam nec ab aëre, nec à perturbationibus, vel aliis evidentibus causis morbi sunt, nisi consentiat corporis præparatio, et humorum constitutio. Ut semel dicam, una gula est omnium morborum mater, etiamsi alius est genitor. Ab hac morbi sponte sæpè emanant, nullâ aliâ cogente causâ. [3 Or Schola Salernitana, was the School of Medicine founded at Salerno (Salernum) in Italy, and very famous in the Middle Ages. The best known work emanating from this school is the Poem *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni.*] [4] Cogan, Eliot, Vauhan, Vener.

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peculiar meats in his chapter of Melancholy. Yet because these books are not at hand to every man, I will briefly touch what kind of meats engender this humour, through their several species, and which are to be avoided. How they alter and change the matter, spirits first, and after humours, by which we are preserved, and the constitution of our body, *Fernelius* and others will shew you. I hasten to the thing itself: and first of such diet as offends in substance.

Beef, a strong & hearty meat (cold in the first degree, dry in the second, saith *Gal. l.* 3. *c.* 1. *de alim. fac.*) is condemned by him, and all succeeding authors, to breed gross melancholy blood: good for such as are sound, and of a strong constitution, for labouring men, if ordered aright, corned, young, of an ox (for all gelded meats in every species are held best) or if old, [1] such as have been tired out with labour, are preferred. *Aubanus* & *Sabellicus* commend *Portugal* beef to be the most savoury, best and easiest of digestion; we commend ours: but all is rejected and unfit for such as lead a resty life, any ways inclined to Melancholy, or dry of complexion; *tales* (*Galen* thinks) *de facili melancholicis ægritudinibus capiuntur.*[2]

Pork of all meats is most nutritive in his own nature, [3] but altogether unfit for such as live at ease, are any ways unsound of body or mind: too moist, full of humours, and therefore *noxia delicatis*, saith *Savanarola, ex earum usu ut dubitetur an febris quartana generetur:* naught for queasy stomacks, in so much that frequent use of it may breed a quartan ague.

Savanarola discommends goat's flesh, and so doth [4] *Bruerinus, l.* 13. *c.* 19, calling it a filthy beast, and rammish; and therefore supposeth it will breed rank and filthy substance: yet kid, such as are young and tender, *Isaac* accepts, *Bruerinus*, and *Galen, l.* 1. *c.* 1, *de alimentorum facultatibus.*

Hart, and red deer, [5] *hath an evil name, it yields gross nutriment;* a strong and great grained meat, next unto a horse. Which although some countries eat as *Tartars*, and they of *China*, yet [6] *Galen* condemns. Young foals are as commonly eaten in *Spain* as red deer, and to furnish their navies, about *Malaga* especially,

[1] Frietagius. [2] Such are easily seized with melancholy diseases.] [3] Isaac. [4] Non laudatur, quia melancholicum præbet alimentum. [5] Male alit cervina (inquit Frietagius), crassissimum et atribilarium suppeditat alimentum. [6] Lib. de subtiliss. diaeta. Equina caro et asinina equinis danda est hominibus et asininis.

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often used; but such meats ask long baking, or seething, to qualify them, and yet all will not serve.

All venison is melancholy, and begets bad blood; a pleasant meat: in great esteem with us, (for we have more Parks in *England* than there are in all *Europe* besides), in our solemn feasts. 'Tis somewhat better hunted than otherwise, and well prepared by cookery; but generally bad, and seldom to be used.

Hare, a black meat, melancholy, and hard of digestion; it breeds *incubus*, often eaten, and causeth fearful dreams; so doth all venison, and is condemned by a jury of Physicians. *Mizaldus* and some others say that hare is a merry meat, and that it will make one fair, as *Martial's* Epigram testifies to *Gellia*,[1] but this is *per accidens*,[2] because of the good sport it makes, merry company, and good discourse, that is commonly at the eating of it, and not otherwise to be understood.

[3] Conies are of the nature of hares. *Magninus* compares them to beef, pig, and goat, *Reg. sanit. part.* 3. *c.* 17, yet young rabbits by all men are approved to be good.

Generally, all such meats as are hard of digestion breed melancholy. *Aretæus*, *l.* 7. *cap.* 5, reckons up heads and feet, [4] bowels, brains, entrails, marrow, fat, blood, skins, and those inward parts, as heart, lungs, liver, spleen, *&c.* They are rejected by *Isaac*, *lib.* 2. *part.* 3, *Magninus*, *part.* 3. *cap.* 17, *Bruerinus*, *lib.* 12, *Savanarola*, *Rub.* 32. *Tract.* 2.

Milk, and all that comes of milk, as butter and cheese, curds, *&c.* increase melancholy (whey only excepted, which is most wholesome): [5] some except asses' milk. The rest, to such as are sound, is nutritive and good, especially for young children, but because soon turned to corruption, [6] not good for those that have unclean stomacks, are subject to headache, or have green wounds, stone, *&c.* Of all cheeses, I take that kind which we call *Banbury* cheese to be the best. *Ex vetustis pessimus*, the older, stronger, and harder, the worst, as *Langius* discourseth in his Epistle to *Melancthon*, cited by *Mizaldus*, *Isaac p.* 5. *Gal.* 3, *de cibis boni succi*, *&c.*

[1 Martial, v. xxix.] [2 Contingently.] [3 Parum absunt à natura leporum. Bruerinus, l. 13. cap. 25. pullorum tenera et optima. [4] Illaudabilis succi nauseam provocant. [5] Piso. Altomar. [6] Curio. Frietagius, Magninus. part. 3. cap. 17. Mercurialis, de affect. lib. 1. c. 10, excepts all milk meats in Hypochondriacal Melancholy.

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Amongst fowl,[1] peacocks and pigeons, all fenny fowl are forbidden, as ducks, geese, swans, herns, cranes, coots, didappers, waterhens, with all those teals, curs, sheldrakes, and peckled[2] fowls, that come hither in winter out of *Scandia*, *Muscovy*, *Greenland*, *Friezland*, which half the year are covered all over with snow, and frozen up. Though these be fair in feathers, pleasant in taste, and have a good out-side, like hypocrites, white in plumes, and soft, their flesh is hard, black, unwholesome, dangerous, melancholy meat; *gravant & putrefaciunt stomachum*,[3] saith *Isaac*, part. 5, *de vol.* Their young ones are more tolerable, but young pigeons he quite disproves.

Rhasis and [4]*Magninus* discommend all fish, and say they breed *viscosities*, slimy nutriment, little and humourous nourishment. *Savanarola* adds cold, moist; and phlegmatick, *Isaac;* and therefore unwholesome for all cold and melancholy complexions. Others make a difference, rejecting only, amongst fresh water fish, eel, tench, lamprey, crawfish (which *Bright* approves, *cap.* 6,) and such as are bred in muddy and standing waters, and have a taste of mud, as *Franciscus Bonsuetus* poetically defines, *Lib. de aquatilibus.*

> Nam pisces omnes, qui stagna lacusque frequentant,
> Semper plus succi deterioris habent.
>
> All fish, that standing pools, and lakes frequent,
> Do ever yield bad juice and nourishment.

Lampreys *Paulus Jovius*, *c.* 34, *de piscibus fluvial.* highly magnifies, and saith, none speak against them, but *inepti* and *scrupulosi*, some [foolish and] scrupulous persons; but [5]*eels*, *c.* 33. *he abhorreth in all places, at all times, all physicians detest them, especially about the solstice. Gomesius, lib.* 1. *c.* 22, *de sale*, doth immoderately extol sea-fish, which others as much vilify, and, above the rest, dried, soused, indurate fish, as ling, fumadoes, red-herrings, sprats, stock-fish, haberdine, poor-John, all shell fish. [6]*Tim. Bright* excepts lobster and crab. *Messarius* commends salmon, which *Bruerinus* contradicts, *Lib.* 22. *c.* 17. *Magninus* rejects conger, sturgeon, turbot, mackerel, skate.

Carp is a fish of which I know not what to determine. *Fran-*

[1] Wecker, Syntax, theor. p. 2. Isaac, Bruer. lib. 15. cap. 30, et 31. [2] We now say speckled.] [3] They load and putrify the stomach.] [4] Cap. 18. part. 3. [5] Omni loco et omni tempore medici detestantur anguillas, præsertim circa solstitium. Damnantur tum sanis tum ægris. [6] Cap. 6. in his Tract of Melancholy.

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ciscus Bonsuetus accounts it a muddy fish. *Hippolytus Salvianus*, in his Book *de Piscium natura & præparatione*, which was printed at *Rome* in *Folio*, 1554, with most elegant Pictures, esteems carp no better than a slimy watery meat. *Paulus Jovius*, on the other side, disallowing tench, approves of it; so doth *Dubravius* in his Books of Fish-ponds. *Frietagius* [1] extols it for an excellent wholesome meat, and puts it amongst the fishes of the best rank; and so do most of our Country Gentlemen, that store their ponds almost with no other fish. But this controversy is easily decided, in my judgment, by *Bruerinus*, *l.* 22. *c.* 13. The difference riseth from the site and nature of pools, [2] sometimes muddy, sometimes sweet; they are in taste as the place is, from whence they be taken. In like manner almost we may conclude of other fresh fish. But see more in *Rondoletius*, *Bellonius*, *Oribasius*, *lib.* 7. *c.* 22, *Isaac*, *lib.* 1, especially *Hippolytus Salvianus*, who is *instar omnium solus*,[3] *&c.* Howsoever they may be wholesome and approved, much use of them is not good. *P. Forestus*, in his Medicinal Observations,[4] relates that Carthusian Friars, whose living is most part fish, are more subject to melancholy than any other order, & that he found by experience, being sometime their Physician ordinary at *Delph* in *Holland*. He exemplifies it with an instance of one *Buscodnese*, a Carthusian of a ruddy colour, and well liking, that by solitary living, and fish-eating, became so misaffected.

Amongst herbs to be eaten, I find gourds, cowcumbers, coleworts, melons, disallowed, but especially cabbage. It causeth troublesome dreams, and sends up black vapours to the brain. *Galen*, *loc. affect. l.* 3. *c.* 6, of all herbs condemns cabbage; and *Isaac*, *lib.* 2. *c.* 1, *animæ gravitatem facit*, it brings heaviness to the soul. Some are of opinion that all raw herbs and sallets breed melancholy blood, except bugloss and lettuce. *Crato*, *consil.* 21. *lib.* 2, speaks against all herbs and worts, except borage, bugloss, fennel, parsley, dill, balm, succory. *Magninus*, *regim. sanitatis*, 3. *part. cap.* 31, *omnes herbæ simpliciter malæ*, *viâ cibi*; all herbs are simply evil to feed on (as he thinks.) So did that scoffing Cook in [5] *Plautus* hold.

[1] Optimè nutrit, omnium judicio inter primæ notæ pices gustu præstanti. [2] Non est dubium quin, pro vivariorum situ ac naturâ, magnas alimentorum sortiantur differentias, alibi suaviores, alibi lutulentiores. [3] Cic. Brut. 51. 191.] [4] Observat. 16. lib. 10. [5] Pseudolus, act 3. scen. 2. [21-23.]

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—— Non ego cænam condio ut alii coqui solent,
Qui mihi condita prata in patinis proferunt,
Boves qui convivas faciunt, herbasque aggerunt.

Like other cooks I do not supper dress,
That put whole meadows into a platter,
And make no better of their guests than beeves,
With herbs and grass to feed them fatter.

Our *Italians* and *Spaniards* do make a whole dinner of herbs and sallets (which our said *Plautus* calls *cænas terrestres*,[1] *Horace*[2] *cænas sine sanguine*) by which means, as he follows it,

[3] Hic homines tam brevem vitam colunt——
Qui herbas hujusmodi in alvum suum congerunt,
Formidolosum dictu, non esu modò,
Quas herbas pecudes non edunt, homines edunt.

Their lives, that eat such herbs, must needs be short,
And 'tis a fearful thing for to report,
That men should feed on such a kind of meat,
Which very juments would refuse to eat.

[4] They are windy, and therefore not fit to be eaten of all men raw, though qualified with oil, but in broths, or otherwise. See more of these in every husbandman[5] and herbalist. Roots, *etsi quorundam gentium opes sint*, saith *Bruerinus*, [although] the wealth of some countries, and sole food, are windy and bad, or troublesome to the head; as onions, garlic, scallions, turnips, carrots, radishes, parsnips. *Crato*, *lib.* 2. *consil.* 11, disallows all roots, though [6]some approve of parsnips and potatoes. [7] *Magninus* is of *Crato's* opinion,[8] *they trouble the mind, sending gross fumes to the brain, make men mad*, especially garlick, onions, if a man liberally feed on them a year together. *Guianerius*, *tract.* 15. *cap.* 2, complains of all manner of roots, and so doth *Bruerinus*, even parsnips themselves, which are the best, *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 14, *pastinacarum usus succos gignit improbos.*

Crato, *consil.* 21. *lib.* 1, utterly forbids all manner of fruits, as pears, apples, plums, cherries, strawberries, nuts, medlers, serves, *&c. Sanguinem inficiunt*, saith *Villanovanus*, they infect the blood

[1 Capt. i. ii. 80. Vegetarian suppers.] [2 *Qu.* "Hegio means" *c. s. s.* See Lambinus' Pl. l. c. p. 212. Nowhere in Horace.] [3 Plautus. ibid. [33-36.] [4 Quare rectius valetudini suæ quisque consulet, qui, lapsûs priorum parentum memor, eas plane vel omiserit vel parce degustârit. Kersleius, cap. 4. de vero usu med. [5 In Mizaldo de Horto, P. Crescent. Herbastein, &c. [6 Cap. 13. part 3. Bright in his Tract. of Mel. [7 Intellectum turbant, producunt insaniam. [8 Audivi (inquit Magnin.) quod, si quis ex iis per annum continuè comedat, in insaniam caderet. cap. 13. Improbi succi sunt, cap. 12.

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and putrefy it, *Magninus* holds, and must not therefore be taken *vitâ cibi, aut quantitate magnâ*, not to make a meal of, or in any great quantity. [1]*Cardan* makes that a cause of their continual sickness at *Fez* in *Africa, because they live so much on fruits, eating them thrice a day. Laurentius* approves of many fruits, in his *Tract of Melancholy*, which others disallow, and amongst the rest apples, which some likewise commend, sweetings, pearmains, pippins, as good against Melancholy; but to him that is any way inclined or touched with this malady, [2]*Nicholas Piso*, in his *Practicks*, forbids all fruits, as windy, or to be sparingly eaten at least, and not raw. Amongst other fruits, [3]*Bruerinus*, out of *Galen*, excepts grapes and figs, but I find them likewise rejected.

All pulse are naught, beans, pease, fitches, *&c.* they fill the brain (saith *Isaac*) with gross fumes, breed black thick blood, and cause troublesome dreams. And therefore, that which *Pythagoras* said to his Scholars of old, may be for ever applied to melancholy men, *a fabis abstinete*,[4] eat no pease, nor beans. Yet, to such as will needs eat them, I would give this counsel, to prepare them according to those rules that *Arnoldus Villanovanus* and *Frietagius* prescribe, for eating and dressing fruits, herbs, roots, pulse, *&c.*

Spices cause hot and head melancholy, and are for that cause forbidden by our physicians to such men as are inclined to this malady, as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, mace, dates, *&c.*, honey, and sugar. [5]Some except honey; to those that are cold it may be tolerable, but [6]*dulcia se in bilem vertunt*,[7] they are obstructive. *Crato* therefore forbids all spice (in a consultation of his, for a melancholy schoolmaster), *omnia aromatica, & quicquid sanguinem adurit:*[8] so doth *Fernelius, consil.* 45; *Guianerius, tract.* 15. *c.* 2; *Mercuralis, cons.* 189. To these I may add all sharp and sour things, luscious, and oversweet, or fat, as oil, vinegar, verjuice, mustard, salt; as sweet things are obstructive, so these are corrosive. *Gomesius*, in his books *De sale, l.* 1. *c.* 21, highly commends Salt; so doth *Codronchus* in his tract, *De sale absinthii, Lemn. lib.* 3. *cap.* 9. *de occult. nat. mir.* Yet common experience finds salt, & salt-meats, to be great procurers of this disease. And for that cause, belike, those *Egyptian* Priests abstained from

[1] De rerum varietat. In Fessa plerumque morbosi, quod fructus comedant ter in die. [2] Cap. de Mel. [3] Lib. 11. c. 3. [4] Plut. On Educ. § xvii.] [5] Bright, c. 6. excepts honey. [6] Hor. apud Scoltzium, consil. 186. [7] Hor. Sat. ii. ii. 75 Sweets turn into bile.] [8] All aromatics, and whatever dries up the blood.]

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salt, even so much as in their bread, *ut sine perturbatione anima esset*, saith mine Author, that their souls might be free from perturbations.

Bread that is made of baser grain, as pease, beans, oats, rye, or [1] overhard baked, crusty, and black, is often spoken against, as causing melancholy juice and wind. *Joh. Mayor*, in the first book of his History of *Scotland*, contends much for the wholesomeness of oaten bread. It was objected to him, then living at *Paris* in *France*, that his countrymen fed on oats, and base grain, as a disgrace; but he doth ingenuously confess, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and a third part of *England*, did most part use that kind of bread, that it was as wholesome as any grain, and yielded as good nourishment. And yet *Wecker* (out of *Galen*) calls it horsemeat, and fitter for juments than men to feed on. But read *Galen* himself, *Lib.* 1. *De cibis boni & mali succi*, more largely discoursing of corn and bread.

All black wines, overhot, compound, strong thick drinks, as Muscadine, Malmsey, Alicant, Rumney, Brown Bastard, Metheglin, and the like, of which they have thirty several kinds in *Muscovy*, all such made drinks are hurtful in this case, to such as are hot, or of a sanguine cholerick complexion, young, or inclined to head-melancholy. For many times the drinking of wine alone causeth it. *Arculanus*, *c.* 16. in 9. *Rhasis*, puts in [2] wine for a great cause, especially if it be immoderately used. *Guianerius*, *Tract.* 15. *c.* 2, tells a story of two Dutchmen, to whom he gave entertainment in his house, *that* [3] *in one month's space were both melancholy by drinking of wine*, one did nought but sing, the other sigh. *Galen*, *l. de causis*, *morb. c.* 3, *Matthiolus* on *Dioscorides*, and above all other *Andreas Bachius*, *l.* 3. *c.* 18, 19, 20, have reckoned up those inconveniences that come by wine. Yet, notwithstanding all this, to such as are cold, or sluggish melancholy, a cup of wine is good physick, and so doth *Mercurialis* grant, *consil.* 25. In that case, if the temperature be cold, as to most melancholy men it is, wine is much commended, if it be moderately used. Cider and Perry are both cold and windy drinks, and for that cause to be neglected, and so are all those hot spiced strong drinks.

[1] Ne comedas crustam, choleram quia gignit adustam. Schola Salerna. [This line comes from the Poem, *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*.] [2] Vinum turbidum. [3] Ex vini potentis bibitione, duo Allemanni in uno mense melancholici facti sunt.

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Beer, if it be over new or over stale, over strong, or not sod, smell of the cask, sharp, or sour, is most unwholesome, frets, and galls, *&c. Henricus Ayrerus*, in a [1] consultation of his, for one that laboured of *hypochondriacal* melancholy, discommends beer. So doth [2] *Crato*, in that excellent counsel of his, *Lib. 2. consil. 21*, as too windy, because of the hop. But he means belike that thick black *Bohemian* beer used in some other parts of [3] *Germany*.

——— ——— nil spissius illa
Dum bibitur, nil clarius est dum mingitur, unde
Constat, quòd multas fæces in corpore linquat.

Nothing comes in so thick,
Nothing goes out so thin,
It must needs follow then
The dregs are left within.

As that old [4] Poet scoffed, calling it *Stygiæ monstrum conforme paludi*, a monstrous drink, like the River *Styx*. But let them say as they list, to such as are accustomed unto it, *'tis a most wholesome* (so [5] *Polydore Virgil* calleth it) *and a pleasant drink*, it is more subtile and better for the hop that rarefies it, hath an especial virtue against melancholy, as our Herbalists confess, *Fuchsius* approves, *Lib. 2. sect. 2. instit. cap. 11*, and many others.

Standing waters, thick and ill coloured, such as come forth of pools and moats, where hemp hath been steeped, or slimy fishes live, are most unwholesome, putrefied, and full of mites, creepers, slimy, muddy, unclean, corrupt, impure, by reason of the sun's heat, and still standing. They cause foul distemperatures in the body and mind of man, are unfit to make drink of, to dress meat with, or to be [6] used about men inwardly or outwardly. They are good for many domestical uses, to wash horses, water cattle, *&c.*, or in time of necessity, but not otherwise. Some are of opinion, that such fat standing waters make the best beer, and that seething doth defecate it, as [7] *Cardan* holds, *Lib. 13. subtil. it mends the substance and savour of it*, but it is a paradox. Such beer may be stronger but not so wholesome as the other, as [8] *Jobertus* truly justifieth out of *Galen*, *Paradox*, *dec. 1. Paradox 5.* that the seething of such impure waters doth not purge or purify

[1] Hildesheim, spicil. fol. 273. [2] Crassum generat sanguinem. [3] About Dantzic, Innspruck, Hamburg, Leipsic. [4] Henricus Abrincensis. [5] Potus tum salubris tum jucundus, l. 1. [6] Galen, l. 1. de san, tuend. Cavendæ sunt aquæ quæ ex stagnis hauriuntur, et quæ turbidæ et malè olentes, &c. [7] Innoxium reddit et bene olentem. [8] Contendit hæc vitia coctione non emendari.

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them. *Pliny, lib.* 31. *c.* 3, is of the same tenent, and *P. Crescentius, agricult. lib.* 1. *&* *lib.* 4. *c.* 11 *&* *c.* 45. *Pamphilius Herilachus, lib.* 4. *de nat. aquarum*, [says] such waters are naught, not to be used, and, by the testimony of [1]*Galen, breed agues, dropsies, pleurisies, splenetick and melancholy passions, hurt the eyes, cause a bad temperature and ill disposition of the whole body, with bad colour.* This *Jobertus* stiffly maintains, *Paradox. lib.* 1. *part* 5, that it causeth blear eyes, bad colour, and many loathsome diseases, to such as use it. This which they say stands with good reason; for, as Geographers relate, the water of *Astracan* breeds worms in such as drink it. [2]*Axius*, or (as now called) *Vardar*, the fairest River in *Macedonia*, makes all cattle black that taste of it. *Aliacmon*, now *Peleca*, another stream in *Thessaly*, turns cattle most part white, *si potui ducas.*[3] *I. Aubanus Bohemus* refers that [4]*struma*, or poke, of the *Bavarians* and *Styrians*, to the nature of their waters, as [5]*Munster* doth that of the *Valesians* in the *Alps*, and [6]*Bodine* supposeth the stuttering of some families in *Aquitania*, about *Labden*, to proceed from the same cause, *and that the filth is derived from the water to their bodies.* So that they that use filthy, standing, ill-coloured, thick, muddy water, must needs have muddy, ill-coloured, impure, and infirm bodies. And because the body works upon the mind, they shall have grosser understandings, dull, foggy, melancholy spirits, and be really[7] subject to all manner of infirmities.

To these noxious simples, we may reduce an infinite number of compound, artificial, made dishes, of which our cooks afford us a great variety, as tailors do fashions in our apparel. Such are [8]puddings stuffed with blood, or otherwise composed, baked meats, soused, indurate meats, fried, and broiled, buttered meats, condite, powdered, and over-dried, [9]all Cakes, Simnels, Buns, Cracknels, made with butter, spice, *&c.*, Fritters, Pancakes, Pies, Sausages, and those several sauces, sharp or over sweet, of which

[1] Lib. de bonitate aquæ. Hydropem auget, febres putridas, splenem, tusses, nocet oculis, malum habitum corporis et colorem. [2] Mag. Nigritatem inducit si pecora biberint. [3] = If you take them to drink there.] [4] Aquæ ex nivibus coactæ strumosos faciunt. [5] Cosmog. l. 3. cap. 36. [6] Method. hist. cap. 5. Balbutiunt Labdoni in Aquitania ob aquas, atque hi morbi ab aquis in corpora derivantur. [7] *Qu.* readily.] [8] Edulia ex sanguine et suffocato parta. Hildesheim. [9] Cupedia vero, placentæ, bellaria, commentaque alia curiosa pistorun et coquorum gustui servientium, conciliant morbos tum corpori tum animo insanabiles. Philo Judæus, lib. de victimis. P. Jov. vita ejus.

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scientia popinæ, as *Seneca* calls it,[1] hath served those [2]*Apician* tricks, and perfumed dishes, which *Adrian* the Sixth, Pope, so much admired in the accounts of his predecessor *Leo Decimus;* and which prodigious riot and prodigality have invented in this age. These do generally ingender gross humours, fill the stomack with crudities, and all those inward parts with obstructions. *Montanus, consil.* 22, gives instance in a melancholy Jew, that, by eating such tart sauces, made dishes, and salt meats, with which he was overmuch delighted, became melancholy, and was evil affected. Such examples are familiar and common.

SUBSECT. 2.—*Quantity of Diet a Cause.*

THERE is not so much harm proceeding from the substance itself of meat, and quality of it, in ill dressing and preparing, as there is from the quantity, disorder of time and place, unseasonable use of it, [3]intemperance, overmuch or overlittle taking of it. A true saying it is, *Plures crapula quam gladius*, this gluttony kills more than the sword, this *omnivorans & homicida gula*, this all-devouring and murdering gut. And that of [4]*Pliny* is truer, *simple diet is the best; heaping up of several meats is pernicious, and sauces worse; many dishes bring many diseases.* [5]*Avicenna* cries out, that *nothing is worse than to feed on many dishes, or to protract the time of meals longer than ordinary; from thence proceed our infirmities, and 'tis the fountain of all diseases, which arise out of the repugnancy of gross humours.* Thence, saith [6]*Fernelius*, come crudities, wind, oppilations, *cacochymia, plethora, cachexia, bradypepsia,* [7]*Hinc subitæ mortes, atque intestata senectus*, sudden death, &c., and what not.

As a lamp is choked with a multitude of oil, or a little fire with overmuch wood quite extinguished; so is the natural heat with immoderate eating strangled in the body. *Perniciosa sentina est abdomen insaturabile*, one saith, an insatiable paunch is a per-

[1 Consolatio ad Helviam, x. § 2. knowledge of the cookshop.] [2] As lettuce steeped in wine, birds fed with fennel and sugar, as a Pope's concubine used in Avignon, Stephan. [As to Apicius, see Martial, ii. 69. 3, 4; Juvenal, iv. 23; xi. 3; Tacitus, Annals, iv. 1.] [3] Animæ negotium illa facessit, et de templo Dei immundum stabulum facit. Peletius, 10. c. [4] Lib. 11. c. 52. Homini cibus utilissimus simplex; acervatio ciborum pestifera, et condimenta perniciosa; multos morbos multa fercula ferunt. [5] 31. Dec. 2. c. Nihil deterius quam si tempus justo longius comedendo protrahatur, et varia ciborum genera conjungantur: inde morborum scaturigo, quæ ex repugnantia humorum oritur. [6] Path. l. 1. c. 14. [7] Juv. Sat. [i. 144.]

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nicious sink, and the fountain of all diseases, both of body and mind. [1]*Mercurialis* will have it a peculiar cause of this private disease; *Solenander, consil* 5. *sect.* 3, illustrates this of *Mercurialis* with an example of one so melancholy, *ab intempestivis commessationibus*, [by] unseasonable feasting. [2]*Crato* confirms as much, in that often cited Counsel, 21. *lib.* 2, putting superfluous eating for a main cause. But what need I seek farther for proofs? Hear [3]*Hippocrates* himself, *Lib.* 2. *Aphoris.* 10, *Impure bodies, the more they are nourished, the more they are hurt, for the nourishment is putrefied with vicious humours.*

And yet for all this harm, which apparently follows surfeiting and drunkenness, see how we luxuriate and rage in this kind. Read what *Johannes Stuckius* hath written lately of this subject, in his great volume *De Antiquorum Conviviis*, and of our present age; *quàm* [4]*portentosæ cœnæ*, [what] prodigious suppers; [5]*qui, dum invitant ad cœnam, efferunt ad sepulchrum!* What *Fagos*,[6] *Epicures*, *Apicii*,[7] *Heliogabali*, our times afford! *Lucullus'* ghost walks still, and every man desires to sup in *Apollo*:[8] [9]*Æsop's* costly dish is ordinarily served up.

——[10] Magis illa juvant, quæ pluris emuntur.

The dearest cates are best, and 'tis an ordinary thing to bestow twenty or thirty pound on a dish, some thousand crowns upon a dinner. [11]*Muley-Hamet*, King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, spent three pounds on the sauce of a capon: it is nothing in our times, we scorn all that is cheap. *We loathe the very light*[12] (some of us, as *Seneca* notes) *because it comes free, and we are offended with the*

[1] Nimia repletio ciborum facit melancholicum. [2] Comestio superflua cibi, et potûs quantitas nimia. [3] Impura corpora, quanto magis nutris, tanto magis lædis: putrefacit enim alimentum vitiosus humor. [4] Vid. Goclen. de portentosis cœnis, &c. Puteani Com. [5] Amb. lib. de Jeju. cap. 14. [They who invite us to supper, only bring us to our tomb.] [6] The allusion is to Vopiscus, *Aurelianus*, cap. 50. "Erat quidem rarus in voluptatibus, sed miro modo mimis delectabatur vehementissime autem delectatus est Fagone, qui usque eo multum comedit, ut uno die ante mensam ejus aprum integrum, centum panes, vervecem et porcellum comederet, biberet autem infundibulo apposito plus orca."] [7] See Juv. xi. 3.] [8] See Plut. *Lucullus*, § 41. Apollo was a rich chamber so called in Lucullus' house.] [9] This is probably an allusion to the son of Æsop, a tragic actor, and friend of Cicero. For his extravagance, only equalled by Cleopatra, see Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 239-242; Valerius Maximus, ix. 1; Macrobius, iii. 14; Pliny, ix. 35.] [10] Juvenal. [xi. 16. "The costliest dishes afford most gratification."] [11] Guicciardini. [12] Nat. quæst. 4. cap. ult. Fastidio est lumen gratuitum, dolet quod sole, quod spiritum emere non possimus, quod hic aër non emptus ex facili, &c. adeo nihil placet, nisi quod carum est.

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sun's heat, and those cool blasts, because we buy them not. This air we breathe is so common, *we care not for it;* nothing pleaseth but what is dear. And if we be [1] witty in anything, it is *ad gulam:* if we study at all, it is *erudito luxu,*[2] to please the palate, and to satisfy the gut. *A cook of old was a base knave* (as [3]*Livy* complains) *but now a great man in request: cookery is become an art, a noble science: cooks are Gentlemen: Venter Deus.*[4] They wear *their brains in their bellies, and their guts in their heads;* as [5]*Agrippa* taxed some parasites of his time, rushing on their own destruction, as if a man should run upon the point of a sword, *usque dum rumpantur comedunt:*[6] [7] all day, all night, let the Physician say what he will, imminent danger and feral diseases are now ready to seize upon them, they will eat till they vomit, *edunt ut vomant, vomunt ut edant,* saith *Seneca;*[8] (which *Dion* relates of *Vitellius, solo transitu ciborum nutriri judicatus:*[9] his meat did pass through, and away;) or till they burst again. [10]*Strage animantium ventrem onerant,*[11] and rake over all the world, as so many [12] slaves, belly-gods, and land-serpents; *et totus orbis ventri nimis angustus,*[13] the whole world cannot satisfy their appetite. [14]*Sea, Land, Rivers, Lakes, &c., may not give content to their raging guts.* To make up the mess, what immoderate drinking in every place! *Senem potum pota trahebat anus,*[15] how they flock to the Tavern! as if they were *fruges consumere nati,*[16] born to no other end but to eat and drink, like *Offellius Bibulus,* that famous *Roman* Parasite, *qui, dum vixit, aut bibit aut minxit;* as so many casks to hold wine, yea worse than a cask, that mars wines, and itself is not marred by it, yet these are brave men, *Silenus ebrius*[17] was no braver. *Et quæ fuerunt vitia, mores sunt:*[18] 'tis now the fashion of our times, an honour: *nunc verò res ista eò rediit* (as *Chrysost. serm.* 30, in 5. *Ephes.* comments.) *ut effeminatæ ridendæque ignaviæ loco habeatur*

[1] Ingeniosi ad Gulam. [Cf. Petronius, cap. cxix.] [2] Tac. Ann. xvi. 18.] [3] Olim vile mancipium, nunc in omni æstimatione, nunc ars haberi coepta, etc. [Livy, 39. 6, condensed.] [4] Philippians, iii. 19. Men's god is their belly.] [5] Epist. 28. l. 7. Quorum in ventre ingenium, in patinis, &c. [6] They eat till they burst.] [7] In lucem cœnat Sertorius. [Martial. vii. 10. 5.] [8] Helv. Cons. 10. 3. They eat to vomit, and vomit to eat.] [9] Dion. Hist. Rom. lxv. 2.] [10] Seneca. [Cons. ad Helviam. 9.] [11] They load their belly with the carnage of animals.] [12] Mancipia gulæ, dapes non sapore sed sumptu æstimantes. Seneca consol. ad Helviam. 9. memoriter. [13] Marcus Annaeus Seneca, Cont. ii. 9, memoriter.] [14] Sævientia guttura satiare non possunt fluvii et maria. Æneas Sylvius, de miser. curial. [15] Ov. F. iii. 542.] [16] Hor. Ep. i. ii. 27, born to consume the fruits of the earth.] [17] *i.e.* drunken Silenus.] [18] Seneca, Epistle 39, § 6. And what were vices are now considered virtues.]

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nolle inebriari; 'tis now come to that pass, that he is [held] no Gentleman, a very milk-sop, a clown, of no bringing up, that will not drink, fit for no company; he is your only gallant that plays it off finest, no disparagement now to stagger in the streets, reel, rave, *&c.*, but much to his fame and renown; as, in like case, *Epidicus* told *Thesprio* his fellow-servant, in the [1] Poet. *Edepol, facinus improbum,*[2] one urged, the other replied, *At jam alii fecere idem, erit illi illa res honori,* 'tis now no fault, there be so many brave examples to bear one out; 'tis a credit to have a strong brain, and carry his liquor well: the sole contention who can drink most, and fox his fellow soonest. 'Tis the *summum bonum* of our *tradesmen*, their felicity, life and soul, (*tanta dulcedine affectant*, saith *Pliny, Lib.* 14. *cap.* 12, *ut magna pars non aliud vitæ præmium intelligat,*) their chief comfort, to be merry together in an Alehouse or Tavern, as our modern *Muscovites* do in their Mede-Inns, and *Turks* in their Coffee-houses, which much resemble our Taverns; they will labour hard all day long to be drunk at night, and spend *totius anni labores,*[3] as *St. Ambrose* adds, in a tippling feast; convert day into night, as *Seneca* taxeth some in his times, *pervertunt officia noctis & lucis;*[4] when we rise, they commonly go to bed, like our *Antipodes*,

> Nosque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,
> Illis sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.[5]

So did *Petronius* in *Tacitus*, *Heliogabalus* in *Lampridius*,

> ——[6] Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
> Mane, diem totum stertebat.——
> [He sat up all the night, and slept all day.]

Smindyrides[7] the *Sybarite* never saw the sun rise or set, so much as once in twenty years. *Verres*, against whom *Tully* so much inveighs, in winter he never was *extra tectum*, [out of doors], *vix extra lectum*, never almost out of bed, [8] still wenching, and drinking; so did he spend his time, and so do *myriads* in our days. They have *gymnasia bibonum*, [drinking-] schools and rendezvous; these *Centaurs* and *Lapithæ* toss pots and bowls as so many balls; invent new tricks, as Sausages, Anchovies,

[1] Plautus. [Epidicus. i. i. 30, 31.] [2] In good sooth an ill deed.] [3] The profits of a whole year.] [4] Epist. 122, 2.] [5] Virg. Georg. i. 250, 251.] [6] Hor. Lib. 1. Sat. 3. [17, 18.] [7] See Herod. vi. 127; Seneca, De Irâ, Bk. ii. cap. xxv. § 2. Athenæus, xii. p. 518 sq. Ælian, V. H. ix. 24.] [8] Diei brevitas conviviis, noctis longitudo stupris, conterebatur. [Cic. 2 Verr. 5. 10. 26.]

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Tobacco, Caviare, pickled Oysters, Herrings, Fumadoes, &c., innumerable salt-meats, to increase their appetite, and study how to hurt themselves by taking antidotes, [1]*to carry their drink the better:* [2]*and when naught else serves, they will go forth, or be conveyed out, to empty their gorge, that they may return to drink afresh.* They make laws, *insanas leges, contra bibendi fallacias,*[3] and [4]brag of it when they have done, crowning that man that is soonest gone, as their drunken predecessors have done, (—— [5]*quid ego video?* Ps. *Cum coronâ Pseudolum ebrium tuum* ——;) and, when they are dead, will have a can of wine with [6]*Maron's* old woman to be engraven on their tombs. So they triumph in villany, and justify their wickedness; with *Rabelais*, that French *Lucian*, [they say] drunkenness is better for the body than physick, because there be more old drunkards than old Physicians.[7] Many such frothy arguments they have, [8]inviting and encouraging others to do as they do, and love them dearly for it (no glue like to that of good-fellowship.) So did *Alcibiades* in *Greece*, *Nero*, *Bonosus*,[9] *Heliogabalus* in *Rome*, or *Ategabalus* rather, as he was styled of old, (as [10]*Ignatius* proves out of some old coins.) So do many great men still, as [11]*Heresbachius* observes. When a Prince drinks till his eyes stare, like *Bitias* in the Poet,

> ——[12] (Ille impiger hausit
> Spumantem vino pateram),
>
> [He eager drained the bowl brimming with wine,]

and comes off clearly, sound Trumpets, Fife, and Drums, the spectators will applaud him, *the* [13]*Bishop himself* (if he belie them not) *with his Chaplain will stand by, and do as much; O dignum Principe haustum*, 'twas done like a Prince! *Our Dutchmen invite all comers with a pail and a dish, velut infundibula integras obbas exhauriunt, & in monstrosis poculis ipsi monstrosi monstrosius epotant, making barrels of their bellies.*[14] *Incredibile dictu*,[15] as one

[1] Et quo plus capiant, irritamenta excogitantur. [2] Fores portantur, ut ad convivium reportentur, repleri ut exhauriant, et exhauriri ut bibant. Ambros. [3] Insane laws against shirking drinking.] [4] Ingentia vasa velut ad ostentationem, etc. [5] Plautus. [Pseudolus. v. ii. 2, 3.] [6] Lib. 3. Anthol. c. 20. [7] Rabelais, Gargantua, Book i. ch. xli.] [8] Gratiam conciliant potando. [9] See his Life by Vopiscus.] [10] Notis ad Cæsares. [11] Lib. de educandis principum liberis. [12] Virg. Æ. 1. [738, 739.] [13] Idem strenui potatoris Episcopi Sacellanus, cum ingentem pateram exhaurit Princeps. [14] Bohemus in Saxonia. Adeo immoderate et immodeste ab ipsis bibitur, ut in compotationibus suis non cyathis solum et cantharis sat infundere possint, sed impletum mulctrale apponant, et scutella injecta hortantur quemlibet ad libitum potare. [15] Tis incredible to say how much liquor that most immoderate race will take.]

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of their own country-men complains, [1] *quantum liquoris immodestissima gens capiat, &c. How they love a man that will be drunk, crown him and honour him for it*, hate him that will not pledge him, stab him, kill him: a most intolerable offence, and not to be forgiven! [2] *He is a mortal enemy that will not drink with him*, as *Munster* relates of the *Saxons*. So in *Poland*, he is the best servitor, and the honestest fellow, saith *Alexander Gaguinus*, [3] *that drinketh most healths to the honour of his master;* he shall be rewarded as a good servant, and held the bravest fellow, that carries his liquor best, when as a brewer's horse will bear much more than any sturdy drinker; yet for his noble exploits in this kind he shall be accounted a most valiant man, for [4] *tam inter epulas fortis vir esse potest ac in bello*, as much valour is to be found in feasting as in fighting, and some of our City Captains, and Carpet Knights, will make this good, and prove it. Thus they many times wilfully pervert the good temperature of their bodies, stifle their wits, strangle nature, and degenerate into beasts.

Some again are in the other extreme, and draw this mischief on their heads by too ceremonious and strict diet, being over precise, Cockney-like, and curious in their observation of meats, times, as that *Medicina Statica*[5] prescribes, just so many ounces at dinner, which *Lessius* enjoins, so much at supper, not a little more, nor a little less, of such meat, and at such hours; a diet-drink in the morning, cock-broth, China-broth, at dinner plum-broth,[6] a chicken, a rabbit, rib of a rack[7] of mutton, wing of a capon, the merry-thought of a hen, *&c.*; to sounder bodies this is too nice and most absurd. Others offend in over-much fasting: pining adays, saith [8] *Guianerius*, and waking anights, as many *Moors* and *Turks* in these our times do. *Anchorites, Monks, and the rest of that superstitious rank* (as the same *Guianerius* witnesseth, *that he hath often seen to have happened in his time*) *through immoderate fasting have been frequently mad.* Ot such men belike *Hippocrates* speaks, 1. *Aphor.* 5, when as he saith,

[1] Dictu incredibile, quantum hujusce liquoris immodesta gens capiat. Plus potantem amicissimum habent, et serto coronant, inimicissimum è contra qui non vult, et cæde et fustibus expiant. [2] Qui potare recusat, hostis habetur, et cæde nonnunquam res expiatur. [3] Qui melius bibit pro salute domini, melior habetur minister. [4] Græc. Poeta apud Stobæum, ser. 18. [5] Regimen of living by rule.] [6] See *Nares' Glossary.*] [7] Neck or saddle.] [8] Qui de die jejunant, et nocte vigilant, facile cadunt in melancholiam; et qui naturae modum excedunt, c. 5. tract. 15, c. 2. Longa famis tulerantia, ut iis sæpe accidit qui tanto cum fervore Deo servire cupiunt per jejunium, quod maniaci efficiantur, ipse vidi sæpe.

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[1] *they more offend in too sparing diet, and are worse damnified,*[2] *than they that feed liberally, and are ready to surfeit.*

SUBSEC. 3.—*Custom of Diet, Delight, Appetite, Necessity, how they cause or hinder.*

No rule is so general, which admits not some exception; to this therefore which hath been hitherto said, (for I shall otherwise put most men out of commons), and those inconveniences which proceed from the substance of meats, an intemperate or unseasonable use of them, custom somewhat detracts and qualifies, according to that of *Hippocrates*, 2. *Aphoris.* 50, [3] *Such things as we have been long accustomed to, though they be evil in their own nature, yet they are less offensive.* Otherwise it might well be objected, that it were a mere [4] tyranny to live after those strict rules of physick; for custom [5] doth alter nature itself, and to such as are used to them it makes bad meats wholesome, and unseasonable times to cause no disorder. Cider and Perry are windy drinks, (so are all fruits windy in themselves, cold most part,) yet in some shires of [6] *England*, *Normandy* in *France*, *Guipuscoa* in *Spain*, 'tis their common drink, and they are no whit offended with it. In *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, they live most on roots, raw herbs, camels' [7] milk, and it agrees well with them; which to a stranger will cause much grievance. In *Wales lacticiniis vescuntur*, as *Humfrey Lluyd* confesseth, a *Cambro-Briton* himself, in his elegant Epistle to *Abraham Ortelius*, they live most on white meats: in *Holland* on fish, roots, [8] butter; and so at this day in *Greece*, as [9] *Bellonius* observes, they had much rather feed on fish than flesh. With us *maxima pars victus in carne consistit*, we feed on flesh most part, saith [10] *Polydore Virgil*, as all Northern countries do; and it would be very offensive to us to live after their diet, or they to live after ours. We drink beer, they wine; they use oil, we butter: we in the North are [11] great eaters, they most

[1] In tenui victu ægri delinquunt, ex quo fit ut majori afficiantur detrimento, majorque fit error tenui quam pleniore victu. [2 = injured.] [3] Quæ longo tempore consueta sunt, etiamsi deteriora, minus in assuetis molestare solent. [4] Qui medicè vivit, miserè vivit. [5] Consuetudo altera natura. [See Erasmi *Adagia*, p. 1149. Plutarch, *On Exile*, § viii.] [6] Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire. [7] Leo Afer. l. 1. Solo camelorum lacte contenti, nil præterea deliciarum ambiunt. [8] Flandri vinum butyro dilutum bibunt (nauseo referens), ubique butyrum inter omnia fercula et bellaria locum obtinet. Steph. præfat. Herod. [9] Delectantur Græci piscibus magis quam carnibus. [10] Lib. 1. hist. Ang. [11] P. Jovius, descript. Britonum. They sit, eat and drink, all day at dinner in Iceland, Muscovy, and those Northern parts.

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sparing in those hotter countries: and yet they and we, following our own customs, are well pleased. An *Ethiopian* of old, seeing an *European* eat bread, wondered, *quomodo stercoribus vescentes viverimus*, how we could eat such kind of meats: so much differed his country-men from ours in diet, that, as mine [1] Author infers, *si quis illorum victum apud nos æmulari vellet*, if any man should so feed with us, it would be all one to nourish, as *cicuta*, *aconitum*, or *hellebore* itself. At this day in *China* the common people live in a manner altogether on roots and herbs, and to the wealthiest horse, ass, mule, dogs, cats-flesh, is as delightsome as the rest; so [2] *Mat. Riccius* the Jesuit relates, who lived many years amongst them. The *Tartars* eat raw meat, and most commonly [3] horse-flesh, drink milk and blood, as the *Nomades* of old;

Et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino.[4]

They scoff at our *Europeans* for eating bread, which they call tops of weeds, and horse-meat, not fit for men; and yet *Scaliger* accounts them a sound and witty nation, living an hundred years; even in the civilest country of them they do thus, as *Benedict* the Jesuit observed in his travels from the great *Mogor's* Court by Land to *Paquin*, which *Riccius* contends to be the same with *Cambalu* in *Cathay*. In *Scandia* their bread is usually dried fish, and so likewise in the *Shetland* Isles: and their other fare, as in *Iceland*, saith [5] *Dithmarus Bleskenius, butter, cheese, and fish; their drink water, their lodging on the ground.* In *America* in many places their bread is roots, their meat palmitos, pinas, potatoes, &c. and such fruits. There be of them too that familiarly drink [6] salt sea-water all their lives, eat [7] raw meat, grass, and that with delight; with some, fish, serpents, spiders; and in divers places they [8] eat man's flesh raw, and roasted, even the Emperor [9] *Montezuma* [10] himself. In some coasts again,[11] one tree yields them

[1] Suidas vit. Herod. Nihilo cum eo melius quam si quis cicutam, aconitum, etc. [2] Expedit. in Sinas lib. 1. c. 3. Hortensium herbarum et olerum apud Sinas quam apud nos longe frequentior usus, complures quippe de vulgo reperias nullâ aliâ re, vel tenuitatis vel religionis causâ, vescentes. Equos, mulos, asellos, etc., æquè ferè vescuntur, ac pabula omnia, Mat. Riccius, lib. 5. cap. 12. [3] Tartari mulis, equis, vescuntur, et crudis carnibus, et fruges contemnunt, dicentes hoc jumentorum pabulum et boum, non hominum. [4] Virg. G. iii. 463.] [5] Islandiæ descriptione. Victus eorum butyro, lacte, caseo consistit; pisces loco panis habent; potus aqua aut serum; sic vivunt sine medicina multi ad annos 200. [6] Laet. occident. Ind. descript. lib. 11. cap. 10. Aquam marinam bibere sueti absque noxâ. [7] Davies' second voyage. [8] Patagones. [9] Benzo et Fer. Cortesius, lib. novus orbis inscrip. [10] Metazuma, old editions.] [11] Linscoften, c. 56. Palmæ instar totius orbis arboribus longe præstantior.

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cocoa-nuts, meat and drink, fire, fuel, apparel with his leaves, oil, vinegar, cover for houses, *&c.* and yet these men, going naked, feeding coarse, live commonly a hundred years, are seldom or never sick; all which diet our Physicians forbid. In *Westphalia* they feed most part on fat meats and wourts,[1] knuckle deep, and call it [2] *cerebrum Jovis*:[3] in the Low Countries with roots, in *Italy* frogs and snails are used. The *Turks*, saith *Busbequius*, delight most in fried meats. In *Muscovy* garlick and onions are ordinary meat and sauce, which would be pernicious to such as are unaccustomed unto them, delightsome to others; and all is [4] because they have been brought up unto it. Husbandmen, and such as labour, can eat fat bacon, salt gross meat, hard cheese, *&c.* (*O dura messorum ilia!*),[5] coarse bread at all times, go to bed and labour upon a full stomack, which to some idle persons would be present death, and is against the rules of physick; so that custom is all in all. Our travellers find this by common experience; when they come in far Countries, and use their diet, they are suddenly offended;[6] as our *Hollanders* & *Englishmen* when they touch upon the coasts of *Africa*, those *Indian capes* and islands, are commonly molested with calentures, fluxes, and much distempered by reason of their fruits. [7] *Peregrina, etsi suavia, solent vescentibus perturbationes insignes adferre;* strange meats, though pleasant, cause notable alterations and distempers. On the other side, use or custom mitigates or makes all good again. *Mithridates* by often use, which *Pliny*[8] wonders at, was able to drink poison; and a maid, as *Curtius* records, sent to *Alexander* from K. *Porus*, was brought up with poison from her infancy. The *Turks*, saith *Bellonius*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 15, eat *Opium* familiarly, a dram at once, which we dare not take in grains. [9] *Garcius ab Horto* writes of one whom he saw at *Goa* in the *East Indies*, that took ten drams of *Opium* in three days; and yet *consultò loquebatur*, spake understandingly; so much can custom do. [10] *Theophrastus* speaks of a shepherd that could eat *hellebore* in substance. And therefore *Cardan* concludes out of *Galen*, *consuetudinem utcunque ferendam, nisi valdè malam*, custom is howsoever to be kept, except it be extreme bad: he adviseth all men to keep their old

[1 Qu. worts?] [2 Lips. Epist.] [3 Jupiter's brain.] [4 [In] teneris consuescere multum. [Virg. G. ii. 272.]] [5 Hor. Epod. iii. 4. What iron digestions mowers have!] [6 Repentinæ mutationes noxam pariunt. Hippocrat. Aphorism. 21. Epist. 6. sect. 3.] [7 Bruerinus, lib. 1. cap. 23.] [8 Hist. Nat. xxv. 2.] [9 Simpl. med. c. 4. l. 1.] [10 Heurnius, l. 3. c. 19. prax. med.]

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customs, and that by the authority of [1] *Hippocrates* himself; *dandum aliquid tempori, ætati, regioni, consuetudini,* and therefore to [2] continue as they began, be it diet, bath, exercise, *&c.*, or whatsoever else.

Another exception is delight, or appetite, to such and such meats. Though they be hard of digestion, melancholy, yet, as *Fuchsius* excepts, *cap.* 6. *lib.* 2. *Instit. sect.* 2, [3] *the stomack doth readily digest, and willingly entertain, such meats we love most, and are pleasing to us, abhors on the other side such as we distaste;* which *Hippocrates* confirms, *Aphoris.* 2. 38. Some cannot endure cheese, out of a secret antipathy, or to see a roasted duck, which to others is a [4] delightsome meat.

The last exception is necessity, poverty, want, hunger, which drives men many times to do that which otherwise they are loath, cannot endure, and thankfully to accept of it: as beverage in ships, and, in sieges of great cities, to feed on dogs, cats, rats, and men themselves. Three outlaws, in [5] *Hector Boethius*, being driven to their shifts, did eat raw flesh, and flesh of such fowl as they could catch, in one of the *Hebrides*, for some few months. These things do mitigate or disannul that which hath been said of melancholy meats, and make it more tolerable; but to such as are wealthy, live plenteously, at ease, may take their choice, and refrain if they will, these viands are to be forborne, if they be inclined to, or suspect, melancholy, as they tender their healths: otherwise, if they be intemperate, or disordered in their diet, at their peril be it.

Qui monet amat,
Ave et cave.

[He who warns you loves you.
Farewell, and be on your guard.]

SUBSEC. 4.—*Retention and Evacuation a cause, and how.*

OF retention and evacuation there be divers kinds, which are either concomitant, assisting, or sole causes many times of melancholy. [6] *Galen* reduceth defect and abundance to this head; others, [7] *all that is separated, or remains.*

[1] Aphorism. 17. [2] In dubiis consuetudinem sequatur adolescens, et inceptis perseveret. [3] Qui cum voluptate assumuntur cibi, ventriculus avidius complectitur, expeditiusque concoquit, et quæ displicent aversatur. [4] Nothing against a good stomack, as the saying is. [5] Lib. 7. Hist. Scot. [6] 30. artis. [7] Quæ excernuntur aut subsistunt.

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In the first rank of these, I may well reckon up costiveness, and keeping in of our ordinary excrements, which, as it often causes other diseases, so this of Melancholy in particular. [1] *Celsus, lib.* 1. *cap.* 3, saith *it produceth inflammation of the head, dulness, cloudiness, headache, &c. Prosper Calenus, lib. de atrâ bile,* will have it distemper not the organ only, [2] *but the mind itself by troubling of it:* and sometimes it is a sole cause of Madness, as you may read in the first Book of [3] *Skenkius* his Medicinal Observations. A young Merchant, going to *Nordeling* [4] Fair in *Germany*, for ten days space never went to stool; at his return he was [5] grievously melancholy, thinking that he was robbed, and would not be persuaded, but that all his money was gone. His friends thought that he [had] had some *philtrum* given him, but *Cnelinus*, a Physician, being sent for, found his [6] costiveness alone to be the cause, and thereupon gave him a clyster, by which he was speedily recovered. *Trincavellius, consult.* 35. *lib.* 1, saith as much of a melancholy Lawyer, to whom he administered physick, and *Rodericus à Fonseca, consult.* 85. *tom.* 2,[7] of a Patient of his, that for eight days was bound, and therefore melancholy affected. Other retentions and evacuations there are, not simply necessary, but at some times; as *Fernelius* accounts them, *Path. lib.* 1. *cap.* 15, as suppression of emrods, monthly issues in women, bleeding at nose, immoderate or no use at all of *Venus;* or any other ordinary issues.

[8] Detention of emrods, or monthly issues, *Villanovanus, Breviar. lib.* 1. *c.* 18, *Arculanus, cap.* 16. *in* 9. *Rhasis, Vittorius Faventinus, pract. mag. Tract.* 2. *cap.* 15, *Bruel, &c.* put for ordinary causes. *Fuchsius, l.* 2. *sect.* 5. *c.* 30, goes farther, and saith that [9] *many men, unseasonably cured of the emrods, have been corrupted with melancholy; seeking to avoid Scylla, they fall into Charybdis. Galen, l. de hum. commen.* 3. *ad text.* 26, illustrates this by an example of *Lucius Martius*, whom he cured of madness, contracted by this means: and [10] *Skenkius* has two other instances of two melancholy and mad women, so caused from the suppression of their months. The same may be said of bleeding at the nose, if it be suddenly

[1] Ex ventre suppresso inflammationes, capitis dolores, caligines, crescunt. [2] Excrementa retenta mentis agitationem parere solent. [3] Cap. de Mel. [4] = Prob. Nördlingen in Bavaria.] [5] Tam delirus, ut vix se hominem agnosceret. [6] Alvus astrictus causa. [7] Per octo dies alvum siccum habet, et nihil reddit. [8] Sive per nares, sive hæmorrhoides. [9] Multi, intempestivè ab hæmorrhoidibus curati, melancholiâ corrupti sunt. Incidit in Scyllam [cupiens vitare Charybdim. Philip Gualtier. *Alexandreis*, v. 301.] [10] Lib. 1. de Mania.

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stopt, and have been formerly used, as [1] *Villanovanus* urgeth: and [2] *Fuchsius, lib. 2. sect. 5. cap. 33,* stiffly maintains, *that without great danger such an issue may not be stayed.*

Venus omitted produceth like effects. *Matthiolus, epist. 5. l. penult.* [3] *avoucheth of his knowledge, that some through bashfulness abstained from Venery, and thereupon became very heavy and dull; and some others, that were very timorous, melancholy, and beyond all measure sad. Oribasius, med. collect. l. 6. c. 37,* speaks of some, [4] *that, if they do not use carnal copulation, are continually troubled with heaviness and headache; and some in the same case by intermission of it.* Not use of it hurts many; *Arculanus, c. 6. in 9. Rhasis,* and *Magninus, part. 3. c. 5.* think, because it [5] *sends up poisoned vapours to the brain and heart.* And so doth *Galen* himself hold, that, if this *natural seed be over-long kept (in some parties) it turns to poison. Hieronymus Mercurialis,* in his Chapter of Melancholy, cites it for an especial cause of this malady, [6] *Priapismus, Satyriasis, &c. Halyabbas, 5. Theor. c. 36,* reckons up this and many other diseases. *Villanovanus, Breviar. l. 1. c. 18,* saith, he *knew* [7] *many monks and widows grievously troubled with melancholy, and that from this sole cause.* [8] *Lodovicus Mercatus, l. 2. de mulierum affect. cap. 4,* and *Rodericus à Castro, de morbis mulier. l. 2. c. 3,* treat largely of this subject, and will have it produce a peculiar kind of melancholy in stale maids, nuns, and widows; *ob suppressionem mensium & venerem omissam, timidæ, mœstæ, anxiæ, verecundæ, suspiciosæ, languentes, consilii inopes, cum summa vitæ & rerum meliorum desperatione, &c.,* they are melancholy in the highest degree, and all for want of husbands. *Ælianus Montaltus, cap. 37. de melanchol.* confirms as much out of *Galen;* so doth *Wierus, Christophorus à Vega, de art. med. lib. 3. c. 14,* relates many such examples of men and women, that he had seen so melancholy. *Felix Plater,* in the first Book of his Observations, [9] *tells a story of an ancient Gentleman in* Alsatia, *that married a*

[1] Breviar. l. 7. c. 18. [2] Non sine magno incommodo ejus, cui sanguis a naribus promanat, noxii sanguinis vacuatio impediri potest. [3] Novi quosdam, præ pudore à coitu abstinentes, torpidos, pigrosque factos; nonnullos etiam melancholicos præter modum, mœstos, timidosque. [4] Nonnulli nisi coeant, assiduè capitis gravitate infestantur. Dicit se novisse quosdam tristes, et ita factos ex intermissione Veneris. [5] Vapores venenatos mittit sperma ad cor et cerebrum. Sperma plus diu retentum transit in venenum. [6] Graves producit corporis et animi ægritudines. [7] Ex spermate supra modum retento monachos et viduas melancholicos sæpe fieri vidi. [8] Melancholia orta à vasis seminariis in utero. [9] Nobilis senex Alsatus juvenem uxorem duxit, at ille, colico dolore et multis morbis

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young wife, and was not able to pay his debts in that kind for a long time together, by reason of his several infirmities: but she, because of this inhibition of Venus, *fell into a horrible fury, and desired every one that came to see her, by words, looks, and gestures, to have to do with her, &c.* [1]*Bernardus Paternus*, a Physician, saith, he knew *a good honest godly Priest, that, because he would neither willingly marry, nor make use of the stews, fell into grievous melancholy fits. Hildesheim, spicil.* 2, hath such another example of an *Italian* melancholy Priest, in a consultation had *Anno* 1580. *Jason Pratensis* gives instance in a married man, that, from his wife's death abstaining, [2]*after marriage, became exceeding melancholy; Rodericus à Fonseca* in a young man so misaffected, *Tom.* 2. *consult.* 85. To these you may add, if you please, that conceited tale of a Jew, so visited in like sort, and so cured, out of *Poggius Florentinus.*[3]

Intemperate *Venus* is all out as bad in the other extreme. *Galen, l.* 6. *de morbis popular, sect.* 5. *text.* 26, reckons up melancholy amongst those diseases which are [4]*exasperated by venery:* so doth *Avicenna* 2, 3, *c.* 11, *Oribasius, loc. citat. Ficinus, lib.* 2. *de sanitate tuendâ, Marsilius Cognatus, Montaltus, cap.* 27, *Guianerius, Tract.* 3. *cap.* 2. *Magninus, cap.* 5. *part* 3, [5] gives the reason, because [6]*it infrigidates and dries up the body, consumes the spirits; and would therefore have all such as are cold and dry to take heed of and to avoid it as a mortal enemy. Jacchinus, in* 9. *Rhasis cap.* 15, ascribes the same cause, and instanceth in a Patient of his, that married a young wife in a hot summer, [7]*and so dried himself with chamber-work, that he became in short space from melancholy mad:* he cured him by moistening remedies. The like example I find in *Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, consult.* 129, of a Gentleman of *Venice*, that, upon the same occasion, was first melancholy, afterwards mad. Read in him the story at large.

correptus, non potuit præstare officium mariti, vix inito matrimonio ægrotus. Illa in horrendum furorem incidit, ob Venerem cohibitam, ut omnium eam invisentium congressum, voce, vultu, gestu, expeteret, et, quum non consentirent, molossos Anglicanos magno expetiit clamore. [1] Vidi sacerdotem optimum et pium, qui, quod nollet uti Venere, in melancholica symptomata incidit. [2] Ob abstinentiam à concubitu incidit in melancholiam. [3] Poggio Bracciolini. I can find nothing in Poggio's Facetiæ (ed. 1538.) like this. But there is an amusing tale of a woman so cured of melancholy there, pp. 428, 429. Was Burton thinking of this?] [4] Quæ à coitu exacerbantur. [5] Superfluum coitum causam ponunt. [6] Exsiccat corpus, spiritus consumit, &c. Caveant ab hoc sicci, velut inimico mortali. [7] Ita exsiccatus ut è melancholico statim fuerit insanus; ab humectantibus curatus.

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Any other evacuation stopped will cause it, as well as these above named, be it bile, [1] ulcer, issue, *&c. Hercules de Saxoniâ, lib.* 1. *c.* 16, and *Gordonius*, verify this out of their experience. They saw one wounded in the head, who, as long as the sore was open, *lucida habuit mentis intervalla*, was well; but when it was stopped, *rediit melancholia*, his melancholy fit seized on him again.

Artificial evacuations are much like in effect, as hot-houses, baths, blood-letting, purging, unseasonably and immoderately used. [2] Baths dry too much, if used in excess, be they natural or artificial, and offend extreme hot, or cold: [3] one dries, the other refrigerates, overmuch. *Montanus, consil.* 137, saith, they over-heat the liver. *Joh. Struthius, Stigmat. artis, l.* 4. *c.* 9, contends, [4] *that if one stay longer than ordinary at the bath, go in too oft, or at unseasonable times, he putrefies the humours in his body.* To this purpose writes *Magninus, l.* 3. *c.* 5. *Guianerius, Tract.* 15. *c.* 21, utterly disallows all hot baths in melancholy adust. [5] *I saw* (saith he) *a man that laboured of the gout, who, to be freed of his malady, came to the bath, and was instantly cured of his disease, but got another worse, and that was madness.* But this judgement varies, as the humour doth, in hot or cold: baths may be good for one melancholy man, bad for another; that which will cure it in this party, may cause it in a second.

Phlebotomy, many times neglected, may do much harm to the body, when there is a manifest redundance of bad humours, and melancholy blood; and when these humours heat and boil, if this be not used in time, the parties affected, so inflamed, are in great danger to be mad; but if it be unadvisedly, importunely, immoderately used, it doth as much harm by refrigerating the body, dulling the spirits, and consuming them. As *Joh.* [6] *Curio*, in his 10th Chapter, well reprehends, such kind of letting blood doth more hurt than good: [7] *the humours rage much more than they did before, and is so far from avoiding melancholy, that it increaseth it, and weakeneth the sight.* [8] *Prosper Calenus* observes as much of all

[1] Ex cauterio et ulcere exsiccato. [2] Gord. c. 10. lib. 1. Discommends cold baths as noxious. [3] Siccum reddunt corpus. [4] Si quis longius moretur in iis, aut nimis frequenter aut importunè utatur, humores putrefacit. [5] Ego anno superiore quendam guttosum vidi adustum, qui, ut liberaretur de gutta, ad balnea accessit, et, de gutta liberatus, maniacus factus est. [6] On Schola Salernitana. [7] Calefactio et ebullitio per venæ incisionem magis sæpe incitatur et augetur; majore impetu humores per corpus discurrunt. [8] Lib. de flatulenta Melancholia. Frequens sanguinis missio corpus extenuat.

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phlebotomy, except they keep a very good diet after it: yea, and, as [1]*Leonartus Jacchinus* speaks out of his own experience, [2] *the blood is much blacker to many men after their letting of blood than it was at first.* For this cause belike *Sallust. Salvinianus, l. 2. c.* 1, will admit or hear of no blood-letting at all in this disease, except it be manifest it proceed from blood. He was (it appears by his own words in that place,) Master of an Hospital of mad men, [3]*and found by long experience, that this kind of evacuation, either in head, arm, or any other part, did more harm than good.* To this opinion of his [4]*Felix Plater* is quite opposite; *though some wink at, disallow, & quite contradict, all phlebotomy in Melancholy, yet by long experience I have found innumerable so saved, after they had been twenty, nay, sixty times let blood, and to live happily after it. It was an ordinary thing of old, in* Galen's *time, to take at once from such men six pound of blood, which now we dare scarce take in ounces: sed viderint medici,*[5] great books are written of this subject.

Purging upward and downward, in abundance of bad humours omitted, may be for the worst; so likewise, as in the precedent, if overmuch, too frequent or violent, it [6]weakeneth their strength, saith *Fuchsius, l. 2. sect. 2. c.* 17, or if they be strong or able to endure physick, yet it brings them to an ill habit, they make their bodies no better than apothecaries' shops, this, and such like infirmities, must needs follow.

SUBSEC. 5.—*Bad Air a Cause of Melancholy.*

AIR is a cause of great moment, in producing this or any other disease, being that it is still taken into our bodies by respiration, and our more inner parts. [7]*If it be impure and foggy, it dejects the spirits, and causeth diseases by infection of the heart,* as *Paulus* hath it, *lib.* 1. *c.* 49, *Avicenna, lib.* 1, *Gal. de san. tuendâ, Mercurialis, Montaltus, &c.* [8]*Fernelius* saith, *a thick air thickeneth the blood and humours.* [9]*Lemnius* reckons up two main things most profit-

[1] In 9 Rhasis. Atram bilem parit, et visum debilitat. [2] Multo nigrior spectatur sanguis post dies quosdam, quàm fuit ab initio. [3] Non laudo eos qui in desipientia docent secandam esse venam frontis, quia spiritus debilitantur inde, et ego longâ experientiâ observavi in proprio xenodochio, quòd desipientes ex phlebotomiâ magis læduntur, et magis desipiunt, et melancholici sæpe fiunt inde pejores. [4] De mentis alienat. cap. 3. Etsi multos hoc improbâsse sciam, innumeros hâc ratione sanatos longâ observatione cognovi, qui vicies, sexagies venas tundendo, &c. [5] But let doctors see to it.] [6] Vires debilitat. [7] Impurus aër spiritus dejicit; infecto corde gignit morbos. [8] Sanguinem densat, et humores, P. 1. c. 13. [9] Lib. 3. cap. 3.

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able, and most pernicious to our bodies; air and diet: and this peculiar disease nothing sooner causeth ([1]*Jobertus* holds) *than the air wherein we breathe and live.* [2]Such as is the air, such be our spirits; and as our spirits, such are our humours. It offends commonly, if it be too [3]hot and dry, thick, fuliginous, cloudy, blustering, or a tempestuous air. *Bodine, in his fifth book De repub. cap.* 1 and 5, of his Method of History, proves that hot countries are most troubled with melancholy, and that there are therefore in *Spain*, *Africa*, and *Asia Minor*, great numbers of mad men, insomuch, that they are compelled, in all cities of note, to build peculiar Hospitals for them. *Leo* [4]*Afer. lib.* 3. *de Fessa urbe*,[5] *Ortelius*, and *Zuinger*, confirm as much. They are ordinarily so cholerick in their speeches, that scarce two words pass without railing or chiding in common talk, and often quarrelling in their streets. [6]*Gordonius* will have every man take notice of it: *Note this* (saith he) *that in hot countries it is far more familiar than in cold;* although this we have now said be not continually so, for, as [7]*Acosta* truly saith, under the Æquator itself is a most temperate habitation, wholesome air, a Paradise of pleasure, the leaves ever green, cooling showers. But it holds in such as are intemperately hot, as [8]*Johannes à Meggen* found in *Cyprus*, others in *Malta*, *Apulia*, and the [9]*Holy Land*, where at some seasons of the year is nothing but dust, their rivers dried up, their air scorching hot, and earth inflamed; insomuch that many Pilgrims, going barefoot for devotion sake from *Joppa* to *Jerusalem* upon the hot sands, often run mad, or else quite overwhelmed with sand, *profundis arenis*, as in many parts of *Africa*, *Arabia Deserta*, *Bactriana*, now *Khorassan*, when the West Wind blows,[10] *involuti arenis transeuntes necantur.* [11]*Hercules de Saxonia*, a Professor in *Venice*, gives this cause, why so many *Venetian* women are melancholy, *quòd diù sub sole degant*, they tarry too long in the sun. *Montanus*, *consil.* 21, amongst other causes assigns this, why that Jew his

[1] Lib. de quartana. Ex aëre ambiente contrahitur humor melancholicus. [2] Qualis aër, talis spiritus: et cujusmodi spiritus, humores. [3] Ælianus Montaltus, cap. 11. calidus et siccus, frigidus et siccus, paludinosus, crassus. [4] Multa hic in xenodochiis fanaticorum millia quæ strictissimè catenata servantur. [5] About the city of Fez.] [6] Lib. med. part. 2. cap. 19. Intellige quod in calidis regionibus frequenter accidit mania, in frigidis autem tardè. [7] Lib. 2. [8] Hodœporicon, cap. 7. [9] Apulia æstivo calore maximè fervet, ita ut ante finem Maii pene exusta sit. [10] The passers by perish in clouds of sand.] Maginus, Pers. [11] Pantheo seu Pract. med. l. 1. cap. 16. Venetæ mulieres, quæ diu sub sole vivunt, aliquando melancholicæ evadunt.

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Patient was mad, *quòd tam multum exposuit se calori & frigori:* he exposed himself so much to heat and cold. And for that reason in *Venice*, there is little stirring in those brick-paved streets in summer about noon, they are most part then asleep: as they are likewise in the great *Mogor's* Countries, and all over the *East Indies*. At *Aden* in *Arabia*, as [1]*Lodovicus Vertomannus* relates in his travels, they keep their markets in the night, to avoid extremity of heat; and in *Ormus*, like cattle in a pasture, people of all sorts lie up to the chin in water all day long. At *Braga* in *Portugal*, *Burgos* in *Castile*, *Messina* in *Sicily*, all over *Spain* and *Italy*, their streets are most part narrow, to avoid the sun-beams. The *Turks* wear great turbans *ad fugandos solis radios*, to refract the sun-beams; and much inconvenience that hot air of *Bantam* in *Java* yields to our men, that sojourn there for traffick; where it is so hot, [2]*that they that are sick of the pox lié commonly bleaching in the sun, to dry up their sores.* Such a complaint I read of those Isles of *Cape Verde*, fourteen degrees from the *Æquator*, they do *malè audire:*[3] [4]one calls them the unhealthiest clime of the world, for fluxes, fevers, phrenzies, calentures, which commonly seize on sea-faring men that touch at them, and all by reason of a hot distemperature of the air. The hardiest men are offended with this heat, and stiffest clowns cannot resist it, as *Constantine* affirms, *Agricult. l.* 2. *c.* 45. They that are naturally born in such air, may not [5]endure it, as *Niger* records of some part of *Mesopotamia*, now called *Diarbekr: quibusdam in locis sævienti æstui adeo subjecta est, ut pleraque animalia fervore solis & cæli extinguantur*, 'tis so hot there in some places, that men of the country and cattle are killed with it: and [6]*Adricomius* of *Arabia Felix*, by reason of myrrh, frankincense, and hot spices there growing, the air is so obnoxious to their brains, that the very inhabitants at some times cannot abide it, much less weaklings and strangers. [7]*Amatus Lusitanus, cent.* 1. *curat.* 45, reports of a young maid, that was one *Vincent* a currier's daughter, some thirteen years of age, that would wash her hair in the heat of the day (in *July*) and so let it

[1] Navig. Lib. 2. cap. 4. commercia nocte horâ secundâ, ob nimios qui sæviunt interdiu æstus, exercent. [2] Morbo Gallico laborantes exponunt ad solem, ut morbos exsiccent. [3] Have a bad name.] [4] Sir Richard Hawkins, in his Observatio 5, sect. 13. [5] Hippocrates, 3. Aphorismorum idem ait. [6] Idem Maginus in Persia. [7] Descript. Ter. sanctæ

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dry in the sun,[1] *to make it yellow, but by that means tarrying too long in the heat, she inflamed her head, and made herself mad.*

Cold air, in the other extreme, is almost as bad as hot, and so doth *Monitaltus* esteem of it, *c.* 11, if it be dry withal. In those Northern Countries the people are therefore generally dull, heavy, and many witches, which (as I have before quoted) *Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus, Baptista Porta,* ascribe to melancholy. But these cold climes are more subject to natural melancholy (not this artificial) which is cold and dry: for which cause [2]*Mercurius Britannicus,* belike, puts melancholy men to inhabit just under the Pole. The worst of the three is a [3]thick, cloudy, misty, foggy air, or such as comes from fens, moorish grounds, lakes, muckhills, draughts, sinks, where any carcasses or carrion lies, or from whence any stinking fulsome smell comes. *Galen, Avicenna, Mercurialis,* new and old Physicians, hold that such air is unwholesome, and engenders melancholy, plagues, and what not? [4]*Alexandretta,* an haven town in the Mediterranean Sea, *Saint John de Ullua,* an haven in *Nova-Hispania,* are much condemned for a bad air, so as *Durazzo* in *Albania, Lithuania, Ditmarsch, Pomptinæ Paludes* [5] in *Italy,* the territories about *Pisa, Ferrara, &c., Romney* Marsh with us, the Hundreds in *Essex,* the Fens in *Lincolnshire. Cardan, de rerum varietate, l.* 17, *c.* 96, finds fault with the site of those rich and most populous Cities in the Low Countries, as *Bruges, Ghent, Amsterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, &c.* the air is bad; and so at *Stockholm* in *Sweden, Rhegium* in *Italy, Salisbury* with us, *Hull* and *Lynn.* They may be commodious for navigation, this new kind of fortification, and many other good necessary uses; but are they so wholesome? Old *Rome* hath descended from the hills to the valley, 'tis the site of most of our new Cities, and held best to build in Plains, to take the opportunity of Rivers. *Leander Albertus* pleads hard for the air and site of *Venice,* though the black moorish lands appear at every low water; the sea, fire, and smoke (as he thinks) qualify the air: and [6]some suppose that a thick foggy air helps the memory, as in them of *Pisa* in *Italy;* and our *Camden,* out of *Plato,* commends

[1] Quum ad solis radios in Leone longam moram traheret, ut capillos flavos redderet, in maniam incidit. [2] Mundus alter et idem, [an allusion no doubt to the title of Bp. Joseph Hall's well known Satire,] seu Terra Australis Incognita. [3] Crassus et turbidus aër, tristem efficit animam. [4] Commonly called Scandaroon in Asia Minor. [5] The Pontine Marshes.] [6] Atlas Geographicus. Memoria valent Pisani, quod crassiore fruantur aëre.

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the site of *Cambridge*, because it is so near the Fens.[1] But let the site of such places be as it may, how can they be excused that have a delicious seat, a pleasant air, and all that nature can afford, and yet through their own nastiness and sluttishness, immund and sordid manner of life, suffer their air to putrefy, and themselves to be choked up? Many Cities in *Turkey* do *malè audire*[2] in this kind, *Constantinople* itself, where commonly carrion lies in the street. Some find the same fault in *Spain*, even in *Madrid*, the King's seat, a most excellent air, a pleasant site; but the inhabitants are slovens, and the streets uncleanly kept.

A troublesome tempestuous air is as bad as impure, rough and foul weather, impetuous winds, cloudy dark days, as it is commonly with us, *cœlum visu fœdum*, [3]*Polydore* calls it, a filthy sky, *& in quo facile generantur nubes;* as *Tully's* brother *Quintus* wrote to him in *Rome*, being then *Quæstor* in *Britain*. *In a thick and cloudy air* (saith *Lemnius*) *men are tetrick, sad, and peevish: and if the Western Winds blow, and that there be a calm, or a fair sunshine day, there is a kind of alacrity in men's minds; it cheers up men and beasts: but if it be a turbulent, rough, cloudy, stormy weather, men are sad, lumpish, and much dejected, angry, waspish, dull, and melancholy.* This was [4]*Virgil's* experiment of old,

> Verum ubi tempestas & cœli mobilis humor
> Mutavere vices, & Jupiter humidus Austro,
> Vertuntur species animorum, & pectora motus
> Concipiunt alios———
>
> But when the face of heaven changed is
> To tempests, rain, from season fair:
> Our minds are altered, and in our breasts
> Forthwith some new conceits appear.

And who is not weather-wise against such and such conjunctions of Planets, moved in foul weather, dull and heavy in such tem-

[1] Camden's exact words must be quoted. "The air [of Cambridge] is somewhat unhealthful, arising as it doth out of a fenny ground hard by. And yet peradventure they that first founded an University in that place allowed of Plato's judgement. For he, being of a very excellent and strong constitution of body, chose out the *Academia*, an unwholesome place of Attica, for to study in, so that the superfluous rankness of body, which might overlay the mind, might be kept under by the distemperature of the place." *Camden's Cambridgeshire.*] [2] Have a bad name.] [3] Lib. 1. hist. lib. 2. cap. 41. Aurâ densâ ac caliginosâ tetrici homines existunt, et subtristes. Et cap. 3. Flante subsolano et Zephyro, maxima in mentibus hominum alacritas existit, mentisque erectio ubi telum solis splendore nitescit. Maxima dejectio mœrorque siquando aura caliginosa est. [4] Geor. [i. 417 sq. memoriter.]

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pestuous seasons? [1]*Gelidum contristat Aquarius annum:* [2] the time requires, and the Autumn breeds it; Winter is like unto it, ugly, foul, squalid; the air works on all men more or less, but especially on such as are melancholy, or inclined to it, as *Lemnius* holds; [3] *they are most moved with it, and those which are already mad rave downright, either in or against a tempest. Besides, the devil many times takes his opportunity in such storms, and when the humours by the air be stirred, he goes in with them, exagitates our spirits, and vexeth our souls; as the sea-waves, so are the spirits and humours in our bodies tossed with tempestuous winds and storms.* To such as are melancholy, therefore, *Montanus, consil.* 24, will have tempestuous and rough air to be avoided, and, *consil.* 27, all night air, and would not have them to walk abroad but in a pleasant day. *Lemnius, l.* 3. *c.* 3, discommends the South and Eastern Winds, commends the North. *Montanus, consil.* 31, [4] *will not any windows to be opened in the night. Consil.* 229, *&* *consil.* 230, he discommends especially the South Wind, and nocturnal air: so doth [5]*Plutarch;* the night and darkness makes men sad; the like do all subterranean vaults, dark houses in caves & rocks; desert places cause melancholy in an instant, especially such as have not been used to it, or otherwise accustomed. Read more of air in *Hippocrates, Aëtius, lib.* 3. *à c.* 171. *ad* 175, *Oribasius, à c.* 1. *ad* 22, *Avicen. l.* 1. *can. Fen.* 2. *doc.* 2. *Fen.* 1. *c.* 123. to the 12, *&c.*

SUBSECT. 6.—*Immoderate Exercise a Cause, and how. Solitariness, Idleness.*

NOTHING so good, but it may be abused. Nothing better than exercise (if opportunely used) for the preservation of the body: nothing so bad, if it be unseasonable, violent, or overmuch. *Fernelius*, out of *Galen, Path. lib.* 1. *c.* 16, saith, [6] *that much exercise*

[1] Hor. [Sat. i. i. 36.] [2] "Aquarius throws a gloom o'er the cold winter." The sun passed into Aquarius about Jan. 16.] [3] Mens quibus vacillat ab aëre cito offenduntur, et multi insani apud Belgas ante tempestates sæviunt, aliter quieti. Spiritus quoque aëris et mali genii aliquando se tempestatibus ingerunt, et menti humanæ se latenter insinuant, eamque vexant, exagitant; et, ut fluctus marini, humanum corpus ventis agitatur. [4] Aer noctu densatur, et cogit mœstitiam. [5] Lib. de Iside et Osiride. [§ xxxix.] [6] Multa defatigatio spiritus viriumque substantiam exhaurit, et corpus refrigerat. Humores corruptos, qui aliter à natura concoqui et domari possint, et demum blandè excludi, irritat, et quasi in furorem agit, qui postea (mota Camarina) tetro vapore corpus variè lacessunt animumque.

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and weariness consumes the spirits and substance, refrigerates the body; and such humours which Nature would have otherwise concocted and expelled, it stirs up, and makes them rage: which being so enraged, diversely affect and trouble the body and mind. So doth it, if it be unseasonably used, upon a full stomack, or when the body is full of crudities, which *Fuchsius* so much inveighs against, *Lib. 2. instit. sect. 2. cap. 4*, giving that for a cause why school-boys in *Germany* are so often scabbed, because they use exercise presently after meats. [1]*Bayerus* puts in a caveat against such exercise, because *it* [2] *corrupts the meat in the stomack, and carries the same juice raw, and as yet undigested, into the veins* (saith *Lemnius*), *which there putrefies, and confounds the animal spirits. Crato, consil. 21. l. 2,* [3] protests against all such exercise after meat, as being the greatest enemy to concoction that may be, and cause of corruption of humours, which produce this and many other diseases. Not without good reason then doth *Sallust. Salvianus, l. 2. c. 1*, and *Leonartus Jacchinus in 9. Rhasis, Mercurialis, Arculanus*, and many other, set down [4] immoderate exercise as a most forcible cause of melancholy.

Opposite to exercise is idleness (the badge of gentry), or want of exercise, the bane of body and mind, the nurse of naughtiness, stepmother of discipline, the chief author of all mischief, one of the seven deadly sins, and a sole cause of this and many other maladies, the devil's cushion, as [5] *Gualter* calls it, his pillow and chief reposal. *For the mind can never rest, but still meditates on one thing or other; except it be occupied about some honest business, of his own accord it rusheth into melancholy.* [6]*As too much & violent exercise offends on the one side, so doth an idle life on the other,* (saith *Crato*) *it fills the body full of phlegm, gross humours, & all manner of obstructions, rheums, catarrhs, &c. Rhasis, cont. lib. 1, tract. 9*, accounts of it as the greatest cause of melancholy. [7] *I have often seen* (saith he) *that idleness begets this humour more than any thing else. Montaltus, c. 1*, seconds him out of his experience;

[1] In Veni mecum, Libro sic inscripto. [2] Instit. ad vit. Christ. cap. 44. Cibos crudos in venas rapit, qui putrescentes illic spiritus animales inficiunt. [3] Crudi hæc humoris copia per venas aggreditur, unde morbi multiplices. [4] Immodicum excercitium. [5] Hom. 31. in 1. Cor. vi. Nam quâ mens hominis quiescere non possit, sed continuò circa varias cogitationes discurrat, nisi honesto aliquo negotio occupetur, ad melancholiam sponte delabitur. [6] Crato consil. 21. Ut immodica corporis exercitatio nocet corporibus, ita vita deses et otiosa: otium animal pituitosum reddit, viscerum obstructiones, et crebras fluxiones, et morbos concitat. [7] Et vidi quod una de rebus quæ magis generat melancholiam, est otiositas.

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[1] *they that are idle are far more subject to melancholy than such as are conversant or employed about any office or business.* [2] *Plutarch* reckons up idleness for a sole cause of the sickness of the soul. *There are they* (saith he) *troubled in mind, that hath no other cause but this. Homer, Iliad* 1. [488-492] brings in *Achilles* eating of his own heart in his idleness, because he might [would?] not fight. *Mercurialis, consil.* 86, for a melancholy young man urgeth [3] it is a chief cause; why was he melancholy? because idle. Nothing begets it sooner, increaseth and continueth it oftener, than idleness; [4] a disease familiar to all idle persons, an inseparable companion to such as live at ease, *pingui otio desidiosè agentes*, a life out of action, and have no calling or ordinary employment to busy themselves about, that have small occasions; and, though they have, such is their laziness, dullness, they will not compose themselves to do ought; they cannot abide work, though it be necessary, easy, as to dress themselves, write a letter, or the like; yet, as he that is benumbed with cold sits still shaking, that might relieve himself with a little exercise or stirring, do they complain, but will not use the facile and ready means to do themselves good; and so are still tormented with melancholy. Especially if they have been formerly brought up to business, or to keep much company, and upon a sudden come to lead a sedentary life, it crucifies their souls, and seizeth on them in an instant; for whilst they are any ways employed, in action, discourse, about any business, sport or recreation, or in company to their liking, they are very well; but if alone or idle, tormented instantly again; one day's solitariness, one hour's sometimes, doth them more harm than a week's physic, labour, and company, can do good. Melancholy seizeth on them forthwith being alone, and is such a torture, that, as wise *Seneca* well saith, *malo mihi malè quam molliter esse,* [5] I had rather be sick than idle. This idleness is either of body or mind. That of body is nothing but a kind of benumbing laziness, intermitting exercise; which, if we may believe [6] *Fernelius, causeth crudities,*

[1] Reponitur otium ab aliis causa, et hoc à nobis observatum eos huic malo magis obnoxios qui plane otiosi sunt, quam eos qui aliquo munere versantur exsequendo. [2] De Tranquil. animæ. [§ ii.] Sunt quos ipsum otium in animi conjicit ægritudinem. [3] Nihil est quod æquè melancholiam alat ac augeat, ac otium et abstinentia à corporis et animi exercitationibus. [4] Nihil magis excæcat intellectum quam otium. Gordonius, de observat. vit. hum. lib. 1. [5] Ep. 82. 1.] [6] Path. lib. 1. cap. 17. Exercitationis intermissio inertem colorem, languidos spiritus, et ignavos, et ad omnes actiones segniores reddit; cruditates, obstructiones, et excrementorum proventus facit.

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obstructions, excremental humours, quencheth the natural heat, dulls the spirits, and makes them unapt to do anything whatsoever.

"[1] Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris."

As fern grows in untilled grounds, and all manner of weeds, so do gross humours in an idle body, *ignavum corrumpunt otia corpus.*[2] A horse in a stable that never travels, a hawk in a mew that seldom flies, are both subject to diseases; which, left unto themselves, are most free from any such incumbrances. An idle dog will be mangy, and how shall an idle person think to escape? Idleness of the mind is much worse than this of the body; wit without employment, is a disease, [3] *aerugo animi, rubigo ingenii:* the rust of the soul, [4] a plague, a hell itself, *maximum animi nocumentum,*[5] Galen calls it. [6] *As in a standing pool worms and filthy creepers increase, (&* *vitium capiunt ni moveantur aquæ,*[7] the water itself putrefies, and air likewise, if it be not continually stirred by the wind), *so do evil and corrupt thoughts in an idle person,* the soul is contaminated. In a Commonwealth, where is no publick enemy, there is, likely, civil wars, and they rage upon themselves: this body of ours, when it is idle, and knows not how to bestow itself, macerates and vexeth itself with cares, griefs, false fears, discontents, and suspicions; it tortures and preys upon his own bowels, and is never at rest. Thus much I dare boldly say, he or she that is idle, be they of what condition they will, never so rich, so well allied, fortunate, happy, let them have all things in abundance, and felicity, that heart can wish and desire, all contentment, so long as he or she or they are idle, they shall never be pleased, never well in body and mind, but weary still, sickly still, vexed still, loathing still, weeping, sighing, grieving, suspecting, offended with the world, with every object, wishing themselves gone or dead, or else carried away with some foolish phantasy or other. And this is the true cause that so many great men, Ladies, and Gentlewomen, labour of this disease in Country and City; for idleness is an appendix to nobility, they count it a disgrace to work, and spend all their days in sports, recreations, and pastimes, and will therefore take no pains, be of no vocation: they feed

[1] Hor. Ser. 1. Sat. 3. [37.] [2] Ovid, Ex Ponto, i. 5. 5.] [3] Seneca. [Epist. 95. 37.] [4] Mœrorem animi, et maciem, Plutarch calls it. [De Tranquill. animæ, § ii.] [5] The greatest harm to the soul.] [6] Sicut in stagno generantur vermes, sic et otioso malæ cogitationes. Sen. [7] Ovid, Ex Ponto, i. 5. 6.]

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liberally, fare well, want exercise, action, employment, (for to work, I say, they may not abide), and company to their desires, & thence their bodies become full of gross humours, wind, crudities, their minds disquieted, dull, heavy, *&c.* Care, jealousy, fear of some diseases, sullen fits, weeping fits, seize too [1] familiarly on them. For what will not fear and phantasy work in an idle body? what distempers will they not cause? When the children of [2] *Israel* murmured against *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, he commanded his officers to double their task, and let them get straw themselves, and yet make their full number of bricks; for the sole cause why they mutiny, and are evil at ease, is, *they are idle.* When you shall hear and see so many discontented persons in all places where you come, so many several grievances, unnecessary complaints, fear, suspicions,[3] the best means to redress it is to set them awork, so to busy their minds; for the truth is, they are idle. Well they may build castles in the air for a time, and soothe up themselves with phantastical and pleasant humours, but in the end they will prove as bitter as gall, they shall be still I say discontent, suspicious, [4] fearful, jealous, sad, fretting and vexing of themselves; so long as they be idle, it is impossible to please them. *Otio qui nescit uti, plus habet negotii quam qui negotium in negotio,*[5] as that [6] *A. Gellius* could observe: he that knows not how to spend his time, hath more business, care, grief, anguish of mind, than he that is most busy in the midst of all his business. *Otiosus animus nescit quid volet:*[7] an idle person, (as he follows it) knows not when he is well, what he would have, or whither he would go. *Quum illuc ventum est,* [*ire*] *illinc lubet,*[8] he is tired out with everything, displeased with all, weary of his life: *nec bene domi, nec militiæ,*[9] neither [well] at home nor abroad, *errat, & præter vitam vivitur,*[10] he wanders, and lives beside himself. In a word, what the mischievous effects of laziness and idleness are, I do not find anywhere more accurately expressed, than in these verses of *Philolaches* in the [11] Comical Poet, which, for their elegancy, I will in part insert.

[1] Now this leg, now that arm, now their head, heart, &c. [2] Exod. v. [3] (For they cannot well tell what aileth them, or what they would have themselves) my heart, my head, my husband, my son, &c. [4] Prov. xviii. [8.] Pigrum dejiciet timor. Heautontimorumenos. [5] Enn. ap. Gell. 19. 10. 12.] [6] Lib. 19. c. 10. [7] Enn. ap. Gell. 19. 10. 12.] [8] *Ibid.*] [9] Cic. de Or. 3. 33. 134.] [10] Enn. ap. Gell. 19. 10. 12.] [11] Plautus, Mostell. [A. i. Sc. ii. quoted very loosely.]

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"Novarum ædium esse arbitror similem ego hominem,
Quando hic natus est. Ei rei argumenta dicam.
Ædes quando sunt ad amussim expolitæ,
Quisque laudat fabrum, atque exemplum expetit, &c.
At ubi illò migrat nequam homo indiligensque, &c.
Tempestas venit, confringit tegulas, imbricesque,
Putrefacit aer operam fabri, &c.
Dicam ut homines similes esse ædium arbitremini,
Fabri parentes fundamentum substruunt liberorum,
Expoliunt, docent literas, nec parcunt sumptui.
Ego autem sub fabrorum potestate frugi fui;
Postquam autem migravi in ingenium meum,
Perdidi operam fabrorum illicò, oppidò;
Venit ignavia, ea mihi tempestas fuit,
Adventuque suo grandinem et imbrem attulit.
Illa mihi virtutem deturbavit, &c."

A young man is like a fair new house, the carpenter leaves it well built, in good repair, of solid stuff; but a bad tenant lets it rain in, and for want of reparation fall to decay, *&c.* Our Parents, Tutors, Friends, spare no cost to bring us up in our youth in all manner of virtuous education; but when we are left to ourselves, idleness as a tempest drives all virtuous motions out of our minds, *& nihili sumus*, on a sudden, by sloth and such bad ways, we come to naught.

Cousin-german to idleness, and a concomitant cause, which goes hand in hand with it, is [1] *nimia solitudo*, too much solitariness, by the testimony of all Physicians, cause & symptom both; but as it is here put for a cause, it is either coact, enforced, or else voluntary. Enforced solitariness is commonly seen in Students, Monks, Friars, Anchorites, that by their order and course of life must abandon all company, society of other men, and betake themselves to a private cell: *otio superstitioso seclusi*, as *Bale* and *Hospinian* well term it, such as are the *Carthusians* of our time, that eat no flesh (by their order) keep perpetual silence, never go abroad; such as live in prison, or some desert place, and cannot have company, as many of our Country Gentlemen do in solitary houses, they must either be alone without companions, or live beyond their means, and entertain all comers as so many hosts, or else converse with their servants and hinds, such as are unequal, inferior to them, and of a contrary disposition; or else, as some do to avoid solitariness, spend their time with lewd fellows in taverns, and in ale-houses, and thence addict

[1] Piso, Montaltus, Mercurialis, &c.

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themselves to some unlawful disports, or dissolute courses. Divers again are cast upon this rock of solitariness for want of means, or out of a strong apprehension of some infirmity, disgrace, or through bashfulness, rudeness, simplicity, they cannot apply themselves to others' company. *Nullum solum infelici gratius solitudine, ubi nullus sit qui miseriam exprobret.*[1] This enforced solitariness takes place, and produceth his effect soonest, in such as have spent their time jovially, peradventure in all honest recreations, in good company, in some great family or populous City, and are upon a sudden confined to a desert Country Cottage far off, restrained of their liberty, and barred from their ordinary associates: solitariness is very irksome to such, most tedious, and a sudden cause of great inconvenience.

Voluntary solitariness is that which is familiar with Melancholy, and gently brings on like a Siren, a shoeing-horn, or some Sphinx, to this irrevocable gulf, [2]a primary cause *Piso* calls it; most pleasant it is at first, to such as are melancholy given, to lie in bed whole days, and keep their chambers, to walk alone in some solitary Grove, betwixt Wood and Water, by a Brook side, to meditate upon some delightsome and pleasant subject, which shall affect them most; *amabilis insania,*[3] and *mentis gratissimus error.*[4] A most incomparable delight it is so to melancholize, & build castles in the air, to go smiling to themselves, acting an infinite variety of parts, which they suppose and strongly imagine they represent, or that they see acted or done.[5] *Blandum quidem ab initio,* saith *Lemnius,* to conceive and meditate of such pleasant things sometimes, [6]*present, past, or to come,* as *Rhasis* speaks. So delightsome these toys are at first, they could spend whole days and nights without sleep, even whole years alone in such contemplations, and phantastical meditations, which are like unto dreams, and they will hardly be drawn from them, or willingly interrupt. So pleasant their vain conceits are, that they hinder their ordinary tasks and necessary business, they cannot address themselves to them, or almost to any study or employment, these phantastical and bewitching thoughts so covertly, so feelingly, so urgently, so continually, set upon, creep in, insinuate, possess,

[1] No place is dearer to the unhappy person than solitude, where there is no one to reproach him for his misery.] [2] A quibus malum, velut à primaria causa, occasionem nactum est. [3] Hor. Od. iii. 4. 5.] [4] Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 140.] [5] How like is this to Burton's *Abstract of Melancholy,* Stanza 3 !] [6] Jucunda rerum præsentium, præteritarum, et futurarum meditatio.

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overcome, distract, & detain them, they cannot, I say, go about their more necessary business, stave off or extricate themselves, but are ever musing, melancholizing, and carried along, as he (they say) that is led round about an heath with a *Puck* in the night, they run earnestly on in this labyrinth of anxious and solicitous melancholy meditations, and cannot well or willingly refrain, or easily leave off, winding and unwinding themselves, as so many clocks, and still pleasing their humours, until at last the scene is turned upon a sudden, by some bad object, and they, being now habituated to such vain meditations and solitary places, can endure no company, can ruminate of nothing but harsh and distasteful subjects. Fear, sorrow, suspicion, *subrusticus pudor*,[1] discontent, cares, and weariness of life surprise them in a moment, and they can think of nothing else; continually suspecting, no sooner are their eyes open, but this infernal plague of Melancholy seizeth on them, and terrifies their souls, representing some dismal object to their minds, which now by no means, no labour, no persuasions, they can avoid, *hæret lateri letalis arundo*,[2] they may not be rid of it,[3] they cannot resist. I may not deny but that there is some profitable meditation, contemplation, and kind of solitariness to be embraced, which the Fathers so highly commended, [4] *Hierom*, *Chrysostom*, *Cyprian*, *Austin*, in whole tracts, which *Petrarch*, *Erasmus*, *Stella*, and others, so much magnify in their books; a Paradise, an Heaven on earth, if it be used aright, good for the body, and better for the soul: as many of those old Monks used it, to divine contemplations; as *Simulus*, a Courtier in *Adrian's* time, *Dioclesian* the Emperor, retired themselves, &c. in that sense, *Vatia solus scit vivere*,[5] *Vatia* lives alone, which the Romans were wont to say, when they commended a country life; or to the bettering of their knowledge, as *Democritus*, *Cleanthes*, and those excellent Philosophers have ever done, to sequester themselves from the tumultuous world, or as in *Pliny's Villa Laurentana*,[6] *Tully's Tusculan*[*um* or *a*], *Jovius'* study, that they might better

[1 Cic. Fam. 5. 12. 1. What the French call mauvaise honte.] [2 The deadly arrow still remains in their side. Virg. Æn. iv. 73.] [3 Facilis descensus Averni: Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras, Hic labor, hoc opus est. Virg. Æn. vi. 126, 128, 129.] [4 Hieronymus, ep. 72, dixit oppida et urbes videri sibi tetros carceres, solitudinem Paradisum: solum scorpionibus infectum, sacco amictus, humi cubans, aqua et herbis victitans, Romanis prætulit deliciis. [5 Seneca, Epistle 55.] [6 Should be Laria. Pliny had several villas near the Lake Larius, (now Como). See Ep. ix. 7. 1.]

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vacare studiis et Deo, serve God & follow their studies. Methinks, therefore, our too zealous innovators were not so well advised, in that general subversion of Abbies and Religious Houses, promiscuously to fling down all. They might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings, and everlasting monuments of our forefathers' devotion, consecrated to pious uses. Some Monasteries and Collegiate Cells might have been well spared, and their revenues otherwise employed, here and there one, in good Towns or Cities at least, for men and women of all sorts & conditions to live in, to sequester themselves from the cares and tumults of the world, that were not desirous or fit to marry, or otherwise willing to be troubled with common affairs, and knew not well where to bestow themselves, to live apart in, for more conveniency, good education, better company sake, to follow their studies (I say) to the perfection of arts and sciences, common good, &, as some truly devoted Monks of old had done, freely and truly to serve God. For these men are neither solitary, nor idle, as the Poet made answer to the husbandman in *Æsop*, that objected idleness to him; he was never so idle as in his company; or that *Scipio Africanus* in [1]*Tully*, *nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus; nunquam minus otiosus, quam quum esset otiosus;* never less solitary than when he was alone, never more busy than when he seemed to be most idle. It is reported by *Plato*, in his dialogue *de Amore*,[2] in that prodigious commendation of *Socrates*, how a deep meditation coming into *Socrates'* mind by chance, he stood still musing, *eodem vestigio cogitabundus*, from morning to noon, and when as then he had not yet finished his meditation, *perstabat cogitans*, he so continued till the evening, the soldiers (for he then followed the camp) observed him with admiration, and on set purpose watched all night, but he persevered immoveable *ad exortum solis*, till the sun rose in the morning, and then, saluting the sun, went his ways. In what humour constant *Socrates* did thus, I know not, or how he might be affected, but this would be pernicious to another man; what intricate business might so really possess him, I cannot easily guess. But this is *otiosum otium*,[3] it is far otherwise with these men, according to *Seneca*, *omnia nobis mala solitudo persuadet*;[4] this solitude undoeth us, *pugnat cum vitâ*

[1] Offic. 3. [1.1.] [2] Symposium, p. 220 C, D.] [3] Lazy leisure.] [4] Epistle, 25.]

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sociali; 'tis a destructive solitariness. These men are Devils alone, as the saying is, *Homo solus aut Deus aut Dæmon:* a man alone is either a Saint or a Devil; *mens ejus aut languescit aut tumescit*;[1] and [2]*væ soli!* in this sense, woe be to him that is so alone! These wretches do frequently degenerate from men, and of sociable creatures become beasts, monsters, inhuman, ugly to behold, *misanthropi*,[3] they do even loath themselves, and hate the company of men, as so many *Timons, Nebuchadnezzars*, by too much indulging to these pleasing humours, and through their own default. So that which *Mercurialis, consil.* 11, sometimes expostulated with his melancholy patient, may be justly applied to every solitary and idle person in particular; [4]*natura de te videtur conqueri posse, &c. Nature may justly complain of thee, that, whereas she gave thee a good wholesome temperature, a sound body, and God hath given thee so divine and excellent a soul, so many good parts and profitable gifts, thou hast not only contemned and rejected, but hast corrupted them, polluted them, overthrown their temperature, and perverted those gifts with riot, idleness, solitariness, and many other ways, thou art a traitor to God and Nature, an enemy to thyself and to the world. Perditio tua ex te;* thou hast lost thyself wilfully, cast away thyself, *thou thyself art the efficient cause of thine own misery, by not resisting such vain cogitations, but giving way unto them.*

SUBSECT. 7.—*Sleeping and Waking, causes.*

WHAT I have formerly said of exercise, I may now repeat of sleep. Nothing better than moderate sleep, nothing worse than it, if it be in extremes, or unseasonably used. It is a received opinion, that a melancholy man cannot sleep over-much; *somnus supra modum prodest*,[5] as an only antidote, and nothing offends them more, or causeth this malady sooner, than waking; yet in some cases sleep may do more harm than good in that phlegmatick, swinish, cold, and sluggish melancholy, which *Melancthon* speaks of, that thinks of waters, sighing most part, &c. [6]It dulls the

[1 His mind is either languid or excited.] [2 Eccl. 4. [10.] [3 Misanthropes.] [4 Natura de te videtur conqueri posse, quod, cum ab ea temperatissimum corpus adeptus sis, tam præclarum à Deo ac utile donum, non contempsisti modo, verum corrupisti, foedasti, prodidisti, optimam temperaturam otio, crapulâ, et aliis vitæ erroribus, &c. [5 Excessive sleep is good.] [6 Path. lib. cap. 17. Fernel. Corpus infrigidat, omnes sensus, mentisque vires, torpore debilitat.

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spirits, if overmuch, and senses, fills the head full of gross humours, causeth destillations, rheums, great store of excrements in the brain and all the other parts, as [1] *Fuchsius* speaks of them, that sleep like so many dormice. Or if it be used in the day time, upon a full stomack, the body ill composed to rest, or after hard meats, it increaseth fearful dreams, *incubus*,[2] night walking,[3] crying out, & much unquietness; such sleep prepares the body, as [4] one observes, *to many perilous diseases.* But, as I have said, waking overmuch is both a symptom & an ordinary cause. *It causeth dryness of the brain, phrenzy, dotage, & makes the body dry, lean, hard, and ugly to behold, as* [5] *Lemnius* hath it. *The temperature of the brain is corrupted by it, the humours adust, the eyes made to sink into the head, choler increased, & the whole body inflamed:* &, as may be added out of *Galen*, 3. *de saniiate tuenda*, *Avicenna*, 3. 1, [6] *it overthrows the natural heat, it causeth crudities, hurts concoction*, & what not? Not without good cause therefore *Crato*, *consil.* 21. *lib.* 2, *Hildesheim*, *spic.* 2. *de delir. & mania*, *Jacchinus*, *Arculanus* (on *Rhasis*,) *Guianerius*, & *Mercurialis*, reckon up this over-much waking as a principal cause.

MEMB. III.

SUBSECT. 1.—*Passions and Perturbations of the Mind, how they cause Melancholy.*

As that *Gymnosophist* in [7] *Plutarch* made answer to *Alexander*, (demanding which spake best), every one of his fellows did speak better than the other: so may I say of these causes to him that shall require which is the greatest, every one is more grievous than other, and this of passion the greatest of all. A most frequent and ordinary cause of Melancholy, [8] *fulmen perturbationum*

[1] Lib. 2. sect. 2. cap. 4. Magnam excrementorum vim cerebro et aliis partibus coacervat. [2] Nightmare.] [3] What we now call somnambulism.] [4] Jo. Ratzius, lib. de rebus 6 non naturalibus. Præparat corpus talis somnus ad multas periculosas ægritudines. [5] Instit. ad vitam optimam cap. 26. Cerebro siccitatem adfert, phrenesin et delirium, corpus aridum facit, squalidum, strigosum, humores adurit, temperamentum cerebri corrumpit, maciem inducit, exsiccat corpus, bilem accendit, profundos reddit oculos, calorem auget. [6] Naturalem calorem dissipat, læsâ concoctione cruditates facit. Attenuant juvenum vigilatæ corpora noctes. [Ovid, Met. iii. 396, memoriter.] [7] Vita Alexan. [§ 64.] [8] Grad. 1. c. 14.

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(*Piccolomineus* calls it), this thunder and lightning of perturbation, which causeth such violence and speedy alterations in this our Microcosm, and many times subverts the good estate and temperature of it. For as the body works upon the mind, by his bad humours, troubling the spirits, sending gross fumes into the brain, and so *per consequens*[1] disturbing the soul, and all the faculties of it,

> [2] ——Corpus onustum
> Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una,

with fear, sorrow, &c. which are ordinary symptoms of this disease: so, on the other side, the mind most effectually works upon the body, producing by his passions and perturbations miraculous alterations, as melancholy, despair, cruel diseases, and sometimes death itself; insomuch, that it is most true which *Plato* saith in his *Charmides*,[3] *omnia corporis mala ab animâ procedere*, all the [4] mischiefs of the body proceed from the soul: & *Democritus* in [5] *Plutarch* urgeth, *Damnatum iri animam à corpore;* if the body should in this behalf bring an action against the soul, surely the soul would be cast & convicted, that by her supine negligence had caused such inconveniences, having authority over the body, and using it for an instrument, as a smith doth his hammer (saith [6] *Cyprian*), imputing all those vices & maladies to the mind. Even so doth [7] *Philostratus*, *non coinquinatur corpus nisi consensu animæ;* the body is not corrupted but by the soul. *Lodovicus Vives* will have such turbulent commotions proceed from *ignorance* & *indiscretion*.[8] All Philosophers impute the miseries of the body to the soul, that should have governed it better by command of reason, and hath not done it. The *Stoicks* are altogether of opinion (as [9] *Lipsius* & [10] *Piccolomineus* record) that a wise man should be ἀπαθής, without all manner of passions and perturbations whatsoever, as [11] *Seneca* reports of *Cato*, the [12] *Greeks* of *Socrates*, and [13] *Jo. Aubanus* of a nation in *Africa*, so free from passion, or rather so stupid, that, if they be wounded with a sword,

[1] Consequently.] [2] Hor. [Sat. ii. 2. 77, 78. "The body laden with yesterday's vices oppresses the mind also."] [3] P. 156 E.] [4] Perturbationes clavi sunt, quibus corpori animus ceu patibulo affigitur. Jamb. de myst. [5] Lib. de sanitat. tuend. [§ 14.] [6] Prolog. de virtute Christi. Quæ utitur corpore, ut faber malleo. [7] Vita Apollonii. lib. 1. [8] Lib. de anim. Ab inconsiderantia et ignorantia omnes animi motus. [9] De Physiol. Stoic. [10] Grad. 1. c. 32. [11] Epist. 104. [12] Ælianus. [Var. Hist. lib. ix. § 7.] [13] Lib. 1. cap. 6. Si quis ense percusserit eos, tantum respiciunt.

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they will only look back. [1]*Lactantius* 2 [Divin.] *Instit.* [cap. 3.] will exclude *fear from a wise man:* others except all, some the greatest passions. But let them dispute how they will, set down in *thesi*, give precepts to the contrary; we find that of [2]*Lemnius* true by common experience; *no mortal man is free from these perturbations:* or if he be so, sure he is either a god or a block. They are born and bred with us, we have them from our parents by inheritance, *a parentibus habemus malum hunc assem*, saith [3]*Pelezius*, *nascitur unà nobiscum, aliturque*,[4] 'tis propagated from *Adam; Cain* was melancholy, [5]as *Austin* hath it, and who is not? Good discipline, education, philosophy, divinity, (I cannot deny), may mitigate and restrain these passions in some few men at some times, but most part they domineer, and are so violent, [6]that as a torrent, (*torrens velut aggere rupto*), bears down all before, and overflows his banks, *sternit agros, sternit sata*,[7] they overwhelm reason, judgement, & pervert the temperature of the body. *Fertur* [8]*equis auriga, nec audit currus habenas.* Now such a man (saith [9]*Austin*) *that is so led, in a wise man's eye, is no better than he that stands upon his head.* It is doubted by some, *gravioresne morbi à perturbationibus, an ab humoribus*, whether humours or perturbations cause the more grievous maladies. But we find that of our Saviour, *Mat.* 26. 41, most true, *the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak*, we cannot resist: and this of [10]*Philo Judæus, perturbations often offend the body, & are most frequent causes of melancholy, turning it out of the hinges of his health. Vives* compares them to [11]*winds upon the sea, some only move as those great gales, but others, turbulent, quite overturn the ship.* Those which are light, easy, and more seldom, to our thinking do us little harm, and are therefore contemned of us: yet, if they be reiterated, [12]*as the rain* (saith *Austin*) *doth a stone, so do these perturbations penetrate the*

[1] Terror in sapiente esse non debet. [2] De occult. nat. mir. l. 1. cap. 16. Nemo mortalium qui affectibus non ducatur: qui non movetur, aut saxum aut deus est. [3] Instit. l. 2. de humanorum affect. morborumque curat. [4] 'Tis born with us, and grows with us.] [5] Epist. 105. [6] Granatensis. [7] Virg. Æn. ii. 306. Lays waste the fields, lays waste the crops.] [8] Virg. [G. i. 514. The charioteer is run away with, nor does the chariot obey the reins.] [9] De civit. Dei, l. 14. c. 9. Qualis in oculis hominum qui inversis pedibus ambulat, talis in oculis sapientum, cui passiones dominantur. [10] Lib. de Decal. Passiones maximè corpus offendunt et animam, et frequentissimæ causæ melancholiæ, dimoventes ab ingenio et sanitate pristina. l. 3. de anima. [11] Fræna et stimuli animi, velut in mari quædam auræ leves, quædam placidæ, quædam turbulentæ: sic in corpore quædam affectiones excitant tantum, quædam ita movent ut de statu judicii depellant. [12] Ut gutta lapidem, sic paullatim hæ penetrant animum.

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mind, [1] and (as one observes) *produce an habit of melancholy at the last*, which, having gotten the mastery in our souls, may well be called diseases.

How these passions produce this effect, [2] *Agrippa* hath handled at large, *Occult. Philos. l.* 11. *c.* 63, *Cardan*, *l.* 14. *subtil. Lemnius*, *l.* 1. *c.* 12, *de occult. nat. mir. & lib.* 1. *cap.* 16, *Suarez*, *Met. disput.* 18. *sect.* 1. *art.* 25, *T. Bright*, *cap.* 12. *of his Melancholy Treatise*, *Wright* the Jesuit in his Book of the Passions of the Mind, *&c.* Thus in brief, to our imagination cometh, by the outward sense or memory, some object to be known (residing in the foremost part of the brain) which he, misconceiving or amplifying, presently communicates to the heart, the seat of all affections. The pure spirits forthwith flock from the brain to the heart by certain secret channels, and signify what good or bad object was presented; [3] which immediately bends itself to prosecute or avoid it, and, withal, draweth with it other humours to help it. So in pleasure, concur great store of purer spirits; in sadness, much melancholy blood; in ire, choler. If the imagination be very apprehensive, intent, and violent, it sends great store of spirits to or from the heart, and makes a deeper impression, and greater tumult; as the humours in the body be likewise prepared, and the temperature itself ill or well disposed, the passions are longer and stronger: so that the first step and fountain of all our grievances in this kind is [4] *læsa imaginatio*, [5] which, misinforming the heart, causeth all these distemperatures, alteration and confusion, of spirits and humours; by means of which, so disturbed, concoction is hindered, and the principal parts are much debilitated; as [6] Dr. *Navarra* well declared, being consulted by *Montanus* about a melancholy Jew. The spirits so confounded, the nourishment must needs be abated, bad humours increased, crudities and thick spirits engendered, with melancholy blood. The other parts cannot perform their functions, having the spirits drawn from them by vehement passion, but fail in sense and motion; so we look upon a thing,

[1] Usu valentes rectè morbi animi vocantur. [2] Imaginatio movet corpus, ad cujus motum excitantur humores, et spiritus vitales, quibus alteratur. [3] Eccles. xiii. 26. "The heart alters the countenance to good or evil, and distraction of the mind causeth distemperature of the body." [4] Spiritus et sanguis à læsa imaginatione contaminantur, humores enim mutati actiones animi immutant, Piso. [5] An injured imagination.] [6] Montani consil. 22. Hæ vero quomodo causent melancholiam, clarum; et quod concoctionem impediant, et membra principalia debilitent.

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and see it not; hear, and observe not; which otherwise would much affect us, had we been free. I may therefore conclude with [1] *Arnoldus, maxima vis est phantasiæ, & huic uni ferè, non autem corporis intemperiei, omnis melancholiæ causa est ascribenda:* great is the force of imagination, and much more ought the cause of melancholy to be ascribed to this alone, than to the distemperature of the body. Of which imagination, because it hath so great a stroke in producing this malady, and is so powerful of itself, it will not be improper to my discourse, to make a brief digression, and speak of the force of it, and how it causeth this alteration. Which manner of digression however some dislike, as frivolous and impertinent, yet I am of [2] *Beroaldus* his opinion, *Such digressions do mightily delight and refresh a weary reader, they are like sauce to a bad stomack, and I do therefore most willingly use them.*

SUBSECT. 2.—*Of the Force of Imagination.*

WHAT Imagination is, I have sufficiently declared in my *digression of the Anatomy of the Soul.* I will only now point at the wonderful effects and power of it; which, as it is eminent in all, so most especially it rageth in melancholy persons, in keeping the species of objects so long, mistaking, amplifying them by continual & [3] strong meditation, until at length it produceth in some parties real effects, causeth this and many other maladies. And although this phantasy of ours be a subordinate faculty to reason, and should be ruled by it, yet in many men, through inward or outward distemperatures, defect of organs, which are unapt or hindered, or otherwise contaminated, it is likewise unapt, hindered, and hurt. This we see verified in sleepers, which, by reason of humours, & concourse of vapours troubling the phantasy, imagine many times absurd & prodigious things, & in such as are troubled with *incubus,*[4] or witch-ridden (as we call it); if they lie on their backs, they suppose an old woman rides, & sits so hard upon them, that they are almost stifled for want of breath, when there is nothing offends but a concourse of bad humours, which trouble the phantasy. This is likewise evident in such as walk in the night in their sleep,

[1] Breviar, l. 1. cap. 18. [2] Solent hujusmodi egressiones favorabiliter oblectare, et lectorem lassum jucundè refovere, stomachumque nauseantem quodam quasi condimento reficere, et ego libenter excurro. [3] Ab imaginatione oriuntur affectiones, quibus anima componitur, aut turbata deturbatur, Jo. Sarisbur. Matolog. lib. 4. c. 10. [4 = Nightmare.]

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and do strange feats: [1] these vapours move the phantasy, the phantasy the appetite, which, moving the *animal* spirits, causeth the body to walk up and down, as if they were awake. *Fracast. l.* 3. *de intellect.* refers all ecstasies to this force of imagination, such as lie whole days together in a trance: as that priest whom [2] *Celsus* speaks of, that could separate himself from his senses when he list, & lie like a dead man, void of life and sense. *Cardan* brags of himself, that he could do as much, and that when he list. Many times such men, when they come to themselves, tell strange things of Heaven & Hell, what visions they have seen; as that St. *Owen* in *Mathew Paris*, [3] that went into St. *Patrick's* Purgatory, and the Monk of *Evesham* in the same Author.[4] Those common apparitions in *Bede* and *Gregory*, St. *Bridget's* revelations,[5] *Wier. l.* 3. *de Lamiis, c.* 11, *Cæsar Vanninus* in his dialogues, &c. reduceth, (as I have formerly said,) with all those tales of Witches' progresses, dancing, riding, transformations, operations, &c. to the force of [6] imagination, and the [7] Devil's illusions. The like effects almost are to be seen in such as are awake: how many chimæras, anticks, golden mountains, and castles in the air, do they build unto themselves! I appeal to painters, mechanicians, mathematicians. Some ascribe all vices to a false and corrupt imagination, anger, revenge, lust, ambition, covetousness, which prefers falsehood before that which is right and good, deluding the soul with false shews and suppositions. [8] *Bernardus Penottus* will have heresy and superstition to proceed from this fountain; as he falsely imagineth, so he believeth; and as he conceiveth of it, so it must be, and it shall be, *contra gentes*,[9] he will have it so. But most especially in passions and affections, it shews strange and evident effects: what will not a fearful man conceive in the dark? what strange forms of Bugbears, Devils, Witches, Goblins? *Lavater* imputes the greatest cause of spectrums, and the like apparitions, to fear, which, above all other passions, begets the strongest

[1] Scalig. exercit. [2] Qui, quoties volebat, mortuo similis jacebat, auferens se à sensibus, et quum pungeretur dolorem non sensit. [3] Hist. Anglorum, A.D. 1153.] [4] H. A. A.D. 1196.] [5] See Mrs Jameson's Legends of the Monastic Orders, p. 236.] [6] Idem Nymannus, orat. de Imaginat. [7] Verbis et unctionibus se consecrant dæmoni pessimæ mulieres, qui iis ad opus suum utitur, et earum phantasiam regit, ducitque ad loca ab ipsis desiderata, corpora vero earum sine sensu permanent, quæ umbra cooperit diabolus, ut nulli sint conspicua, et post, umbrâ sublatâ, propriis corporibus eas restituit. l. 3. c. 11. Wier. [8] Denario medico. [9] Against all the world.]

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imagination, (saith [1] *Wierus*), and so likewise love, sorrow, joy, &c. Some die suddenly, as she that saw her son come from the battle at *Cannæ*,[2] *&c. Jacob* the Patriarch, by force of imagination, made peckled lambs, laying peckled rods before his sheep.[3] *Persina*, that *Æthiopian* Queen in *Heliodorus*,[4] by seeing the picture of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, instead of a blackmoor, was brought to bed of a fair white child. In imitation of whom, belike, an hard favoured fellow in *Greece*, because he and his wife were both deformed, to get a good brood of children, *elegantissimas imagines in thalamo collocavit, &c.*, hung the fairest pictures he could buy for money in his chamber, *that his wife, by frequent sight of them, might conceive and bear such children.* And if we may believe *Bale*, one of Pope *Nicholas* the Third's concubines, by seeing of [5] a bear, was brought to bed of a monster. *If a woman* (saith [6] *Lemnius*) *at the time of her conception, think of another man present or absent, the child will be like him.* Great-bellied women, when they long, yield us prodigious examples in this kind, as moles, warts, scars, harelips, monsters, especially caused in their children by force of a depraved phantasy in them. *Ipsam speciem quam animo effigiat, fœtui inducit:* she imprints that stamp upon her child, which she [7] conceives unto herself. And therefore *Lodovicus Vives, lib. 2. de Christ. fœm.* gives a special caution to great-bellied women, [8] *that they do not admit such absurd conceits and cogitations, but by all means avoid those horrible objects, heard or seen, or filthy spectacles.* Some will laugh, weep, sigh, groan, blush, tremble, sweat, at such things as are suggested unto them by their imagination. *Avicenna* speaks of one that could cast himself into a palsy when he list; and some can imitate the tunes of birds and beasts, that they can hardly be discerned. *Dagobertus'* [9] and Saint *Francis'* scars and wounds,[10] like to those of Christ's (if at the least any

[1] Solet timor, præ omnibus affectibus, fortes imaginationes gignere; post amor, &c. l. 3. c. 8. [2] Pliny, vii. 54.] [3] Gen. xxx. 37-41.] [4] Book iv. ch. 8.] [5] Ex viso urso, talem peperit. [De Actis Rom. Pont. Lib. vi. Nicolaus Tertius.] [6] Lib. 1. cap. 4. de occult. nat. mir. Si inter amplexus et suavia cogitet de uno aut alio absente, ejus effigies solet in fœtu elucere. [7] Quid non fœtui adhuc matri unito, subitâ spirituum vibratione per nervos, quibus matrix cerebro conjuncta est, imprimit impregnatæ imaginatio? ut si imaginetur malum granatum, illius notas secum proferet fœtus: si leporem, infans editur supremo labello bifido et dissecto. Vehemens cogitatio movet rerum species. Wier. lib. 3. cap. 8. [8] Ne, dum uterum gestent, admittant absurdas cogitationes, sed et visu audituque fœda et horrenda devitent. [9] In *Gesta Dagoberti* probably. But to this I have not been able to get access. See also Montaigne, Essays, Book i. ch. xx.] [10] See Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, p. 256.]

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such were), [1]*Agrippa* supposeth to have happened by force of imagination. That some are turned to wolves, from men to women, and women again to men (which is constantly believed) to the same imagination; or from men to asses, dogs, or any other shapes; [2] *Wierus* ascribes all those famous transformations to imagination. That in *Hydrophobia* they seem to see the picture of a dog still in their water, [3] that melancholy men, and sick men, conceive so many phantastical visions, apparitions to themselves, and have such absurd suppositions, as that they are Kings, Lords, cocks, bears, apes, owls; that they are heavy, light, transparent, great and little, senseless and dead (as shall be shewed more at large in our [4] Section of Symptoms) can be imputed to naught else, but to a corrupt, false, and violent imagination. It works not in sick and melancholy men only, but even most forcibly sometimes in such as are sound: it makes them suddenly sick, and [5] alters their temperature in an instant. And sometimes a strong conceit or apprehension, as [6] *Valesius* proves, will take away diseases: in both kinds it will produce real effects. Men, if they see but another man tremble, giddy, or sick of some fearful disease, their apprehension and fear is so strong in this kind, that they will have the same disease. Or if by some soothsayer, wiseman, fortune-teller, or physician, they be told they shall have such a disease, they will so seriously apprehend it, that they will instantly labour of it. A thing familiar in *China* (saith *Riccius* the Jesuit): [7] *if it be told them they shall be sick on such a day, when that day comes, they will surely be sick, and will be so terribly afflicted, that sometimes they die upon it.* Dr. *Cotta*, in his Discovery of ignorant Practitioners of Physick, *cap.* 8, hath two strange stories to this purpose, what fancy is able to do; the one of a Parson's wife in *Northamptonshire, An.* 1607, that, coming to a Physician, and told by him that she was troubled with the *sciatica*, as he conjectured, (a disease she was free from), the same night after her return, upon his words, fell into a grievous fit of a *sciatica*; and such another example he

[1] Occult. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 64. [2] Lib. 3, de Lamiis, cap. 10. [3] Agrippa, lib. 1. cap. 64. [4] Sect. 3. memb. 1. subsect. 3. [5] Malleus malefic. fol. 77. Corpus mutari potest in diversas ægritudines, ex forti apprehensione. [6] Fr. Vales. l. 5. cont. 6. Nonnunquam etiam morbi diuturni consequuntur, quandoque curantur. [7] Expedit. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 9. Tantum porro multi prædictoribus hisce tribuunt, ut ipse metus fidem faciat: nam si prædictum iis fuerit tali die eos morbo corripiendos, ii, ubi dies advenerit, in morbum incidunt, et, vi metûs afflicti, cum ægritudine, aliquando etiam cum morte colluctantur.

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hath of another good wife, that was so troubled with the cramp, after the same manner she came by it, because her Physician did but name it. Sometimes death itself is caused by force of phantasy. I have heard of one that, coming by chance in company of him that was thought to be sick of the plague (which was not so), fell down suddenly dead. Another was sick of the plague with conceit. One, seeing his fellow let blood, falls down in a swoon. Another (saith [1]*Cardan* out of *Aristotle*) fell down dead (which is familiar to women at any ghastly sight) seeing but a man hanged. A *Jew* in *France* (saith [2]*Lodovicus Vives*) came by chance over a dangerous passage, or plank, that lay over a brook in the dark, without harm, the next day, perceiving what danger he was in, fell down dead. Many will not believe such stories to be true, but laugh commonly, and deride when they hear of them; but let these men consider with themselves, as [3]*Peter Byarus* illustrates it, if they were set to walk upon a plank on high, they would be giddy, upon which they dare securely walk upon the ground. Many (saith *Agrippa*) [4]*strong-hearted men otherwise, tremble at such sights, dazzle, and are sick, if they look but down from an high place, and what moves them but conceit?* As some are so molested by phantasy, so some again by fancy alone, and a good conceit, are as easily recovered. We see commonly the tooth-ache, gout, falling-sickness, biting of a mad dog, and many such maladies, cured by spells, words, characters, and charms; and many green wounds by that now so much used *unguentum armarium* magnetically cured, which *Crollius* and *Goclenius* in a book of late hath defended, *Libavius* in a just tract as stiffly contradicts, and most men controvert. All the world knows there is no virtue in such charms, or cures, but a strong conceit and opinion alone, as [5]*Pomponatius* holds, *which forceth a motion of the humours, spirits, & blood, which takes away the cause of the malady from the parts affected.* The like we may say of our magical effects, superstitious cures, and such as are done by mountebanks and wizards. *As by wicked incredulity many men are hurt* (so saith [6]*Wierus* of

[1] Subtil. 18. [2] Lib. 3. de anima, cap. de mel. [3] Lib. de Peste. [4] Lib. 1. cap. 63. Ex alto despicientes aliqui præ timore contremiscunt, caligant, infirmantur; sic singultus, febres, morbi comitiales, quandoque sequuntur, quandoque recedunt. [5] Lib. de Incantatione. Imaginatio subitum humorum et spirituum motum infert, unde vario affectu rapitur sanguis, ac unà morbificas causas partibus affectis eripit. [6] Lib. 3. c. 18. de præstig. Ut impia credulitate quis læditur, sic et levari eundem credibile est, usuque observatum.

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charms, spells, &c.) *we find in our experience, by the same means many are relieved.* An Empirick oftentimes, and a silly Chirurgeon, doth more strange cures than a rational Physician. *Nymannus* gives a reason, because the Patient puts his confidence in him, [1]which *Avicenna prefers before art, precepts, and all remedies whatsoever.* 'Tis opinion alone (saith [2] *Cardan*) that makes or mars Physicians, and he doth the best cures, according to *Hippocrates*, in whom most trust. So diversely doth this phantasy of ours affect, turn and wind, so imperiously command our bodies, which, as another[3] *Proteus*,[4] *or a Chameleon, can take all shapes; and is of such force* (as *Ficinus* adds) *that it can work upon others as well as ourselves.* How can otherwise blear eyes in one man cause the like affection in another? Why doth one man's yawning[5] make another yawn; one man's pissing provoke a second many times to do the like? Why doth scraping of trenchers offend a third, or hacking of files? Why doth a carkass bleed, when the murderer is brought before it, some weeks after the murder hath been done? Why do witches and old women fascinate and bewitch children? but as *Wierus*, *Paracelsus*, *Cardan*, *Mizaldus*, *Valleriola*, *Cæsar Vanninus*, *Campanella*, and many Philosophers think, the forcible imagination of the one party moves and alters the spirits of the other. Nay more, they can cause and cure not only diseases, maladies, and several infirmities, by this means, as *Avicenna*, *de anim. l.* 4. *sect.* 4. supposeth, in parties remote, but move bodies from their places, cause thunder, lightning, tempests, which opinion *Alkindus*, *Paracelsus*, and some others, approve of. So that I may certainly conclude this strong conceit or imagination is *astrum hominis*,[6] and the rudder of this our ship, which reason should steer, but overborne by phantasy cannot manage, and so suffers itself and this whole vessel of ours to be over-ruled, and often overturned. Read more of this in *Wierus*, *L.* 3. *de Lamiis, c.* 8, 9, 10, *Franciscus Valesius*, *med. controv. l.* 5. *cont.* 6, *Marcellus Donatus*, *l.* 2. *c.* 1. *de hist. med. mirabil. Levinus Lemnius*, *de occult. nat. mir. l.* 1. *c.* 12, *Cardan*, *l.* 18. *de rerum var. Corn. Agrippa*, *de occult. Philos. cap.* 64, 65, *Camerarius*, 1 *Cent. cap.* 54. *horarum*

[1] Ægri persuasio et fiducia omni arti et consilio et medicinæ præferenda. Avicen. [2] Plures sanat in quem plures confidunt. lib. de sapientia. [3] Marcilius Ficinus, l. 13, c. 18. de theolog. Platonicâ. Imaginatio est tanquam Proteus vel Chamæleon, corpus proprium et alienum nonnunquam afficiens. [4] See Ov. M. viii. 730-737.] [5] Cur oscitantes oscitent. Wierus. [6] A man's star.]

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subcis. Nymannus, in orat. de Imag. Laurentius, and him that is *instar omnium,*[1] *Fienus,* a famous Physician of *Antwerp,* that wrote three books *de viribus imaginationis.*[2] I have thus far digressed, because this imagination is the *medium deferens* of passions, by whose means they work and produce many times prodigious effects; and as the phantasy is more or less intended or remitted, and their humours disposed, so do perturbations move, more or less, and take deeper impression.

SUBSECT. 3.—*Division of Perturbations.*

PERTURBATIONS and passions, which trouble the phantasy, though they dwell between the confines of sense and reason, yet they rather follow sense than reason, because they are drowned in corporeal organs of sense. They are commonly [3]reduced into two inclinations, *irascible,* and *concupiscible.* The [4]*Thomists* subdivide them into eleven, six in the *coveting,* and five in the *invading. Aristotle* reduceth all to pleasure and pain, *Plato* to love and hatred, [5]*Vives* to good and bad. If good, it is present, and then we absolutely joy and love: or to come, and then we desire and hope for it: if evil, we absolutely hate it: if present, it is sorrow; if to come, fear. These four passions [6]*Bernard* compares *to the wheels of a chariot, by which we are carried in this world.* All other passions are subordinate unto these four, or six, as some will: love, joy, desire, hatred, sorrow, fear. The rest, as anger, envy, emulation, pride, jealousy, anxiety, mercy, shame, discontent, despair, ambition, avarice, &c., are reducible unto the first: and if they be immoderate, they [7]consume the spirits, and melancholy is especially caused by them. Some few discreet men there are, that can govern themselves, and curb in these inordinate affections, by religion, philosophy, and such divine precepts, of meekness, patience, and the like; but most part, for want of government, out of indiscretion, ignorance, they suffer themselves wholly to be led by sense, and are so far from repressing rebellious inclinations, that they give all encouragement unto them, leaving the reins, and using all provocations to further them: bad by nature,

[1] Cic. Brutus, 51, 191.=worth them all.] [2] On the force of imagination.] [3] T. W. Jesuit. [4] *i.e.* The followers, or school, of Thomas Aquinas.] [5] 3. de Anima. [6] Ser. 35. Hæ quatuor passiones sunt tanquam rotæ in curru, quibus vehimur hoc mundo. [7] Harum quippe immoderatione spiritus marcescunt. Fernel. l. 1. Path. c. 18.

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worse by art, discipline, [1] custom, education, and a perverse will of their own, they follow on, wheresoever their unbridled affections will transport them, and do more out of custom, self-will, than out of reason. *Contumax voluntas*, as *Melancthon* calls it, *malum facit:* this stubborn will of ours perverts judgement, which sees and knows what should and ought to be done, and yet will not do it. *Mancipia gulæ*,[2] slaves to their several lusts and appetite, they precipitate and plunge [3] themselves into a labyrinth of cares, blinded with lust, blinded with ambition; [4] *they seek that at God's hands which they may give unto themselves, if they could but refrain from those cares and perturbations, wherewith they continually macerate their minds.* But giving way to these violent passions of fear, grief, shame, revenge, hatred, malice, &c., they are torn in pieces, as *Actæon* was with his dogs,[5] and [6] crucify their own souls.

SUBSECT. 4.—*Sorrow a Cause of Melancholy.*

IN this Catalogue of Passions, which so much torment the soul of man, and cause this malady (for I will briefly speak of them all, and in their order) the first place in this irascible appetite may justly be challenged by *sorrow;* an inseparable companion, [7] *the mother and daughter of melancholy, her epitome, symptom, and chief cause.* As *Hippocrates* hath it, they beget one another, and tread in a ring, for sorrow is both cause and symptom of this disease. How it is a symptom shall be shewed in his place. That it is a cause all the world acknowledgeth. *Dolor nonnullis insaniæ causa fuit, et aliorum morborum insanabilium*, saith *Plutarch* to *Apollonius*;[8] [sorrow is] a cause of madness, a cause of many other [incurable] diseases, a sole cause of this mischief, [9] *Lemnius* calls it. So doth *Rhasis, cont. l.* 1. *tract.* 9, *Guianerius, Tract.* 15. *c.* 5. And if it

[1] Malâ consuetudine depravatur ingenium ne bene faciat. Prosper Calenus, l. de atrâ bile. Plura faciunt homines è consuetudine, quam è ratione. In teneris consuescere multum est. [Virg. Georg. ii. 272.] Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor. Ovid, [Met. vii. 20. 21.] [2] Cf. Philippians, iii. 19.] [3] Nemo læditur nisi à seipso. [Erasmi Adagia, p. 856.] [4] Multi se in inquietudinem præcipitant, ambitione et cupiditatibus excæcati; non intelligunt se illud à diis petere, quod sibi ipsis si velint præstare possint, si curis et perturbationibus, quibus assiduè se macerant, imperare vellent. [5] Ovid, Met. iii. 138-250.] [6] Tanto studio miseriarum causas et alimenta dolorum quærimus, vitamque secus felicissimam tristem et miserabilem efficimus. Petrarch. præfat. de Remediis, &c. [7] Timor et mœstitia, si diu perseverent, causa et soboles atri humoris sunt, et in circulum se procreant. Hip. Aphoris. 23. l. 6. Idem Montaltus, cap. 19. Victorius Faventinus, pract. imag. [8 § i.] [9] Multi ex mœrore et metu huc delapsi sunt. Lemn. lib. 1. cap. 16.

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take root once, it ends in despair, as [1]*Felix Plater* observes, and, as in [2]*Cebes'* Table, may well be coupled with it. [3]*Chrysostom*, in his seventeenth Epistle to *Olympia*, describes it to be *a cruel torture of the soul, a most inexplicable grief, poisoned worm, consuming body and soul, and gnawing the very heart, a perpetual executioner, continual night, profound darkness, a whirlwind, a tempest, an ague not appearing, heating worse than any fire, and a battle that hath no end: it crucifies worse than any Tyrant; no torture, no strappado, no bodily punishment, is like unto it.* 'Tis the eagle without question which the Poets feigned to gnaw [4]*Prometheus'* heart, and *no heaviness is like unto the heaviness of the heart*, Ecclus. 38. 18. [5]*Every perturbation is a misery, but grief a cruel torment*, a domineering passion: as in old *Rome*, when the *Dictator* was created, all inferior magistracies ceased, when grief appears, all other passions vanish. *It dries up the bones*, saith *Solomon*, *c.* 17. *Prov.* [v. 22.] makes them hollow-ey'd, pale, and lean, furrow-faced, to have dead looks, wrinkled brows, riveled cheeks, dry bodies, and quite perverts their temperature that are mis-affected with it. As *Elenora* that exil'd mournful Duchess (in our [6]English *Ovid*) laments to her noble husband *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*,

> Sawest thou those eyes in whose sweet cheerful look
> Duke *Humphry* once such joy and pleasure took,
> Sorrow hath so despoil'd me of all grace,
> Thou couldst not say this was my *Elenor's* face.
> Like a foul Gorgon, &c.

[7]*It hinders concoction, refrigerates the heart, takes away stomack colour, & sleep; thickens the blood,* ([8]*Fernelius l.* 1. *c.* 18. *de morb. causis*) *contaminates the spirits* ([9]*Piso*); overthrows the natural

[1] Multâ curâ et tristitiâ faciunt accedere melancholiam: (cap. 3. de mentis alien.) si altas radices agat, in veram fixamque degenerat melancholiam et in desperationem desinit. [2] Ille luctus, ejus verò soror desperatio simul ponitur. [§ x.] [3] Animarum crudele tormentum, dolor inexplicabilis, tinea, non solum ossa sed corda pertingens, perpetuus carnifex, vires animæ consumens, jugis nox, et tenebræ profundæ, tempestas, et turbo, et febris non apparens, omni igne validius incendens; longior, et pugnæ finem non habens——crucem circumfert dolor, faciemque omni tyranno crudeliorem præ se fert. [4] Nat. Comes Mythol. l. 4. c. 6. [5] Tully 3. Tusc. [13. 27.] Omnis perturbatio miseria, et carnificina est dolor. [6] M. Drayton in his Her. Ep. [Elenor Cobham to Duke Humphry.] [7] Crato consil. 21. lib. 2. Mœstitia universum infrigidat corpus, calorem innatum extinguit, appetitum destruit. [8] Cor refrigerat tristitia, spiritus exsiccat, innatumque calorem obruit, vigilias inducit, concoctionem labefactat, sanguinem incrassat, exaggeratque melancholicum succum. [9] Spiritus et sanguis hoc contaminatur. Piso.

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heat, perverts the good estate of body and mind, & makes them weary of their lives, cry out, howl and roar, for very anguish of their souls. *David* confessed as much, *Psal.* 38. 8; *I have roared for the very disquietness of my heart.* And *Ps.* 119. 4. *part.* 4. *v. My soul melteth away for very heaviness;* vers. 83; *I am like a bottle in the smoke. Antiochus* complained that he could not sleep, and that his heart fainted for grief. [1] *Christ* himself, *vir dolorum,* [2] out of an apprehension of grief did sweat blood. *Mark* 14. [34,] his soul was heavy to the death, and no sorrow was like unto his. *Crato, consil.* 21. *l.* 2, gives instance in one that was so melancholy by reason of [3] grief: and *Montanus, consil.* 30, in a noble Matron, [4] *that had no other cause of this mischief. I. S. D.* (in *Hildesheim,*) fully cured a patient of his, that was much troubled with melancholy, and for many years, [5] *but afterwards, by a little occasion of sorrow, he fell into his former fits, and was tormented as before.* Examples are common, how it causeth melancholy, [6] desperation, and sometimes death itself; for (*Ecclus.* 38. 18.) *of heaviness comes death. Worldly sorrow causeth death,* 2 *Cor.* 7. 10. *Psal.* 31. 10, *My life is wasted with heaviness, and my years with mourning.* Why was *Hecuba* said to be turned to a dog? *Niobe* into a stone? but that for grief she was senseless and stupid. *Severus* the Emperor [7] died for grief, and how [8] many myriads besides!

Tanta illi est feritas, tanta est insania luctus.[9]

Melancthon gives a reason of it, [10] *the gathering of much melancholy blood about the heart, which collection extinguisheth the good spirits, or at least dulleth them, sorrow strikes the heart, makes it tremble and pine away, with great pain: and the black blood drawn from the spleen, and diffused under the ribs on the left side, makes those perilous hypochondriacal convulsions, which happen to them that are troubled with sorrow.*

[1] Marc. [xiv. 33-36.] [2] A man of sorrows, Isaiah, liii. 3.] [3] Mœrore maceror, marcesco et consenesco miser, ossa atque pellis sum misera macritudine. Plaut. [Capt. i. ii. 24-26.] [4] Malum inceptum et actum a tristitia sola. [5] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de melancholia. Mœrore animi postea accedente, in priora symptomata incidit. [6] Vives 3. de anima, c. de mœrore. Sabin. in Ovid. [7] Herodian. l. 3. [cap. 15.] Mœrore magis quam morbo consumptus est. [8] Bothwellius atribilarius obiit. Brizarrus Genuensis hist. &c. [9] So great is the fierceness and madness of grief!] [10] Mœstitia cor quasi percussum constringitur, tremit et languescit cum acri sensu doloris. In tristitia cor fugiens attrahit ex splene lentum humorem melancholicum, qui effusus sub costis in sinistro latere hypochondriacos flatus facit, quod sæpe accidit iis qui diuturna cura et mœstitia conflictantur. Melancthon.

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SUBSEC. 5.—*Fear, a Cause.*

COUSIN-GERMAN to *sorrow* is *fear*, or rather a sister, *fidus Achates*,[1] and continual companion, an assistant and a principal agent in procuring of this mischief, a cause and symptom as the other. In a word, as [2] *Virgil* of the *Harpies*, I may justly say of them both,

> Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sævior ulla
> Pestis & ira Deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
>
> A sadder monster, or more cruel plague so fell,
> Or vengeance of the Gods, ne'er came from Styx or Hell.

This foul fiend of Fear was worshipped heretofore as a God by the *Lacedæmonians*, and most of those other torturing [3] affections, and so was Sorrow, amongst the rest, under the name of *Angerona Dea*; they stood in such awe of them, as *Austin, de Civitat. Dei, lib.* 4. *cap.* 8, noteth out of *Varro*. Fear was commonly [4] adored and painted in their Temples with a Lion's head; and, as *Macrobius* records 1. 10. *Saturnalium*,[5] *in the Calends of January Angerona had her holy day, to whom in the Temple of Volupia, or Goddess of Pleasure, their Augurs and Bishops did yearly sacrifice; that, being propitious to them, she might expel all cares, anguish, and vexation of the mind for that year following.* Many lamentable effects this fear causeth in men, as to be red, pale, tremble, sweat, [6] it makes sudden cold and heat to come over all the body, palpitation of the heart, syncope, &c. It amazeth many men that are to speak, or shew themselves in publick assemblies, or before some great personages, as *Tully* confessed of himself, that he trembled still at the beginning of his speech; and *Demosthenes* that great Orator of *Greece* before *Philip*. It confounds voice and memory, as *Lucian* wittily brings in *Jupiter Tragœdus* so much afraid of his auditory, when he was to make a speech to the rest of the Gods, that he could not utter a ready word, but was compelled to use *Mercury's* help in prompting. Many men are so amazed and astonished with fear, they know not where they are, what they say, [7] what they do, and that which is worst, it tortures them

[1] Virg. Æn. i. 188. "a faithful squire," for Achates was the squire of Æneas.] [2] Lib. 3. Æn. [214, 215.] [3] Et metum ideo deam sacrârunt, ut bonam mentem concederet. Varro, Lactantius, Aug. [4] Lilius Girald. Syntag. 1. de diis miscellaneis. [5] Calendis Jan. feriæ sunt divæ Angeronæ, cui pontifices in sacello Volupiæ sacra faciunt, quod angores et animi sollicitudines propitiata propellat. [6] Timor inducit frigus, cordis palpitationem, vocis defectum, atque pallorem. Agrippa lib. 1. cap. 63. Timidi semper spiritus habent frigidos. Mont. [7] Effusas cernens fugientes agmine turmas; Quis mea nunc inflat cornua? Faunus ait. Alciat.

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many days before with continual affrights and suspicion. It hinders most honourable attempts, and makes their hearts ache, sad and heavy. They that live in fear are never free,[1] resolute, secure, never merry, but in continual pain: that, as *Vives* truly said, *nulla est miseria major quàm metus*, no greater misery, no rack, no torture like unto it; ever suspicious, anxious, solicitous, they are childishly drooping without reason, without judgement, [2] *especially if some terrible object be offered*, as *Plutarch* hath it. It causeth oftentimes sudden madness, and almost all manner of diseases, as I have sufficiently illustrated in my [3] digression of the Force of Imagination, and shall do more at large in my section of [4] Terrors. Fear makes our imagination conceive what it list, invites the devil to come to us, as [5] *Agrippa* and *Cardan* avouch, and tyrannizeth over our phantasy more than all other affections, especially in the dark. We see this verified in most men, as [6] *Lavater* saith, *quæ metuunt, fingunt*, what they fear they conceive, and feign unto themselves; they think they see Goblins, Hags, Devils, and many times become melancholy thereby. *Cardan, subtil. lib.* 18. hath an example of such an one, so caused to be melancholy (by sight of a bugbear) all his life after. *Augustus Cæsar* durst not sit in the dark, *nisi aliquo assidente*,[7] saith [8] *Suetonius, nunquam tenebris evigilavit.* And 'tis strange what women and children will conceive unto themselves, if they go over a Church-yard in the night, lie or be alone in a dark room, how they sweat and tremble on a sudden. Many men are troubled with future events, fore-knowledge of their fortunes, destinies, as *Severus* the Emperor, *Adrian*, and *Domitian; quod sciret ultimum vitæ diem*, saith [9] *Suetonius, valde sollicitus*, much tortured in mind because he foreknew his end; with many such, of which I shall speak more opportunely in another place.[10] Anxiety, mercy, pity, indignation, &c. and such fearful branches derived from these two stems of fear and sorrow, I voluntarily omit; read more of them in [11] *Carolus Pascalius*, [12] *Dandinus*, *&c.*

[1] Metus non solum memoriam consternat, sed et institutum animi omne et laudabilem conatum impedit. Thucydides. [ii. 87.] [2] Lib. de fortitudine et virtute Alexandri, [Orat. ii. fin.] Ubi propè res adfuit terribilis. [3] Sect. 2. Memb. 3. Subs. 2. [4] Sect. 2. Memb. 4. Subs. 3. [5] Subtil. 18. lib. Timor attrahit ad se Dæmonas. Timor et error multum in hominibus possunt. [6] Lib. 2. Spectris ca. 3. fortes rarò spectra vident, quia minus timent. [7] Unless some one sat by him.] [8] Vita ejus. [§ 78.] [9] Domitian, § 14. Memoriter.] [10] Sect. 2. Memb. 4. Subs. 7. [11] De virt. et vitiis. [12] Com. in Arist. de Anima.

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SUBSEC. 6.—*Shame and Disgrace, Causes.*

SHAME and disgrace cause most violent passions, and bitter pangs. *Ob pudorem & dedecus publicum, ob errorem commissum, sæpe moventur generosi animi* (*Felix Plater lib.* 3. *de alienat. mentis*); generous minds are often moved with shame to despair for some publick disgrace. And *he*, saith *Philo, lib.* 2. *de provid. dei*, [1] *that subjects himself to fear, grief, ambition, shame, is not happy, but altogether miserable, tortured with continual labour, care, and misery.* It is as forcible a batterer as any of the rest. [2] *Many men neglect the tumults of the world, and care not for glory, and yet they are afraid of infamy, repulse, disgrace;* (*Tul. offi. l.* 1. [21, 71.]) *they can severely contemn pleasure, bear grief indifferently, but they are quite* [3] *battered and broken with reproach and obloquy* (*siquidem vita & fama pari passu ambulant*); and are so dejected many times for some publick injury, disgrace, as a box on the ear by their inferior, to be overcome of their adversary, foiled in the field, to be out in a speech, some foul fact committed or disclosed, &c., that they dare not come abroad all their lives after, but melancholize in corners, and keep in holes. The most generous spirits are most subject to it: *spiritus altos frangit & generosos, Hieronymus.*[4] *Aristotle*, because he could not understand the motion of *Euripus*, for grief and shame drowned himself: *Cælius Rhodiginus, antiquar. lec. lib.* 29. *cap.* 8. *Homerus pudore consumptus*, [Homer] was swallowed up with this passion of shame, [5] *because he could not unfold the fisherman's riddle. Sophocles* killed himself, [6] *for that a tragedy of his was hissed off the stage: Valer. Max. lib.* 9. *cap.* 12. *Lucretia* stabbed herself,[7] and so did [8] *Cleopatra, when she saw that she was reserved for a triumph, to avoid the infamy. Antonius* the *Roman*, [9] *after he was overcome of his enemy, for three days' space sat solitary in the fore-part of the ship, abstaining from all company, even of*

[1] Qui mentem subjecit timoris dominationi, cupiditatis, doloris, ambitionis, pudoris, felix non est, sed omnino miser, assiduis laboribus torquetur et miseria. [2] Multi contemnunt mundi strepitum, reputant pro nihilo gloriam, sed timent infamiam, offensionem, repulsam. Voluptatem severissimè contemnunt, in dolore sunt molliores, gloriam negligunt, franguntur infamia. [3] Gravius contumeliam ferimus quam detrimentum, ni abjecto nimis animo simus. Plut. in Timol. [§ 32.] [4] Epist. lxvi, § 6, memoriter.] [5] Quod piscatoris ænigma solvere non posset. [See Paus. x. 24, and the note of Siebelis.] [6] Ob Tragœdiam explosam, mortem sibi gladio conscivit. [7] Livy, i. 58.] [8] Cum vidit in triumphum se servari, causa ejus ignominiæ vitandæ mortem sibi conscivit. Plut. [Vit. Ant. §§ 84, 85.] [9] Bello victus, per tres dies sedit in prora navis, abstinens ab omni consortio, etiam Cleopatræ; postea se interfecit.

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Cleopatra herself, and afterwards for very shame butchered himself, (Plutarch, vita ejus.[1]) *Apollonius Rhodius* [2] *wilfully banished himself, forsaking his country, and all his dear friends, because he was out in reciting his Poems,* (*Plinius, lib.* 7. *cap.* 23.) *Ajax* ran mad, because his arms were adjudged to *Ulysses.* In *China* 'tis an ordinary thing for such as are excluded in those famous trials of theirs, or should take degrees, for shame and grief to lose their wits, ([3] *Mat. Riccius, expedit. ad Sinas, l.* 3. *c.* 9.) *Hostratus* the Friar took that book which *Reuchlin* had writ against him, under the name of *Epist. obscurorum virorum,* so to heart, that for shame and grief he made away himself, ([4] *Jovius, in Elogiis.*) A grave and learned Minister, & an ordinary Preacher at *Alkmaar* in *Holland,* was (one day as he walked in the fields for his recreation) suddenly taken with a lask or looseness, and thereupon compelled to retire to the next ditch; but being [5] surprised at unawares by some Gentlewomen of his Parish wandering that way, was so abashed, that he did never after shew his head in publick, or come into the Pulpit, but pined away with Melancholy: (*Pet. Forestus, med. observat. lib.* 10. *observat.* 12.) So shame amongst other passions can play his prize.

I know there be many base, impudent, brazen-faced rogues, that will [6] *nullâ pallescere culpâ,* be moved with nothing, take no infamy or disgrace to heart, laugh at all; let them be proved perjured, stigmatized, convict rogues, thieves, traitors, lose their ears, be whipped, branded, carted, pointed at, hissed, reviled, and derided, with [7] *Ballio* the Bawd in *Plautus,* they rejoice at it, *cantores probos; babæ! and bombax!* what care they? We have too many such in our times.

——— Exclamat Melicerta perisse
Frontem de rebus.[8]

[1] [§§ 76, 77.] [2] Cum malè recitasset Argonautica, ob pudorem exulavit. [3] Quidam præ verecundia simul et dolore in insaniam incidunt, eo quod a literatorum gradu in examine excluduntur. [4] Hostratus cucullatus adeo graviter ob Reuclini librum, qui inscribitur, Epistolæ obscurorum virorum, dolore simul et pudore sauciatus, ut seipsum interfecerit. [5] Propter ruborem confusus, statim coepit delirare, &c. ob suspicionem, quod vili illum crimine accusarent. [6] Horat. [Ep. i. i. 61.] [7] Ps. Impudice. B. Ita est. Ps. sceleste. B. dicis vera. Ps. Verbero. B. quippeni? Ps. furcifer. B. factum optime. Ps. sociofraude. B. sunt mea istæc. Ps. parricida. B. perge tu. Ps. sacrilege. B. fateor. Ps. perjure. B. vera dicis. Ps. pernicies adolescentum. B. acerrimè. Ps. fur. B. babæ. Ps. fugitive. B. bombax! Ps. fraus populi. B. Planissimè. Ps. impure leno, cœnum. B. cantores probos! Pseudolus act. 1. Scen. 3. [140 sq.] [8] Melicerta says all modesty has vanished from the world.] Persius, Sat. 5. [103, 4.]

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Yet a modest man, one that hath grace, a generous spirit, tender of his reputation, will be deeply wounded, and so grievously affected with it, that he had rather give myriads of crowns, lose his life, than suffer the least defamation of honour, or blot in his good name. And if so be that he cannot avoid it, as a nightingale, *quæ cantando victa moritur*, (saith [1]*Mizaldus*,) dies for shame, if another bird sing better, he languisheth and pineth away in the anguish of his spirit.

SUBSECT. 7.—*Envy, Malice, Hatred, Causes.*

ENVY and Malice are two links of this chain, and both, as *Guianerius Tract.* 15. *cap.* 2. proves out of *Galen* 3. *Aphorism. com.* 22. [2] *cause this malady by themselves, especially if their bodies be otherwise disposed to melancholy.* 'Tis *Valescus de Taranta* and *Felix Platerus'* observation, [3] *Envy so gnaws many men's hearts, that they become altogether melancholy.* And therefore belike *Solomon*, Prov. 14. 30, calls it, *the rotting of the bones; Cyprian, vulnus occultum;* [4]

> ——— [5] Siculi non invenêre tyranni
> Majus tormentum ———

the *Sicilian* tyrants never invented the like torment. It crucifies their souls, withers their bodies, makes them hollow-ey'd, [6] pale, lean, and ghastly to behold, *Cyprian ser.* 2. *de zelo & livore.* [7] *As a moth gnaws a garment*, so, saith *Chrysostom*, [8] *doth envy consume a man:* to be a living anatomy, a *skeleton, to be a lean and* [9] *pale carcass, quickened with a* [10] *fiend, Hall in Characters*, [11] for so often as an envious wretch sees another man prosper, to be enriched, to thrive, and be fortunate in the world, to get honours, offices, or the like, he repines and grieves:

[1] Cent. 7, e Plinio. [2] Multos videmus propter invidiam et odium in melancholiam incidisse: et illos potissimum quorum corpora ad hanc apta sunt. [3] Invidia affligit homines adeo et corrodit, ut hi melancholici penitus fiant. [4] An hidden wound. *De zelo et livore*, § ix.] [5] Hor. [Ep. i. ii. 58, 59.] [6] His vultus minax, torvus aspectus, pallor in facie, in labiis tremor, stridor in dentibus, &c. [7] Ut tinea corrodit vestimentum, sic invidia eum qui zelatur consumit. [8] *Qu.* Epist. ad Rom. Hom. vii. ?] [9] Pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto. Nusquam recta acies, livent rubigine dentes. [Ov. Met. ii. 776.] [10] Diaboli expressa imago, toxicum charitatis, venenum amicitiæ, abyssus mentis, non est eo monstrosius monstrum, damnosius damnum; urit, torret, discruciat, macie et squalore conficit. Austin. Domin. prim. Advent. [11] Book ii. Of the Envious.]

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——— [1] intabescitque videndo
Successus hominum——suppliciumque suum est.

He tortures himself if his equal, friend, neighbour, be preferred, commended, do well, if he understand of it, it galls him afresh, and no greater pain can come to him than to hear of another man's well-doing, 'tis a dagger at his heart every such object. He looks at him, as they that fell down in *Lucian's* rock of honour, with an envious eye, and will damage himself to do another a mischief: *atque cadet subito, dum super hoste cadat.* As he did in *Æsop*,[2] lose one eye willingly, that his fellow might lose both, or that rich man in [3]*Quintilian*, that poisoned the flowers in his garden, because his neighbour's bees should get no more honey from them. His whole life is sorrow, and every word he speaks a *satire*, nothing fats him but other men's ruins. For, to speak in a word, envy is naught else but *tristitia de bonis alienis*, sorrow for other men's good, be it present, past, or to come: & *gaudium de adversis*, and [4]joy at their harms, opposite to mercy, [5]which grieves at other men's mischances, and mis-affects the body in another kind; so *Damascen* defines it, *lib. 2. de orthod. fid. Thomas 2. 2. quæst. 36. art. 1, Aristotle l. 2. Rhet. c. 4. & 10, Plato, Philebo, Tully, 3. Tusc. Greg. Nic. l. de virt. animæ. c. 12, Basil. de Invidia, Pindarus, Od. 1. ser. 5*, and we find it true. 'Tis a common disease, and almost natural to us, as [6] *Tacitus* holds, to envy another man's prosperity. And 'tis in most men an incurable disease. [7] *I have read*, saith *Marcus Aurelius, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee Authors, I have consulted with many wise men, for a remedy for envy, I could find none, but to renounce all happiness, and to be a wretch, and miserable for ever.* 'Tis the beginning of hell in this life, and a passion not to be excused. [8]*Every other sin hath some pleasure annexed to it, or will admit of an excuse; envy alone wants both. Other sins last but for a while; the gut*

[1] Ovid. [Met. ii. 780-782.] [2] *Invidus* in the Fable *De Avaro et Invido.*] [3] Declam. 13. Linivit flores maleficis succis, in venenum mella convertens. [4] Statuis cereis Basilius eos comparat, qui liquefiunt ad præsentiam solis, quâ alii gaudent et ornantur; muscis alii, quæ ulceribus gaudent, amœna prætereunt, sistunt in fœtidis. [5] Misericordia etiam, quæ tristitia quædam est, sæpe miserantis corpus male afficit. Agrippa. l. 1. cap. 63. [6] Insitum mortalibus a natura recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis intueri, Hist. l. 2. Tacit. [cap. 20.] [7] Legi Chaldæos, Græcos, Hebræos; consului sapientes pro remedio invidiæ; hoc enim inveni, renunciare felicitati, et perpetuò miser esse. [8] Omne peccatum aut excusationem secum habet, aut voluptatem, sola invidia utraque caret. Reliqua vitia finem habent; ira defervescit, gula satiatur, odium finem habet, invidia nunquam quiescit.

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may be satisfied, anger remits, hatred hath an end, envy never ceaseth: Cardan lib. 2. de sap. Divine and human examples are very familiar, you may run and read them, as that of *Saul* and *David*, *Cain* and *Abel*, *angebat illum non proprium peccatum, sed fratris prosperitas*, saith *Theodoret*,[1] it was his brother's good fortune galled him. *Rachel* envied her sister, being barren, *Gen.* 30. *Joseph's* brethren him, *Gen.* 37. *David* had a touch of this vice, as he confesseth, [2]*Ps.* 73. [3]*Jeremy* and [4]*Habbakuk*, they repined at others' good, but in the end they corrected themselves. *Ps.* 37. *Fret not thyself, &c. Domitian* spited *Agricola* for his worth, [5]*that a private man should be so much glorified.* [6]*Cæcina* was envied of his fellow-citizens, because he was more richly adorned. But of all others, [7]women are most weak, *ob pulchritudinem invidæ sunt fœminæ* (*Musæus*[8]); *aut amat, aut odit, nihil est tertium* (*Granatensis*;)[9] they love, or hate, no medium amongst them. *Implacabiles plerumque læsæ mulieres.*[10] *Agrippina* like,[11] [12]*a woman, if she see her neighbour more neat or elegant, richer in tires, jewels, or apparel, is enraged, & like a lioness sets upon her husband, rails at her, scoffs at her, and cannot abide her;* so the *Roman* Ladies in *Tacitus* did at *Salonina, Cæcina's* wife, [13]*because she had a better horse, and better furniture; as if she had hurt them with it, they were much offended.* In like sort our Gentlewomen do at their usual meetings, one repines or scoffs at another's bravery and happiness. *Myrsine*, an *Attic* wench, was murdered of her fellows, [14]*because she did excel the rest in beauty, Constantine, Agricult. l.* 11. *c.* 7. Every Village will yield such examples.

SUBSECT. 8.—*Emulation, Hatred, Faction, Desire of revenge, Causes.*

OUT of this root of envy [15] spring those feral branches of faction, hatred, livor, emulation, which cause the like grievances, and are

[1] Quæst. in Gen. Interr. xli.] [2] Urebat me æmulatio propter stultos. [3] Hier. 12. 1. [4] Hab. 1. [5] Invidit privati nomen supra principis attolli. [Tacit. Agric. c. 39.] [6] Tacit. Hist. lib. 2. [c. 20.] [7] Perituræ dolore et invidia, si quem viderint ornatiorem se in publicum prodiisse. Platina, dial. amorum. [8] Hero and Leander, l. 37.] [9] Publius Syrus.] [10] Women wronged are mostly implacable.] [11] The allusion is to Tacitus, Annals, xii. 22.] [12] Ant. Guianerius, l. b. 2. cap. 8. vit. M. Aurelii. Fæmina, vicinam elegantius se vestitam videns, leænæ instar in virum insurgit, &c. [13] Quod insignis equo et ostro veheretur, quanquam nullius cum injuria, ornatum illum tanquam læsæ gravabantur. [Tac. H. ii. 20.] [14] Quod pulchritudine omnes excelleret, puellæ indignatæ occiderunt. [15] Latè patet invidiæ fœcunda pernicies, et livor radix omnium malorum, fons cladium; inde odium surgit, æmulatio. Cyprian, ser. 2. de Livore.

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serræ animæ, the saws of the soul, [1] *consternationis pleni affectus*, affections full of desperate amazement; or, as *Cyprian* describes emulation, it is [2] *a moth of the soul, a consumption, to make another man's happiness his misery, to torture, crucify, and execute himself, to eat his own heart. Meat and drink can do such men no good, they do always grieve, sigh and groan, day and night; without intermission their breast is torn asunder:* and a little after, [3] *whosoever he is whom thou dost emulate and envy, he may avoid thee, but thou canst neither avoid him, nor thyself; wheresoever thou art, he is with thee, thine enemy is ever in thy breast, thy destruction is within thee, thou art a captive, bound hand and foot, as long as thou art malicious, and envious, and canst not be comforted. It was the devil's overthrow;* and whensoever thou art thoroughly affected with this passion, it will be thine. Yet no perturbation so frequent, no passion so common.

[4] Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

A potter emulates a potter;
One smith envies another:
A beggar emulates a beggar;
A singing man his brother.

Every society, corporation, and private family, is full of it, it takes hold almost of all sorts of men, from the Prince to the Ploughman, even amongst Gossips it is to be seen; scarce three in a company but there is siding, faction, emulation, between two of them, some *simultas*, jar, private grudge, heart-burning, in the midst of them. Scarce two Gentlemen dwell together in the Country, (if they be not near kin or linked in marriage), but there is emulation betwixt them and their servants, some quarrel or some grudge betwixt their wives or children, friends and followers, some contention about wealth, gentry, precedency, &c. by means of

[1] Valerius, l. 3. cap. 9. [2] Qualis est animi tinea, quæ tabes pectoris, zelare in altero, vel aliorum felicitatem suam facere miseriam, et velut quosdam pectori suo admovere carnifices, cogitationibus et sensibus suis adhibere tortores, qui se intestinis cruciatibus lacerent! Non cibus talibus lætus, non potus potest esse jucundus; suspiratur semper et gemitur, et doletur dies et noctes; pectus sine intermissione laceratur. [3] Quisquis est ille quem æmularis, cui invides is te subterfugere potest, at tu non te; ubicunque fugeris, adversarius tuus tecum est, hostis tuus semper in pectore tuo est, pernicies intus inclusa; ligatus es, vinctus, zelo dominante captivus: nec solatia tibi ulla subveniunt: hinc diabolus inter initia statim mundi, et periit primus, et perdidit. Cyprian, ser. 2. de zelo et livore. [4] Hesiod. Op. et Dies. [25, 26].

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which, like the frog in [1]*Æsop, that would swell till she was as big as an ox, burst her self at last*, they will stretch beyond their fortunes, callings, and strive so long, that they consume their substance in law-suits, or otherwise in hospitality, feasting, fine clothes, to get a few bombast titles, for *ambitiosâ paupertate laboramus omnes;*[2] to out-brave one another, they will tire their bodies, macerate their souls, and through contentions or mutual invitations beggar themselves. Scarce two great Scholars in an age, but with bitter invectives they fall foul one on the other, and their adherents; *Scotists*, *Thomists*, *Reals*, *Nominals*,[3] *Plato* and *Aristotle*,[4] *Galenists* and *Paracelsians*, &c. It holds in all professions.

Honest [5]emulation in studies, in all callings, is not to be disliked, 'tis *ingeniorum cos*, as one calls it, the whetstone of wit, the nurse of wit and valour, and those noble Romans out of this spirit did brave exploits. There is a modest ambition, as *Themistocles* was roused up with the glory of *Miltiades*,[6] *Achilles'* trophies moved *Alexander*.[7]

> [8] Ambire semper stulta confidentia est,
> Ambire nunquam deses arrogantia est.

'Tis a sluggish humour not to emulate or to sue at all, to withdraw himself, neglect, refrain from such places, honours, offices, through sloth, niggardliness, fear, bashfulness, or otherwise, to which by his birth, place, fortunes, education, he is called, apt, fit, and well able to undergo; but when it is immoderate, it is a plague and a miserable pain. What a deal of money did *Henry* the 8, & *Francis* the First, King of *France*, spend at that [9]famous interview! and how many vain Courtiers, seeking each to out-brave other, spent themselves, their livelihood and fortunes, and died beggars! [10]*Adrian* the Emperor was so galled with it, that he killed all his equals; so did *Nero*. [11]This passion made *Dionysius* the Tyrant banish *Plato* and *Philoxenus* the Poet, because they did excel and eclipse his glory, as he thought; the *Romans* exile *Coriolanus*, confine *Camillus*, murder *Scipio;* the Greeks by *ostracism* to expel

[1] Rana, cupida æquandi bovem, se distendebat, &c. [See Phædrus, i. 24.] [2] Juv. iii. 182, 183. memoriter. We all vie with one another in our ostentatious poverty.] [3 = Realists, Nominalists.] [4 We want "Platonians and Aristotelians."] [5] Æmulatio alit ingenia: Paterculus [i. 17. 6.] [6 See Plut. Progress in Virtue, § xiv.] [7 See Plutarch, Alex. M. § 15.] [8 Grotius. Epig. lib. 1. [9] Anno 1519, between Ardres and Guisnes. [10] Spartian, [Adriano, cap. xv.] [11] Plutarch. [De Tranquillitate Animi, § xii.]

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Aristides, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, imprison *Theseus*, make away *Phocion*, *&c.* When *Richard* the First, and *Philip* of *France*, were fellow-soldiers together at the siege of *Acre* in the Holy Land, and *Richard* had approved himself to be the more valiant man, in so much that all men's eyes were upon him, it so galled *Philip*, (*Francum urebat Regis victoria*, saith mine [1]*Author*, *tam ægrè ferebat Richardi gloriam*, *ut carpere dicta*, *calumniari facta*;) that he cavilled at all his proceedings, and fell at length to open defiance; he could contain no longer, but, hasting home, invaded his territories, and professed open war. *Hatred stirs up contention*, Pro. 10. 12, and they break out at last into immortal enmity, into virulency, and more than *Vatinian*[2] hate and rage; [3] they persecute each other, their friends, followers, and all their posterity, with bitter taunts, hostile wars, scurrile invectives, libels, calumnies, fire, sword, and the like, and will not be reconciled. Witness that *Guelph* and *Ghibeline* faction in *Italy*; that of the *Adurni* and *Fregosi* in *Genoa*; that of *Cnæus Papirius* *&* *Quintus Fabius* in *Rome*; *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; *Orleans* and *Burgundy* in *France*; *York* and *Lancaster* in *England*. Yea, this passion so rageth[4] many times, that it subverts not men only, and families, but even populous Cities. [5]*Carthage* and *Corinth* can witness as much, nay, flourishing Kingdoms are brought into a wilderness by it. This hatred, malice, faction, and desire of revenge, invented first all those racks, and wheels, strappadoes, brazen bulls, feral engines, prisons, inquisitions, severe laws, to macerate and torment one another. How happy might we be, and end our time with blessed days and sweet content, if we could contain ourselves, and, as we ought to do, put up injuries, learn humility, meekness, patience, forget and forgive, as in [6] God's word we are enjoined, compose such small controversies amongst ourselves, moderate our passions in this kind, *and think better of others*, as [7]*Paul* would have us, *than of ourselves: be of like affection one towards another, and not avenge ourselves, but have peace with all men!* But being

[1] Johannes Heraldus, l. 2. c. 12. de bello sacr. [2] Catullus, xiv. 3; Sen. const. sap. 17, 3.] [3] Nulla dies tantum poterit lenire furorem. Æterna bella pace sublatâ gerunt. Jurat odium, nec ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desiit. Paterculus, Lib. i. [cap. 12.] [4] Ita sævit hæc Stygia ministra, ut urbes subvertat aliquando, deleat populos, provincias alioqui florentes redigat in solitudines, mortales vero miseros in profunda miseriarum valle miserabiliter immergat. [5] Carthago æmula Romani imperii funditus interiit. Sallust. Catil. [cap. 10.] [6] Paul. 3 Col. [13.] [7] Rom. 12. [3, 16, 18, 19.]

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that we are so peevish and perverse, insolent and proud, so factious and seditious, so malicious and envious, we do *invicem angariare*,[1] maul and vex one another, torture, disquiet, and precipitate ourselves into that gulf of woes and cares, aggravate our misery and melancholy, heap upon us hell and eternal damnation.

SUBSECT. 9.—*Anger a Cause.*

ANGER, a perturbation, which carries the spirits outwards, preparing the body to melancholy, and madness itself: *Ira furor brevis est*;[2] and, as [3]*Piccolomineus* accounts it, one of the three most violent passions. [4]*Aretæus* sets it down for an especial cause (so doth *Seneca, ep.* 18. *l.* 1.) of this malady. [5]*Magninus* gives the reason, *ex frequenti ira supra modum calefiunt;* it over-heats their bodies, and, if it be too frequent, it breaks out into manifest madness, saith S. *Ambrose.* 'Tis a known saying, *Furor fit læsa sæpius patientia*,[6] the most patient spirit that is, if he be often provoked, will be incensed to madness, it will make a Devil of a Saint. And therefore *Basil* (belike) in his Homily *de Irâ*, calls it *tenebras rationis, morbum animæ, & dæmonem pessimum;* the darkening of our understanding, and a bad Angel. [7]*Lucian, in Abdicato*, [§§ iii. iv.] will have this passion to work this effect, especially in old men and women. *Anger and calumny* (saith he) *trouble them at first, and after a while break out into open madness: many things cause fury in women, especially if they love or hate overmuch, or envy, be much grieved or angry; these things by little and little lead them on to this malady.* From a disposition they proceed to an habit, for there is no difference betwixt a mad man and an angry man in the time of his fit. Anger, as *Lactantius* describes it, *L. de Ira Dei, ad Donatum, c.* 5, is [8]*sæva animi tempestas, &c.*, a cruel tempest of the mind, *making his eyes sparkle fire, and stare, teeth gnash in his head, his tongue stutter, his face pale or red, and what more filthy imitation can be of a mad man?*

[1] Cf. Matt. v. 41. (Vulgate.) By turns harass.] [2] Hor. Epp. i. ii. 62. Anger is temporary madness.] [3] Grad. 1. c. 54. [4] Ira et mœror et ingens animi consternatio melancholicos facit. Aretæus. Ira immodica gignit insaniam. [5] Reg. sanit. parte 2. c. 8. In apertam insaniam mox ducitur iratus. [6] Publius Syrus.] [7] Gilberto Cognato interprete. Multis, et præsertim senibus ira; impotens insaniam facit, et importuna calumnia; hæc initio perturbat animum, paulatim vergit ad insaniam. Porro mulierum corpora multa infestant, et in hunc morbum adducunt, præcipuè si quæ oderint aut invideant, &c. hæc paulatim in insaniam tandem evadunt. [8] Sæva animi tempestas, tantos excitans fluctus ut statim ardescant oculi, os tremat, lingua titubet, dentes concrepent, &c.

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[1] Ora tument ira, fervescunt sanguine venæ,
Lumina Gorgoneo sæviùs angue micant.

They are void of reason, inexorable, blind, like beasts & monsters for the time, say and do they know not what, curse, swear, rail, fight, and what not? How can a mad man do more? As he said in the Comedy,[2] *Iracundia non sum apud me*, I am not mine own man [for anger]. If these fits be immoderate, continue long, or be frequent, without doubt they provoke madness. *Montanus, consil.* 21, had a melancholy Jew to his patient, he ascribes this for a principal cause: *irascebatur levibus de causis*, he was easily moved to anger. *Ajax* had no other beginning of his madness; and *Charles* the Sixth, that lunatick *French* King, fell into this misery out of the extremity of his passion, desire of revenge, and malice; [3] incensed against the Duke of *Britain*, he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep, for some days together, and in the end, about the Calends of *July*, 1392, he became mad upon his horse-back, drawing his sword, striking such as came near him promiscuously, and so continued all the days of his life. *Æmil. lib.* 10. *Gal. Hist. Hegesippus, de excid. urbis Hieros. l.* 1. *cap.* 37, hath such a story of *Herod*, that out of an angry fit became mad; [4] leaping out of his bed, he killed *Joseph*,[5] and played many such Bedlam pranks, the whole Court could not rule him for a long time after. Sometimes he was sorry and repented, much grieved for that he had done, *postquam deferbuit ira*,[6] by & by outrageous again. In hot cholerick bodies, nothing so soon causeth madness as this passion of anger, besides many other diseases, as *Pelesius* observes, *cap.* 21. *l.* 1. *de hum. affect. causis. Sanguinem imminuit, fel auget*:[7] and, as[8] *Valesius* controverts, *Med. controv. lib.* 5. *contro.* 8, many times kills them quite out. If this were the worst of this passion, it were more tolerable,[9] *but it ruins and subverts whole towns*,[10] *cities, families, and kingdoms. Nulla pestis humano generi pluris stetit*, saith *Seneca, de Ira, lib.* 1. [2. 1,] no plague hath done mankind so much harm. Look into our Histories, and you shall almost meet with no other subject, but what a company

[1] Ovid. [A. A. iii. 503, 504.] [2] Terence. [Heautontimorumenos, 920, 921.] [3] Infensus Britanniæ Duci, et in ultionem versus, nec cibum cepit, nec quietem; ad Calendas Julias, 1392, comites occidit. [4] Indignatione nimiâ furens, animique impotens, exsiliit de lecto, furentem non capiebat Aula, &c. [5] See Josephus, Ant. xv. 3.] [6] After his anger had cooled down.] [7] It diminishes blood, it increases bile.] [8] An ira possit hominem interimere. [9] Abernethy. [10] As Troy, sævæ memorem Junonis ob iram. [Virg. Æn. i. 4.]

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[1] of hare-brains have done in their rage! We may do well therefore, to put this in our procession [2] amongst the rest: *From all blindness of heart, from pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred, and malice, anger, and all such pestiferous perturbations, Good Lord, deliver us!*

SUBSECT. 10.—*Discontents, Cares, Miseries, &c., Causes.*

DISCONTENTS, cares, crosses, miseries, or whatsoever it is, that shall cause any molestation of spirits, grief, anguish, and perplexity, may well be reduced to this head. Preposterously placed here in some men's judgements they may seem; yet in that *Aristotle* in his [3] *Rhetorick* defines these cares, as he doth envy, emulation, *&c.*, still by grief, I think I may well rank them in this irascible row; being that they are, as the rest, both causes and symptoms of this disease, producing the like inconveniences, and are most part accompanied with anguish and pain. The common etymology will evince it, *cura quasi cor uro; dementes curæ, insomnes curæ, damnosæ curæ, tristes, mordaces, carnifices, &c.* biting, eating, gnawing, cruel, bitter, sick, sad, unquiet, pale, tetrick, miserable, intolerable cares, as the Poets [4] call them, worldly cares, and are as many in number as the sea sands. [5] *Galen, Fernelius, Felix Plater, Valescus de Taranta, &c.*, reckon afflictions, miseries, even all these contentions, and vexations of the mind, as principal causes, in that they take away sleep, hinder concoction, dry up the body, and consume the substance of it. They are not so many in number, but their causes be as diverse, and not one of a thousand free from them, or that can vindicate himself, whom that *Ate Dea*,

> [6] Per hominum capita molliter ambulans,
> Plantas pedum teneras habens:
>
> Over men's heads walking aloft,
> With tender feet treading so soft:

[1] Stultorum regum et populorum continet æstus. [Hor. Epp. i. ii. 8.] [2] Evidently used here to equal *Litany*. See Beresford-Hope's *Worship and Order*, p. 275.] [3] Lib. 2. [cap. 10.] Invidia est dolor, et ambitio est dolor, &c. [4] Insomnes, Claudianus. [In Rufinum, i. 38.] Tristes, Virg. [G. iv. 531.] Mordaces, Lucan, [ii. 681.] Edaces, Hor. [Od. ii. 11. 18.] Mœstæ, Amaræ, Ovid. [i. Ex Ponto, x. 3.] Damnosæ, [Ovid, Remed. 69.] Inquietæ, Mart. [x. 30. 3.] Urentes, Rodentes, Mant. &c. [5] Galen. l. 3. c. 7. de locis affectis. Homines sunt maxime melancholici, quando vigiliis multis, et sollicitudinibus, et laboribus, et curis, fuerint circumventi. [6] Lucian. Podag. [185, 6.]

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Homer's Goddess *Ate*, hath not involved into this discontented rank,[1] or plagued with some misery or other. *Hyginus*, *Fab.* 220, to this purpose hath a pleasant tale. Dame *Cura* by chance went over a brook, and, taking up some of the dirty slime, made an image of it; *Jupiter*, eftsoons coming by, put life to it, but *Cura* and *Jupiter* could not agree what name to give him, or who should own him. The matter was referred to *Saturn* as Judge, he gave this arbitrement; his name shall be *Homo ad humo, Cura eum possideat quamdiu vivat*, Care shall have him whilst he lives; *Jupiter* his soul, and *Tellus* his body, when he dies. But to leave tales, a general cause, a continuate cause, an inseparable accident to all men, is discontent, care, misery; were there no other particular affliction (which who is free from?) to molest a man in this life, the very cogitation of that common misery were enough to macerate, and make him weary of his life; to think that he can never be secure, but still in danger, sorrow, grief, and persecution. For to begin at the hour of his birth, as [2] *Pliny* doth elegantly describe it, *he is born naked, and falls* [3] *a whining at the very first, he is swaddled and bound up like a prisoner, cannot help himself, and so he continues to his life's end; cujusque feræ pabulum*,[4] saith [5] *Seneca*, impatient of heat and cold, impatient of labour, impatient of idleness, exposed to Fortune's contumelies. To a naked mariner *Lucretius* [6] compares him, cast on shore by shipwreck, cold and comfortless in an unknown land: [7] no estate, age, sex, can secure himself from this common misery. *A man that is born of a woman is of short continuance, and full of trouble*, Job 14. 1, 22; *and, while his flesh is upon him, he shall be sorrowful, and, while his soul is in him, it shall mourn. All his days are sorrow, and his travail grief, his heart also taketh not rest in the night*, Ecclus. 2. 23, and 2. 11. *All that is in it is sorrow and vexation of spirit.* [8] *Ingress, progress, regress, egress, much alike. Blindness seizeth on us*

[1] Omnia imperfecta, confusa, et perturbatione plena, Cardan. [2] Lib. 7, nat. hist. cap. 1. Hominem nudum, et ad vagitum edit natura. Flens ab initio, devinctus jacet, &c. [3] Δακρυχέων γινόμην καὶ δακρύσας ἀποθήσκω, ὃ γένος ἀνθρώπων πολυδάκρυτον, ἀσθενὲς, δικτρόν. Lacrimans natus sum, et lacrimans morior, &c. [No doubt Burton took this from Cardan, *De Consolatione*, *Lib.* 1. Cardan says Palladas (*sic*) is the author. In Cardan there are four lines. Burton takes lines 1, 3, only.] [4] The prey of every wild beast.] [5] Consolatio ad Marciam, xi. § 2.] [6] V. 222-227.] [7] Boethius. [8] Initium cæcitas, progressus labor, exitus dolor, error omnia: quem tranquillum, quæso, quem non laboriosum aut anxium diem egimus? Petrarch.

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in the beginning, labour in the middle, grief in the end, error in all. What day ariseth to us, without some grief, care, or anguish? Or what so secure and pleasing a morning have we seen, that hath not been over-cast before the evening? One is miserable, another ridiculous, a third odious. One complains of this grievance, another of that. *Aliquando nervi, aliquando pedes vexant,* (Seneca [1]) *nunc destillatio, nunc hepatis morbus; nunc deest, nunc superest sanguis:* now the head aches, then the feet, now the lungs, then the liver, *&c. Huic census exuberat, sed est pudori degener sanguis, &c.*; he is rich, but base born; he is noble, but poor; a third hath means, but he wants health, peradventure, or wit to manage his estate. Children vex one, wife a second, *&c. Nemo facilè cum conditione suâ concordat,* [Boethius, De Consol. Lib. ii. Prosa iv.] no man is pleased with his fortune, a pound of sorrow is familiarly mixt with a dram of content, little or no joy, little comfort, but [2] everywhere danger, contention, anxiety in all places. Go where thou wilt, and thou shalt find discontents, cares, woes, complaints, sickness, diseases, incumbrances, exclamations. *If thou look into the Market, there* (saith [3] *Chrysostom*) *is brawling and contention, if to the Court, there knavery and flattery, &c. if to a private man's house, there's cark & care, heaviness, &c.* As he said of old,

[4] Nil homine in terrâ spirat miserum magis almâ.

No creature so miserable as man, so generally molested, [5] *in miseries of body, in miseries of mind, miseries of heart, in miseries asleep, in miseries awake, in miseries wheresoever he turns,* as *Bernard* [6] found. *Numquid tentatio est vita humana super terram?* A mere temptation is our life, (*Austin. confess. lib.* 10. *c.* 28.) *catena perpetuorum malorum; & quis potest molestias & difficultates pati?* Who can endure the miseries of it? [7] *In prosperity we are insolent and intolerable, dejected in adversity, in all fortunes foolish & miserable.* [8] *In adversity I wish for prosperity, & in prosperity I am afraid of adversity. What mediocrity* [9] *may be found? where is*

[1 Epist. 120.] [2] Ubique periculum, ubique dolor, ubique naufragium, in hoc ambitu, quocunque me vertam. Lipsius. [3] Hom. 10. Si in forum iveris, ibi rixæ et pugnæ; si in curiam, ibi fraus, adulatio; si in domum privatam, &c. [4] Homer. [Iliad, xvii. 446, 447.] [5] Multis repletur homo miseriis, corporis miseriis, animi miseriis, dum dormit, dum vigilat, quocunque se vertit. Lususque rerum temporumque nascimur. [6] Tractatus de interiori domo, cap. xix.] [7] In blandiente fortuna intolerandi, in calamitatibus lugubres, semper stulti et miseri, Cardan. [8] Prospera in adversis desidero, et adversa prosperis timeo; quis inter hæc medius locus, ubi non sit humanæ vitæ tentatio? [9 *i.e.* middle position.]

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no temptation? what condition of life is free? [1] *Wisdom hath labour annexed to it, glory envy; riches & cares, children & incumbrances, pleasure & diseases, rest & beggary, go together: as if a man were therefore born,* (as the Platonists hold), *to be punished in this life for some precedent sins;* or that, as [2] *Pliny* complains, *Nature may be rather accounted a stepmother than a mother unto us, all things considered. No creature's life so brittle, so full of fear, so mad, so furious; only man is plagued with envy, discontent, griefs, covetousness, ambition, superstition.* Our whole life is an *Irish* Sea, wherein there is naught to be expected but tempestuous storms and troublesome waves, and those infinite;

> [3] Tantum malorum pelagus aspicio,
> Ut non sit inde enatandi copia;
>
> [So great a sea of troubles do I see,
> That to swim out from it does seem impossible;]

no *Halcyonian* times, wherein a man can hold himself secure, or agree with his present estate: but, as *Boethius* infers, [4] *there is something in every one of us, which before trial we seek, & having tried abhor:* [5] *we earnestly wish, and eagerly covet, and are eftsoons weary of it.* Thus betwixt hope and fear, suspicions, angers, [6] *Inter spemque metumque, timores inter & iras,* betwixt falling in, falling out, *&c.* we bangle away our best days, befool out our times, we lead a contentious, discontent, tumultuous, melancholy, miserable life; insomuch, that if we could foretell what was to come, and it put to our choice, we should rather refuse than accept of this painful life. In a word, the world itself is a maze, a labyrinth of errors, a desert, a wilderness, a den of thieves, cheaters, *&c.*, full of filthy puddles, horrid rocks, precipitiums, an ocean of adversity, an heavy yoke, wherein infirmities and calamities overtake and follow one another, as the sea waves; and if we scape *Scylla,* we fall foul on *Charybdis,*[7] and so, in per-

[1] Cardan. [De] Consol[atione, Lib. i.] Sapientiæ labor annexus, gloriæ invidia, divitiis curæ, soboli sollicitudo, voluptati morbi, quieti paupertas, ut quasi luendorum scelerum causa nasci hominem possis cum Platonistis agnoscere. [2] Lib. 7. cap. 1. Non satis æstimare, an melior parens natura homini, an tristior noverca fuerit. Nulli fragilior vita, pavor, confusio, rabies major; uni animantium ambitio data, luctus, avaritia, uni superstitio. [3] Euripides. [Hippolytus, 822, 823.] [4] De consol. l. 2. [Prosa iv.] Nemo facilè cum conditione sua concordat; inest singulis quod imperiti petant, experti horreant. [5] Esse in honore juvat, mox displicet. [6] Hor. [Epp. i. iv. 12.] [7] An allusion to the famous line, Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim. Philip Gualtier. *Alexandreis,* v. 301.]

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petual fear, labour, anguish, we run from one plague, one mischief, one burden, to another, *duram servientes servitutem*,[1] and you may as soon separate weight from lead, heat from fire, moistness from water, brightness from the sun, as misery, discontent, care, calamity, danger, from a man. Our Towns and Cities are but so many dwellings of human misery; *in which grief and sorrow* ([2]as he right well observes out of *Solon*) *innumerable troubles, labours of mortal men, and all manner of vices, are included as in so many pens.* Our villages are like mole-hills, and men as so many emmets, busy, busy still, going to and fro, in and out, and crossing one another's projects, as the lines of several *sea-cards* cut each other in a globe or map. *Now light and merry*, but ([3]as one follows it) *by-and-by sorrowful and heavy; now hoping, then distrusting; now patient, to-morrow crying out; now pale, then red; running, sitting, sweating, trembling, halting, &c.* Some few amongst the rest, or perhaps one of a thousand, may be *pullus Jovis*,[4] in the World's esteem, *gallinæ filius albæ*,[5] an happy and fortunate man, *ad invidiam felix*,[6] because rich, fair, well allied, in honour and office; yet peradventure ask himself, and he will say that, of all others, [7]he is most miserable and unhappy. A fair shoe, *hic soccus novus, elegans*, as he [8]said, *sed nescis ubi urat*, but thou knowest not where it pincheth. It is not another man's opinion can make me happy; but, as [9]*Seneca* well hath it, *he is a miserable wretch, that doth not account himself happy; though he be Sovereign Lord of a world, he is not happy, if he think himself not to be so: for what availeth it what thine estate is, or seem to others, if thou thyself dislike it?* A common humour it is of all men to think well of other men's fortunes, and dislike their own: [10]*Cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors:* but [11]*qui fit, Mæcenas, &c.* how comes it to pass, what's the cause of it? Many men are of such a perverse nature, they are well pleased with nothing (saith

[1] [Serving a hard servitude.] [2] Borrhæus in 6. Job. Urbes et oppida nihil aliud sunt quàm humanarum ærumnarum domicilia, quibus luctus et mœror, et mortalium varii infinitique labores, et omnis generis vitia, quasi septis includuntur. [3] Nat. Chytræus de lit. Europæ. Lætus nunc, mox tristis; nunc sperans, paulo post diffidens; patiens hodie, cras ejulans; nunc pallens, rubens, currens, sedens, claudicans, tremens, &c. [4] Cf. Virg. Ecl. iv. 49.] [5] Juvenal, xiii. 141.] [6] Cf. Petronius, cap. xi.] [7] Sua cuique calamitas præcipua. [8] Cn. Græcinus. [See Plutarch's *Conjugal Precepts*, § xxii.] [9] Epist. 9. [§§ 18, 19.] Miser est qui se beatissimum non judicat; licet imperet mundo, non est beatus, qui se non putat: quid enim refert, qualis status tuus sit, si tibi videtur malus? [10] Hor. Ep. i. [14. 11.] [11] Hor. Ser. 1. Sat. 1. [1.]

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[1] *Theodoret*) *neither with riches nor poverty, they complain when they are well and when they are sick, grumble at all fortunes, prosperity and adversity; they are troubled in a cheap year, in a barren, plenty or not plenty, nothing pleaseth them, war nor peace, with children, nor without.* This for the most part is the humour of us all, to be discontent, miserable, and most unhappy, as we think at least; and shew me him that is not so, or that ever was otherwise. *Quintus Metellus* his felicity is infinitely admired amongst the *Romans*, insomuch, that as [2] *Paterculus* mentioneth of him, you can scarce find of any nation, order, age, sex, one for happiness to be compared unto him: he had, in a word, *bona animi, corporis, & fortunæ*, goods of mind, body, and fortune; so had *P. Mutianus* [3] *Crassus. Lampito*, that *Lacedæmonian* Lady, was such another in [4] *Pliny's* conceit, *a King's wife, a King's mother, a King's daughter.* And all the world esteemed as much of *Polycrates* of *Samos.* The *Greeks* brag of their *Socrates, Phocion, Aristides;* the *Psophidians* in particular of their *Aglaus, omni vitâ felix, ab omni periculo immunis* (which by the way *Pausanias*[5] held impossible) the *Romans* of their [6] *Cato, Curius, Fabricius*, for their composed fortunes, and retired estates, government of passions, and contempt of the world: yet none of all these was happy, or free from discontent; neither *Metellus, Crassus*, nor *Polycrates*, for he [7] died a violent death, and so did *Cato:* and how much evil doth *Lactantius* and *Theodoret* speak of *Socrates*, a weak man, and so of the rest. There is no content in this life, but, as [8] he said, *all is vanity and vexation of spirit;* lame and imperfect. Hadst thou *Sampson's* hair, *Milo's* strength, *Scanderbeg's* arm, *Solomon's* wisdom, *Absalom's* beauty, *Crœsus* his wealth, *Pasetis obolum*,[9] *Cæsar's* valour, *Alexander's* spirit, *Tully's* or *Demosthenes'* eloquence, *Gyges'* ring, *Perseus'* *Pesagus*, and *Gorgon's* head, *Nestor's* years to come, all this would not make thee absolute, give thee

[1] Lib. de curat. Græc. affect. cap. 6. de providen. Multis nihil placet; atque adeo et divitias damnant et paupertatem; de morbis expostulant, bene valentes graviter ferunt; atque, ut semel dicam, nihil eos delectat, &c. [2] Vix ullius gentis, ætatis, ordinis, hominem invenies, cujus felicitatem fortunæ Metelli compares. [Lib. ii. c. xi.] [3] P. Crassus Mutianus quinque habuisse dicitur rerum bonarum maxima, quod esset ditissimus, quod esset nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, jurisconsultissimus, pontifex maximus. [Aulus Gellius, i. 13.] [4] [N. H.] Lib. 7. [cap. 42.] Regis filia, Regis uxor, Regis mater. [5] viii. 24.] [6] Qui nihil unquam mali aut dixit, aut fecit, aut sensit, qui bene semper fecit, quod aliter facere non potuit. [Paterculus, Hist. ii. 34.] [7] *i.e.* Polycrates, see Hdt. iii. 125.] [8] Solomon, Eccles. i. 14. [9] See Erasmus' Adag. p. 620 E. F. Also Suidas.]

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content, and true happiness, in this life, or so continue it. Even in the midst of all our mirth, jollity, and laughter, is sorrow and grief: or if there be true happiness amongst us, 'tis but for a time;

[1] Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè,
[Like handsome maid above, yet fish below,]

a fair morning turns to a lowering afternoon. *Brutus* and *Cassius*, once renowned, both eminently happy, yet you shall scarce find two (saith *Paterculus*[2]) *quos fortūna maturiús destituerit*, whom fortune sooner forsook. *Hannibal*, a conqueror all his life, met with his match, and was subdued at last.

Occurit forti, qui magè fortis erit.

One is brought in triumph, as *Cæsar* into *Rome*, *Alcibiades* into *Athens*, *coronis aureis donatus*, crowned, honoured, admired; by-and-by his statues demolished, he hissed out, massacred, &c. [3] *Magnus Gonsalvo*, that famous *Spaniard*, was of the Prince and people at first honoured, approved; forthwith confined & banished. *Admirandas actiones graves plerumque sequuntur invidiæ, & acres calumniæ*, 'tis *Polybius* his observation, grievous enmities, and bitter calumnies, commonly follow renowned actions.[4] One is born rich, dies a beggar: sound to day, sick to-morrow: now in most flourishing estate, fortunate and happy, by-and-by deprived of his goods by foreign enemies, robbed by thieves, spoiled, captivated, impoverished, as they of [5] *Rabbah, put under iron saws, and under iron harrows, and under axes of iron, and cast into the tile-kiln.*

[6] Quid me felicem toties jactâstis, amici?
Qui cecidit, stabili non erat ille gradu,
[Why, friends, so often did you call me happy?
He that has fallen never was secure.]

He that erst marched like *Xerxes* with innumerable armies, as rich as *Crœsus*, now shifts for himself in a poor cock-boat, is bound in iron chains with *Bajazet* the Turk, & a foot-stool with *Aurelian*, for a tyrannizing conqueror to trample on. So many casualties there are, that, as *Seneca* said of a City consumed with fire, *una dies interest inter maximam civitatem & nullam*,[7] onc

[1] Hor. Art. Poet. [4.] [2] ii. 69. 6.] [3] Jovius, vita ejus. [Gonsalvo de Cordova, 1453-1515, was a famous General of Ferdinand and Isabella.] [4] Polyb. Lib. i, cap. 36.] [5] 2 Sam. xii. 31. [6] Boethius lib. 1. Met. 1. [7] Epistle 91, § 3, memoriter.]

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day betwixt a great city and none: so many grievances from outward accidents, and from ourselves, our own indiscretion, inordinate appetite, one day betwixt a man and no man. And which is worse, as if discontents and miseries would not come fast enough upon us, *homo homini dæmon*;[1] we maul, persecute, and study how to sting, gall, and vex one another with mutual hatred, abuses, injuries; preying upon, and devouring, as so many [2]ravenous birds; and, as jugglers, pandars, bawds, cozening one another; or ranging as [3]wolves, tigers, and devils, we take a delight to torment one another; men are evil, wicked, malicious, treacherous, and [4]naught, not loving one another, or loving themselves, not hospitable, charitable, nor sociable, as they ought to be, but counterfeit, dissemblers, ambidexters, all for their own ends, hard-hearted, merciless, pitiless, and, to benefit themselves, they care not what mischief they procure to others. [5]*Praxinoe* and *Gorgo* in the Poet, when they had got to see those costly sights, they then cried *benè est*,[6] and would thrust out all the rest: when they are rich themselves, in honour preferred, full, and have even that they would, they debar others of those pleasures which youth requires, and they formerly have enjoyed. He sits at table in a soft chair at ease, but he doth not remember in the mean time that a tired waiter stands behind him, *an hungry fellow ministers to him full, he is athirst that gives him drink* (saith [7]*Epictetus*) *& is silent whiles he speaks his pleasure; pensive, sad, when he laughs. Pleno se proluit auro*;[8] he feasts, revels, and profusely spends, hath variety of robes, sweet musick, ease, and all the pleasure the world can afford, whilst many an hunger-starved poor creature pines in the street, wants clothes to cover him, labours hard all day long, runs, rides, for a trifle, fights peradventure from sun to sun, sick and ill, weary, full of pain and grief, is in great distress and sorrow of heart. He loathes and scorns his inferior, hates or emulates his equal, envies his superior, insults over all such as are under him, as if he were of another *species*, a demi-god, not subject

[1 Man is a devil to man.] [2 Omnes hic aut captantur, aut captant: aut cadavera quæ lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant. Petron. [cap. 116.] [3 Homo omne monstrum est, ille nam superat feras, luposque et ursos pectore obscuro tegit. Heins. [4 Quod Paterculus [Lib. i. cap. 12.] de populo Romano, durante bello Punico per annos 115, aut bellum inter eos, aut belli præparatio, aut infida pax, idem ego de mundi accolis. [5 Theocritus Idyll. 15. [77.] [[6 We are comfortable enough.] [7 Qui sedet in mensa, non meminit sibi otioso ministrare negotiosos, edenti esurientes, bibenti sitientes, &c. [Fragm. 34.] [[8 Virg. Æn i. 739. He drinks in golden goblets.]

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to any fall, or human infirmities. Generally they love not, are not beloved again: they tire out others' bodies with continual labour, they themselves living at ease, caring for none else, *sibi nati;* and are so far many times from putting to their helping hand, that they seek all means to depress even most worthy and well deserving, better than themselves, those whom they are by the laws of nature bound to relieve and help, as much as in them lies, they will let them cater-waul, starve, beg, and hang, before they will any ways (though it be in their power) assist, or ease: [1] so unnatural are they for the most part, so unregardful, so hard-hearted, so churlish, proud, insolent, so dogged, of so bad a disposition. And being so brutish, so devilishly bent one towards another, how is it possible, but that we should be discontent of all sides, full of cares, woes, and miseries?

If this be not a sufficient proof of their discontent and misery, examine every condition and calling apart. Kings, Princes, Monarchs, and Magistrates, seem to be most happy, but look into their estate, you shall [2] find them to be most encumbred with cares, in perpetual fear, agony, suspicion, jealousy: that, as [3] he said of a Crown, if they knew but the discontents that accompany it, they would not stoop to take it up. *Quem mihi regem dabis* (saith *Chrysostom*) *non curis plenum?* What King canst thou shew me not full of cares? [4] *Look not on his crown, but consider his afflictions: attend not his number of servants, but multitude of crosses.*[5] *Nihil aliud potestas culminis, quam tempestas mentis*, as *Gregory* seconds him; sovereignty is a tempest of the soul: *Sylla*-like they have brave titles, but terrible fits: *splendorem titulo, cruciatum animo:* which made [6] *Demosthenes* vow, *si vel ad tribunal, vel ad interitum duceretur*, if to be a Judge, or to be condemned, were put to his choice, he would be condemned. Rich men are in the same predicament: what their pains are, *stulti nesciunt, ipsi sentiunt*, they feel, fools perceive not, as I shall prove elsewhere, and their wealth is brittle, like children's rattles: they come and go, there is no certainty in them; those whom they

[1] Quando in adolescentia sua ipsi vixerint lautius et liberius, voluptates suas expleverint, illi gnatis imponunt duriores continentiæ leges. [2] Lugubris Ate luctusque ferus Regum tumidas obsidet arces. Res est inquieta felicitas. [Sen. Epist. 36. 1.] [3] Plus aloes quam mellis habet. [Juv. vi. 181.] Non humi jacentem tolleres. Valer. l. 7. c. 3. [4] Non diadema aspicias, sed vitam afflictione refertam, non catervas satellitum, sed curarum multitudinem. [5] De Comparatione Regis et Monachi.] [6] As Plutarch relateth. [Vita Demosthenis, § 26.]

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elevate, they do as suddenly depress, and leave in a vale of misery. The middle sort of men are as so many asses to bear burdens; or, if they be free, and live at ease, they spend themselves, and consume their bodies and fortunes with luxury and riot, contention, emulation, &c. The poor I reserve for another [1] place, and their discontents.

For particular professions, I hold, as of the rest, there's no content or security in any. On what course will you pitch, how resolve? To be a Divine? 'tis contemptible in the world's esteem: to be a Lawyer? 'tis to be a wrangler: to be a Physician? [2] *pudet lotii*, 'tis loathed: a Philosopher? a mad man: an Alchemist? a beggar: a Poet? *esurit*, an hungry Jack: a Musician? a player: a School-master? a drudge: an Husband-man? an Emmet: a Merchant? his gains are uncertain: a Mechanician? base: a Chirurgeon? [3] fulsome: a Tradesman? a [4] liar: a Tailor? a thief: a Serving-man? a slave: a Soldier? a butcher: a Smith, or a Metal-man? the pot's never from's nose: [5] a Courtier? a parasite. As he could find no tree in the wood to hang himself, I can shew no state of life to give content. The like you may say of all ages: children live in a perpetual slavery, still under that tyrannical government of masters: young men, and of riper years, subject to labour, and a thousand cares of the world, to treachery, falsehood, and cozenage,

> [6] ——— Incedit per ignes,
> Suppositos cineri doloso;
>
> [He treads on smothered fires, scarce extinct;]

[7] old are full of aches in their bones, cramps and convulsions, *silicernia*,[8] dull of hearing, weak-sighted, hoary, wrinkled, harsh, so much altered as that they cannot know their own face in a glass, a burden to themselves and others; after 70 years, *all is sorrow* (as *David*[9] hath it), they do not live but linger. If they be sound, they fear diseases; if sick, weary of their lives: *Non est vivere, sed valere, vita.*[10] One complains of want, a second of servitude,

[1] Sect. 2. memb. 4. subsect. 6. [2] Stercus et urina medicorum fercula prima. [See Vespasian's Life by Suetonius, § 23. See also Article *Mock-water* in *Nares' Glossary*. Cf. Shak. 2 Henry iv. Act i. sc. ii.] [3 = surgeon.] [4] Nihil lucrantur, nisi admodum mentiendo. Tull. Offic. [i. 42, 150, memoriter.] [5 Compare what is said about tinkers, Part 2. Sec. 4. Memb. 2. Subs. 1.] [6] Hor. l. 2. Od. 1. [7, 8.] [7] Rarus felix idemque senex. Seneca in Her. Œtæo. [643.] [8] Ter. Ad. iv. 2. 48. lit. funeral feasts.] [9] Moses rather, Ps. xc. 10.] [10] Martial, vi. 70. 15. It is not life to live, but to be well.]

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[1] another of a secret or incurable disease, of some deformity of body, of some loss, danger, death of friends, shipwreck, persecution, imprisonment, disgrace, repulse, [2] contumely, calumny, abuse, injury, contempt, ingratitude, unkindness, scoffs, flouts, unfortunate marriage, single life, too many children, no children, unhappy children, barrenness, false servants, banishment, oppression, frustrate hopes, and ill success, &c.

> [3] Cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem
> Delassare valent Fabium ;———"

talking *Fabius* will be tired before he can tell half of them; they are the subject of whole volumes, and shall (some of them) be more opportunely dilated elsewhere. In the mean time thus much I may say of them, that generally they crucify the soul of man, [4] attenuate our bodies, dry them, wither them, rivel them up like old apples, make them as so many anatomies, ([5] *ossa atque pellis est totus, ita curis macet*); they cause *tempus fædum & squalidum*, cumbersome days, *ingrataque tempora*, [6] slow, dull, and heavy times; make us howl, roar, and tear our hairs, as Sorrow did in [7] *Cebes'* Table, [8] and groan for the very anguish of our souls. Our hearts fail us, as David's did, *Psal.* 40. 12. *for innumerable troubles that compassed him;* and we are ready to confess with *Hezekiah, Isa.* 38. 17, *behold, for felicity I had bitter grief:* to weep with *Heraclitus*, to curse the day of our birth with *Jeremy*, 20. 14, and our stars with *Job:* to hold that axiom of *Silenus*, [9] [10] *better never to have been born, and the next best of all to die quickly:* or, if we must live, to abandon the world, as *Timon* did, creep into caves and holes, as our Anchorites; cast all into the sea, as *Crates Thebanus:* [11] or, as *Cleombrotus Ambraciotes'* [12] 400 auditors, precipitate ourselves to be rid of these miseries.

SUBSECT. 11.—*Concupiscible Appetite, as Desires, Ambition, Causes.*

THESE concupiscible and irascible appetites are as the two twists of a rope, mutually mixt one with the other, and both twining

[1] Omitto ægros, exsules, mendicos, quos nemo audet felices dicere. Card. lib. 8. c. 46. de rer. var. [2] Spretæque injuria formæ. [Virg. Æn. i. 27.] [3] Hor. [Sat. i. i. 13. 14.] [4] Attenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curæ. [Ovid, Met. iii. 396.] [5] Plautus. [Aulularia, iii. vi. 28. He is all skin and bones so thin is he with cares.] [6] Hor. Epp. i. i. 23.] [7] Hæc quæ crines evellit, ærumna. [8 § x.] [9] Erasmi Adagia, pp. 503-505.] [10] Optimum non nasci, aut cito mori. [11] Diogenes Laertius, Lib. vi. § 87.] [12] See Cic. Tusc. i. 34. Ovid, Ibis, 491, 492.]

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about the heart: both good, as *Austin* holds *l.* 14. *c.* 9, *de civ. Dei*, [1] *if they be moderate: both pernicious if they be exorbitant.* This concupiscible appetite, howsoever it may seem to carry with it a shew of pleasure and delight, and our concupiscences most part affect us with content and a pleasing object, yet, if they be in extremes, they rack and wring us on the other side. A true saying it is, *Desire hath no rest*, is infinite in itself, endless, and, as [2] one calls it, a perpetual rack, [3] or horse-mill, according to *Austin*, still going round as in a ring. They are not so continual, as divers, *faciliùs atomos denumerare possem*, saith [4] *Bernard, quàm motus cordis; nunc hæc, nunc illa cogito*, you may as well reckon up the motes in the Sun as them. [5] *It extends itself to every thing*, as *Guianerius* will have it, *that is superfluously sought after:* or to any [6] *fervent desire*, as *Fernelius* interprets it; be it in what kind soever, it tortures, if immoderate, and is (according to [7] *Plater* and others) an especial cause of Melancholy. *Multuosis concupiscentiis dilaniantur cogitationes meæ*, [8] *Austin* confessed, that he was torn a pieces with his manifold desires: and so doth [9] *Bernard* complain, *that he could not rest for them a minute of an hour: this I would have, and that, and then I desire to be such and such.* 'Tis a hard matter therefore to confine them, being they are so various and many, unpossible to apprehend all. I will only insist upon some few of the chief, and most noxious in their kind, as that exorbitant appetite and desire of honour, which we commonly call *ambition*: love of money, which is *covetousness*, and that greedy desire of gain: *self-love*, pride, and inordinate desire of *vain-glory* or applause; *love of study* in excess: *love of women*, (*which will* require a just volume of itself). Of the other I will briefly speak, and in their order.

Ambition, a proud covetousness, or a dry thirst of honour, a great torture of the mind, composed of envy, pride, and covetousness, a gallant madness, one [10] defines it, a pleasant poison, *Ambrose, a canker of the soul, an hidden plague*: [11] *Bernard, a secret*

[1] Bonæ, si rectam rationem sequuntur; malæ, si exorbitant. [2] Tho. Buovie. Prob. 18. [3] Molam asinariam. [Vulg. Matt. 18. 6.] [4] Tract. de Inter c. 92. [5] Circa quamlibet rem mundi hæc passio fieri potest, quæ superflue diligatur. Tract. 15, c. 17. [6] Ferventius desiderium. [7] Imprimis verò appetitus, &c. 3. de alien. ment. [8] Conf. i. c. 29. [9] Per diversa loca vagor, nullo temporis momento quiesco, talis et talis esse cupio, illud atque illud habere desidero. [Tractatus de Interiori Domo, cap. xix, memoriter.] [10] Ambros. l. 3. super Lucam. ærugo animæ. [11] Nihil animum cruciat, nihil molestiùs inquietat; secretum virus, pestis occulta, &c. Epist. 126.

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poison, the father of livor,[1] *and mother of hypocrisy, the moth of holiness, and cause of madness, crucifying and disquieting all that it takes hold of.* [2] *Seneca* calls it *rem sollicitam, timidam, vanam, ventosam,* a windy thing, a vain, solicitous, and fearful thing. For commonly they that, like *Sisyphus,*[3] roll this restless stone of ambition, are in a perpetual agony, still [4] perplexed, *semper taciti, tristesque recedunt,* (*Lucretius*[5]) doubtful, timorous, suspicious, loth to offend in word or deed, still cogging and colloguing, embracing, capping, cringing, applauding, flattering, fleering, visiting, waiting at men's doors, with all affability, counterfeit honesty and humility.[6] If that will not serve, if once this humour (as [7] *Cyprian* describes it) possess his thirsty soul, *ambitionis salsugo ubi bibulam animam possidet,* by hook and by crook he will obtain it, *& from his hole he will climb to all honours & offices, if it be possible for him to get up; flattering one, bribing another, he will leave no means unassay'd to win all.* [8] It is a wonder to see how slavishly these kind of men subject themselves, when they are about a suit, to every inferior person; what pains they will take, run, ride, cast, plot, countermine, protest and swear, vow, promise, what labours undergo, early up, down late; how obsequious and affable they are, how popular and courteous, how they grin and fleer upon every man they meet; with what feasting and inviting, how they spend themselves and their fortunes, in seeking that many times, which they had much better be without, as [9] *Cineas* the Orator told *Pyrrhus*: with what waking nights, painful hours, anxious thoughts, and bitterness of mind, *inter spemque metumque,*[10] distracted and tired, they consume the *interim* of their time. There can be no greater plague for the present. If they do obtain their suit, which with such cost and solicitude they have sought, they are not so freed, their anxiety is anew to begin, for

[1 = Envy.] [2] Ep. 88. [3] See Hom. Od. xi. 593-600. Cf. also Lucretius, iii. 995-997. This last passage was no doubt most in Burton's eye.] [4] Nihil infelicius his; quantus iis timor, quanta dubitatio, quantus conatus, quanta sollicitudo! nulla illis à molestiis vacua hora. [5] iii. 997, memoriter.] [6] Semper attonitus, semper pavidus quid dicat, faciatve: ne displiceat, humilitatem simulat, honestatem mentitur. [7] Cypr. Prolog. ad ser. To. 2. Cunctos honorat, universis inclinat, subsequitur, obsequitur; frequentat curias, visitat optimates, amplexatur, applaudit, adulatur: per fas et nefas è latebris, in omnem gradum ubi aditus patet se ingerit, discurrit. [8] Turbæ cogit ambitio regem inservire, ut Homerus Agamemnonem querentem inducit. [9] Plutarchus. [Vita Pyrrhi, § 14.] Quin convivemur, et in otio nos oblectemur, quoniam in promptu id nobis sit, &c. [10] Hor. Epp. i. iv. 12. betwixt hope and fear.]

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they are never satisfied; *nihil aliud nisi imperium spirant*, their thoughts, actions, endeavours are all for sovereignty & honour, like [1] *Lues Sforza*, that huffing Duke of Milan, *a man of singular wisdom, but profound ambition, born to his own, & to the destruction of Italy;* though it be to their own ruin, & friends' undoing, they will contend, they may not cease; but, as a dog in a wheel, a bird in a cage, or a squirrel in a chain, (so [2] *Budæus* compares them), [3] they climb and climb still, with much labour, but never make an end, never at the top. A Knight would be a Baronet, and then a Lord, and then a Viscount, and then an Earl, &c. a Doctor a Dean, and then a Bishop: from Tribune to Prætor: from Bailiff to Mayor: first this office, and then that; as *Pyrrhus* in [4] *Plutarch*, they will first have *Greece*, then *Africa*, and then *Asia*, and swell with Æsop's frog [5] so long, till in the end they burst, or come down with *Sejanus ad Gemonias Scalas*, [6] and break their own necks: or as *Evangelus* the piper, in *Lucian*, [7] that blew his pipe so long, till he fell down dead. If he chance to miss, and have a canvas, [8] he is in a hell on the other side; so dejected, that he is ready to hang himself, turn Heretick, Turk, or Traitor, in an instant. Enraged against his enemies, he rails, swears, fights, slanders, detracts, envies, murders: and, for his own part, *si appetitum explere non potest, furore corripitur;* if he cannot satisfy his desire (as [9] *Bodine* writes) he runs mad. So that both ways, hit or miss, he is distracted so long as his ambition lasts, he can look for no other but anxiety and care, discontent and grief, in the mean time; [10] madness itself, or violent death, in the end. The event of this is common to be seen in populous Cities, or in Princes' Courts; for a Courtier's life (as *Budæus* describes it) *is a* [11] *gallimaufry of ambition, lust, fraud, imposture, dissimulation, detrac-*

[1] Jovius, Hist. l. 1. vir singulari prudentia, sed profunda ambitione, ad exitium Italiæ natus. [2] Ut hedera arbori adhæret, sic ambitio, &c. [3] Lib. 3. de contemptu rerum fortuitarum. Magno conatu et impetu moventur; super eodem centro rotati, non proficiunt, nec ad finem perveniunt. [4] Vita Pyrrhi. [§ 14.] [5] Phædrus, i. 24.] [6] Val. Max. 6. 3, 3. Cf. Juv. x. 66, 67. The *Gemoniæ Scalæ* were steps at Rome on the Aventine Hill leading to the Tiber, to which the bodies of executed criminals were dragged by hooks, to be thrown into the Tiber.] [7] Adversus indoctum, §§ 8-10.] [8] See Nares' Glossary on this word.] [9] Ambitio in insaniam facile delabitur, si excedat. Patritius l. 4. tit. 20. de regis instit. [10] Lib. 5. de rep. cap. 1. [11] Imprimis vero appetitus, seu concupiscentia nimia rei alicujus, honestæ vel inhonestæ, phantasiam lædunt; unde multi ambitiosi, philauti, irati, avari, insani, &c. Felix Plater l. 3. de mentis alien.

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tion, envy, pride; [1] *the Court, a common conventicle of flatterers, time-servers, politicians, &c.* or (as [2] *Anthony Perez* will) *the suburbs of hell itself.* If you will see such discontented persons, there you shall likely find them.[3] And, which he observed of the markets of old *Rome,*

> Qui perjurum convenire vult hominem, mitto in Comitium;
> Qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinæ sacrum;
> Dites, damnosos maritos, sub Basilicâ quærito, &c.

Perjur'd knaves, Knights of the Post, liars, crackers, bad husbands, &c. keep their several stations, they do still, and always did, in every commonwealth.

SUBSECT. 12.—Φιλαργυρία, Covetousness, a Cause.

PLUTARCH, in his [4] book whether the diseases of the body be more grievous than those of the soul, is of opinion, *if you will examine all the causes of our miseries in this life, you shall find them most part to have had their beginning from stubborn anger, that furious desire of contention, or some unjust or immoderate affection, as covetousness, &c.* From whence *are wars and contentions amongst you?* [5] *S. James* asks. I will add usury, fraud, rapine, Simony, oppression, lying, swearing, bearing false witness, &c. are they not from this fountain of covetousness, that greediness in getting, tenacity in keeping, sordidity in spending? that they are so wicked, [6] *unjust against God, their neighbour, themselves,* all comes hence. *The desire of money is the root of all evil, and they that lust after it, pierce themselves through with many sorrows,* 1 *Tim.* 6. 10. *Hippocrates* therefore, in his Epistle to *Crateva,* an Herbalist, gives him this good counsel, that, if it were possible, [7] *amongst other herbs, he should cut up that weed of covetousness by the roots, that there be no remainder left; and then know this for a certainty, that together with their bodies, thou mayst*

[1] Aulica vita colluvies ambitionis, cupiditatis, simulationis, imposturæ, fraudis, invidiæ, superbiæ Titannicæ; diversorium aula, et commune conventiculum assentandi artificum, &c. Budæus de asse. lib 5. [2] In his Aphor. [3] Plautus Curcul. Act. 4. Scen. 1. [9-11.] [4] [§ iv.] Si examines, omnes miseriæ causas vel a furioso contendendi studio, vel ab injusta cupiditate, originem traxisse scies. Idem fere Chrysostomus, Com. in c. 6. ad Roman. ser. 11. [5] Cap. 4. 1. [6] Ut sit iniquus in Deum, in proximum, in seipsum. [7] Si vero, Crateva, inter cæteras herbarum radices, avaritiæ radicem secare posses amaram, ut nullæ reliquiæ essent, probe scito, &c.

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quickly cure all the diseases of their minds. For it is indeed the pattern, image, epitome of all Melancholy, the fountain of many miseries, much discontent, care and woe; this *inordinate or immoderate desire of gain, to get or keep money,* as [1] *Bonaventure* defines it: or, as *Austin* describes it, a madness of the soul; *Gregory,* a torture; *Chrysostom,* an insatiable drunkenness: *Cyprian,* blindness, *speciosum supplicium,* a plague subverting Kingdoms, families, an [2] incurable disease; *Budæus,* an ill habit, [3] *yielding to no remedies*: neither *Æsculapius* nor *Plutus* can cure them: a continual plague, saith *Solomon,* and vexation of spirit, another Hell. I know there be some of opinion that covetous men are happy, and worldly wise, that there is more pleasure in getting of wealth than in spending, and no delight in the world like unto it. 'Twas [4] *Bias'* problem of old, *With what art thou not weary? with getting money. What is most delectable? to gain.* What is it, trow you, that makes a poor man labour all his life time, carry such great burdens, fare so hardly, macerate himself, and endure so much misery, undergo such base offices with so great patience, to rise up early, & lie down late, if there were not an extraordinary delight in getting & keeping of money? What makes a Merchant that hath no need, *satis superque domi,*[5] to range all over the world, through all those intemperate [6] Zones of heat & cold; voluntarily to venture his life, and be content with such miserable famine, nasty usage, in a stinking ship, if there were not a pleasure & hope to get money, which doth season the rest, and mitigate his indefatigable pains? What makes them go into the bowels of the earth an hundred fathom deep, endangering their dearest lives, enduring damps and filthy smells, when they have enough already, if they could be content, and no such cause to labour, but an extraordinary delight they take in riches? This may seem plausible at first shew, a popular and strong argument; but let him that so thinks consider better of it, and he shall soon perceive that it is far otherwise than he supposeth; it may be haply pleasing at the first, as most part all melancholy is. For such

[1] Cap. 6. Dietæ salutis. Avaritia est amor immoderatus pecuniæ vel acquirendæ vel retinendæ. [2] Malus est morbus, maleque afficit avaritia, siquidem censeo, &c. Avaritia difficilius curatur quam insania: quoniam hac omnes fere medici laborant. Hip. Ep. Abderit. [3] Ferum profecto dirumque ulcus animi, remediis non cedens, medendo exasperatur. [4] Extremos currit mercator ad Indos. Hor. [Epp. i. i. 45.] [5] That hath enough and to spare at home.] [6] Qua re non es lassus? lucrum faciendo. Quid maxime delectabile? lucrari.

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men likely have some *lucida intervalla*,[1] pleasant symptoms intermixt. But you must note that of [2] *Chrysostom*, *'Tis one thing to be rich, another to be covetous;* generally they are all fools, dizzards, mad-men, [3] miserable wretches, living besides themselves, *sine arte fruendi*,[4] in perpetual slavery, fear, suspicion, sorrow, and discontent, *plus aloes quam mellis habent;*[5] and are, indeed, *rather possessed by their money than possessors*, as [6] *Cyprian* hath it; *mancipati pecuniis*, bound prentice to their goods, as [7] *Pliny*; or as *Chrysostom*, *servi divitiarum*, slaves & drudges to their substance; and we may conclude of them all, as [8] *Valerius* doth of *Ptolemæus*, King of *Cyprus*, *he was in title a King of that Island, but in his mind a miserable drudge of money:*

[9] potiore metallis
Libertate carens———

wanting his liberty, which is better than gold. *Damasippus* the *Stoick*, in *Horace*, proves that all mortal men dote by fits, some one way, some another, but that covetous men [10] are madder than the rest; and he that shall truly look into their estates, & examine their symptoms, shall find no better of them, but that they are all [11] fools, as *Nabal* was, *re & nomine* (1. *Reg.*[12] 15.) For what greater folly can there be, or [13] madness, than to macerate himself when he need not? and when, as *Cyprian* notes, [14] *he may be freed from his burden, and eased of his pains, will go on still, his wealth increasing, when he hath enough, to get more, to live besides himself*, to starve his *Genius*, keep back from his wife [15] and children, neither letting them nor other friends use or enjoy that which is theirs by right, and which they much need perhaps; like a hog, or dog in the manger, he doth only keep it, because it shall do nobody else good, hurting himself and others; and, for a little

[1] Lucid intervals.] [2] Hom. 2. Aliud avarus, aliud dives. [3] Divitiæ ut spinæ animum hominis timoribus, sollicitudinibus, angoribus, mirificè pungunt, vexant, cruciant. Greg. Hom. [In Evangelia, Lib. i. Hom. xv.] [4] With no notion of enjoyment.] [5] Juv. vi. 181. They have more bitterness than honey.] [6] Epist. ad Donat. cap. 2. [7] Lib. 9. ep. 30. [8] Lib. 9. cap. 4. Insulæ rex titulo, sed animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium. [9] Hor. 10. [39, 40.] lib. 1. [Epp.] [10] Danda est hellebori multo pars maxima avaris. [Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 82.] [11] Luke xii. 20. Stulte, hac nocte eripiam animam tuam. [12] = Sam.] [13] Opes quidem mortalibus sunt dementia. Theog. [230.] [14] Ed. 2. lib. 2. Exonerare cum se possit et relevare ponderibus, pergit magis fortunis augentibus pertinaciter incubare. [15] Non amicis, non liberis, non ipsi sibi quidquam impertit; possidet ad hoc tantum, ne possidere alteri liceat, &c. Hieron. ad Paulin. Tam deest quod habet quam quod non habet.

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momentary pelf, damn his own soul? They are commonly sad and tetrick by nature, as *Ahab's* spirit was because he could not get *Naboth's* Vineyard, (1 *Reg.*[1] 21.) and if he lay out his money at any time, though it be to necessary uses, to his own Children's good, he brawls and scolds, his heart is heavy, much disquieted he is, and loth to part from it: *miser abstinet & timet uti, Hor.*[2] He is of a wearish, dry, pale constitution, and cannot sleep for cares and worldly business, his riches, saith *Solomon*, will not let him sleep, and unnecessary business which he heapeth on himself; or, if he do sleep, 'tis a very unquiet, interrupt, unpleasing sleep, with his bags in his arms,

> ——— congestis undique saccis
> Indormit inhians.———[3]

And though he be at a banquet, or at some merry feast, *he sighs for grief of heart* (as [4] *Cyprian* hath it) *and cannot sleep though it be upon a down bed; his wearish body takes no rest,* [5] *troubled in his abundance, & sorrowful in plenty, unhappy for the present, and more unhappy in the life to come, Basil.* He is a perpetual drudge, [6] restless in his thoughts, & never satisfied, a slave, a wretch, a dust-worm; *semper quod idolo suo immolet, sedulus observat, Cypr. prolog. ad sermon.* still seeking what sacrifice he may offer to his golden god, *per fas & nefas*, he cares not how; his trouble is endless, [7] *crescunt divitiæ, tamen curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei:* his wealth increaseth, and the more he hath, the more [8] he wants: like *Pharaoh's* lean kine, which devoured the fat, & were not satisfied.[9] [10] *Austin* therefore defines covetousness, *quarumlibet rerum inhonestam & insatiabilem cupiditatem*, an unhonest & unsatiable desire of gain; & in one of his Epistles compares it to Hell, [11] *which devours all, and yet never hath enough, a bottomless pit*, an endless misery; *in quem scopulum avaritiæ cadaverosi senes ut plurimùm impingunt*,[12] and, that which is their

[1 = 1 Kings.] [2 A. P. 170.] [3 Hor. Sat. i. i. 70, 71.] [4 Epist. 2. lib. 2. Suspirat in convivio, bibat licet gemmis, et toro molliore marcidum corpus condiderit, vigilat in pluma. [5 Angustatur ex abundantia, contristatur ex opulentia, infelix præsentibus bonis, infelicior in futuris. [6 Illorum cogitatio nunquam cessat, qui pecunias supplere diligunt. Guianer. tract. 15. c. 17. [7 Hor. 3. Od. 24. [63, 64.] Quo plus sunt potæ, plus sitiuntur aquæ. [Ov. Fasti. i. 216.] [8 Hor. 1. 2. Sat. 6. [8, 9.] O si angulus ille Proximus accedat, qui nunc deformat agellum! [9 Gen. xli.] [10 Lib. 3. de lib. arbit. Immoritur studiis, et amore senescit habendi. [Hor. Epp. i. vii. 85.] [11 Avarus vir inferno est similis, &c. modum non habet, hoc egentior quo plura habet. [12 On which rock of avarice pale old men mainly split.]

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greatest corrosive, they are in continual suspicion, fear, and distrust. He thinks his own wife and children are so many thieves, and go about to cozen him, his servants are all false:

> Rem suam periisse, seque eradicarier,
> Et divûm atque hominum clamat continuò fidem,
> De suo tigillo fumus si quâ exit foras.[1]
>
> If his doors creek, then out he cries anon,
> His goods are gone, and he is quite undone.

Timidus Plutus, an old proverb, as fearful as *Plutus:* so doth *Aristophanes*, & *Lucian*, bring him in fearful still, pale, anxious, suspicious, and trusting no man. [2]*They are afraid of tempests for their corn, they are afraid of their friends, lest they should ask something of them, beg or borrow; they are afraid of their enemies, lest they hurt them, thieves lest they rob them; they are afraid of war & afraid of peace, afraid of rich & afraid of poor; afraid of all.* Last of all, they are afraid of want, that they shall die beggars, which makes them lay up still, and dare not use that they have: (what if a dear year come, or dearth, or some loss?) and were it not that they are loth to [3]lay out money on a rope, they would be hanged forthwith, and sometimes die to save charges, & make away themselves, if their corn & cattle miscarry, though they have abundance left, as [4]*A. Gellius* notes. [5]*Valerius* makes mention of one that in a famine sold a mouse for 200 pence, and famished himself: such are their cares, [6]griefs and perpetual fears. These symptoms are elegantly expressed by *Theophrastus* in his character of a covetous man; [7]*lying in bed, he asked his wife whether she shut the trunks and chests fast, the capcase be sealed,*[8] *and whether the hall door be bolted; and, though she say all is well, he riseth out of his bed in his shirt, bare foot and barelegged, to see whether it be so, with a dark lanthorn searching every corner,*

[1 Plaut. Aulularia, ii. iv. 20-22.] [2 Erasm. Adag. chil. 3. cent. 7. pr[ov. 2. *Timidus Plutus.* From "Timidus Plutus—afraid of all," is all in Erasmus l. c.] Nulli fidentes, omnium formidant opes, ideo pavidum malum vocat Euripides: metuunt tempestates ob frumentum, amicos ne rogent, inimicos ne lædant, fures ne rapiant, bellum timent, pacem timent, summos, medios, infimos. [3 Hall, Char[acters. Book ii. Of the Covetous.] [4 A. Gellius lib. 3. cap. 1. Interdum eo sceleris perveniunt ob lucrum, ut vitam propriam commutent. [5 Lib. 7. cap. 6. [6 Omnes perpetuo morbo agitantur; suspicatur omnes timidus, sibique ob aurum insidiari putat, numquam quiescens. Plin. Procem. lib. 14. [7 Cap. 18. In lecto jacens, interrogat uxorem an arcam probe clausit, an capsula, &c. E lecto surgens nudus et absque calceis, accensa lucerna omnia obiens et lustrans, et vix somno indulgens. [8 = Chest, cupboard, or money-box.]

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scarce sleeping a wink all night. *Lucian*, in that pleasant and witty dialogue called *Gallus*, brings in *Micyllus* the cobbler disputing with his cock, sometime *Pythagoras;* where after much speech, *pro* and *con*, to prove the happiness of a mean estate, and discontents of a rich man, *Pythagoras* his cock in the end, to illustrate by examples that which he had said, brings him to *Gnipho* the usurer's house at mid-night, and after that to *Eucrates;* whom they found both awake, casting up their accounts, and telling of their money, [1] lean, dry, pale and anxious, still suspecting lest some body should make a hole through the wall, and so get in; or, if a rat or mouse did but stir, starting upon a sudden, and running to the door to see whether all were fast. *Plautus*, in his *Aulularia*, makes old *Euclio* [2] commanding *Staphyla* his wife to shut the doors fast, and the fire to be put out, lest any body should make that an errand to come to his house; when he washed his hands, [3] he was loth to fling away the foul water; complaining that he was undone, because the smoke got out of his roof. And as he went from home, seeing a crow scrat upon the muck-hill, returned in all haste, taking it for *malum omen*, an ill sign, his money was digged up; [4] with many such. He that will but observe their actions, shall find these and many such passages not feigned for sport, but really performed, verified indeed by such covetous and miserable wretches, and that it is

> ——— [5] manifesta phrenesis,
> Ut locuples moriaris, egenti vivere fato,

a mere madness, to live like a wretch, and die rich.

SUBSECT. 13.—*Love of Gaming, &c. and pleasures immoderate; Causes.*

IT is a wonder to see, how many poor, distressed, miserable wretches, one shall meet almost in every path & street, begging for an alms, that have been well descended, and sometime in

[1] Curis extenuatus, vigilans, et secum supputans. [Gallus, § 31.] [2] Cave quemquam alienum in ædes intromiseris. Ignem extingui volo, ne causæ quidquam sit quod te quisquam quæritet. Si bona Fortuna veniat, ne intromiseris. Occlude sis fores ambobus pessulis. Discrucior animi quia domo abeundum est mihi. Nimis hercule invitus abeo, nec quid agam scio. [Plautus, Aulularia, i. iii. 12 sq.] [3] Plorat aquam profundere, &c. periit dum fumus de tigillo exit foras. [Do. ii. iv. 29, 21, 22.] [4] Do. iv. iii.] [5] Juv. Sat. 14. [136, 137.]

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flourishing estate, now ragged, tattered, & ready to be starved, lingering out a painful life, in discontent & grief of body and mind, and all through immoderate lust, gaming, pleasure, & riot. 'Tis the common end of all sensual epicures and brutish prodigals, that are stupefied & carried away headlong with their several pleasures and lusts. *Cebes* in his Table,[1] S. *Ambrose* in his second book of *Abel* & *Cain*, and amongst the rest *Lucian*, in his tract *de Mercede conductis*,[2] hath excellent well deciphered such men's proceedings in his picture of *Opulentia*, whom he feigns to dwell on the top of a high mount, much sought after by many suitors; at their first coming they are generally entertained by *Pleasure* and *Dalliance*, and have all the content that possibly may be given, so long as their money lasts; but, when their means fail, they are contemptibly thrust out a backdoor, headlong, and there left to *Shame*, *Reproach*, *Despair*. And he that had at first so many attendants, parasites, and followers, young and lusty, richly arrayed, and all the dainty fare that might be had, with all kind of welcome and good respect, is now upon a sudden stript of all, [3]pale, naked, old, diseased and forsaken, cursing his stars, and ready to strangle himself; having no other company but *Repentance*, *Sorrow*, *Grief*, *Derision*, *Beggary*, and *Contempt*, which are his daily attendants to his life's end. As the [4]prodigal son had exquisite musick, merry company, dainty fare at first, but a sorrowful reckoning in the end; so have all such vain delights and their followers. [5]*Tristes voluptatum exitus, ut quisquis voluptatum suarum reminisci volet, intelliget*, as bitter as gall & wormwood is their last; grief of mind, madness itself. The ordinary rocks upon which such men do impinge & precipitate themselves, are Cards, Dice, Hawks, & Hounds, *insanum venandi studium*, one [Agrippa, de vanit. scient. cap. 77.] calls it, *insanæ substructiones:* their mad structures, disports, plays, &c. when they are unseasonably used, imprudently handled, and beyond their fortunes. Some men are consumed by mad phantastical buildings, by making Galleries, Cloisters, Terraces, Walks, Orchards, Gardens, Pools, Rillets, Bowers, & such like places of pleasure; *inutiles domos*,[6] [7]*Xenophon* calls them, which, howsoever

[1 § ix.] [2 Cap. 42.] [3 Ventricosus, nudus, pallidus, læva pudorem occultans, dextra seipsum strangulans. Occurrit autem exeunti Poenitentia, his miserum conficiens, &c. [4 Luke xv. [5 Boethius. [De Consol. Philosophiæ, Lib. iii. Prosa. vii.] [6 Useless buildings.] [7 In Oeconom. [cap. 3.] Quid si nunc ostendam eos qui magna vi argenti domus inutiles ædificant? inquit Socrates.

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they be delightsome things in themselves, and acceptable to all beholders, an ornament, and befitting some great men, yet unprofitable to others, & the sole overthrow of their estates. *Forestus*, in his observations, hath an example of such a one that became melancholy upon the like occasion, having consumed his substance in an unprofitable building, which would afterward yield him no advantage. Others, I say, are [1] overthrown by those mad sports of Hawking and Hunting; honest recreations, and fit for some great men, but not for every base inferior person. Whilst they will maintain their Falconers, Dogs, and Hunting Nags, their wealth, saith [2] *Salmuth, runs away with Hounds, and their fortunes fly away with Hawks:* they persecute beasts so long, till, in the end, they themselves degenerate into beasts, as [3] *Agrippa* taxeth them, [4] *Actæon* like,[5] for as he was eaten to death by his own dogs, so do they devour themselves and their patrimonies, in such idle and unnecessary disports, neglecting in the mean time their more necessary business, and to follow their vocations. Over-mad too sometimes are our great men in delighting and doting too much on it: [6] *when they drive poor husbandmen from their tillage*, as [7] *Sarisburiensis* objects, *Polycrat. l.* 1. *c.* 4, *fling down country Farms, and whole Towns, to make Parks and Forests, starving men to feed beasts, and* [8] *punishing in the mean time such a man that shall molest their game, more severely than him that is otherwise a common hacker, or a notorious thief.* But great men are some ways to be excused, the meaner sort have no evasion why they should not be counted mad. *Poggius*,[9] the *Florentine*, tells a merry story to this purpose, condemning the folly and impertinent business of such kind of persons.[10] A physician of *Milan*, said he, that cured mad men, had a pit of water in his house, in which he

[1] Sarisburiensis Polycrat. l. 1. c. 4. Venatores omnes adhuc institutionem redolent Centaurorum. Raro invenitur quisquam eorum modestus et gravis, raro continens, et, ut credo, sobrius unquam. [2] Pancirol. Tit. 23. Avolant opes cum accipitre. [3] Insignis venatorum stultitia, et supervacanea cura eorum, qui, dum nimium venationi insistunt, ipsi, abjecta omni humanitate, in feras degenerant, ut Actæon, &c. [Agrippa, de vanit. scient. cap. 77.] [4] Sabin. in Ovid. Metamor. [iii. 413.] [5] See Ovid. Met. iii. 138-250.] [6] Agrippa, de vanit. scient. [cap. 77.] Insanum venandi studium, dum à novalibus arcentur agricolæ, subtrahunt prædia rusticis, agri colonis præcluduntur sylvæ et prata pastoribus, ut augeantur pascua feris.——Majestatis reus agricola, si gustarit. [7] A novalibus suis arcentur agricolæ, dum feræ habeant vagandi libertatem: istis, ut pascua augeantur, prædia subtrahuntur, &c. Sarisburiensis. [8] Feris quam hominibus æquiores. Camden de Guil. Conq. qui 36 Ecclesias matrices depopulatus est ad Forestam Novam. [In Hampshire.] Mat. Paris. [9 Poggio Bracciolini.] [10 Facetiæ, pp. 421, 422, Poggii Opera, 1538.]

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kept his patients, some up to the knees, some to the girdle, some to the chin, *pro modo insaniæ*, as they were more or less affected. One of them by chance, that was well recovered, stood in the door, and, seeing a gallant ride by with a hawk on his fist, well mounted, with his Spaniels after him, would needs know to what use all this preparation served. He made answer, to kill certain fowl. The patient demanded again, what his fowl might be worth which he killed in a year. He replied, 5 or 10 Crowns; & when he urged him farther what his Dogs, Horse, and Hawks, stood him in, he told him 400 Crowns. With that the patient bad [him] be gone, as he loved his life and welfare, "for if our master come and find thee here, he will put thee in the pit amongst mad men up to the chin:" taxing the madness and folly of such vain men that spend themselves in those idle sports, neglecting their business and necessary affairs. *Leo Decimus*,[1] that hunting Pope, is much discommended by [2]*Jovius* in his life, for his immoderate desire of hawking and hunting, in so much that (as he saith) he would sometimes live about *Ostia* weeks and months together, leave suitors [3]unrespected, Bulls and Pardons unsigned, to his own prejudice, and many private men's loss; [4] *and if he had been by chance crossed in his sport, or his game not so good, he was so impatient, that he would revile and miscall many times men of great worth with most bitter taunts, look so sour, be so angry and waspish, so grieved & molested, that it is incredible to relate it.* But if he had good sport, and been well pleased on the other side, *incredibili munificentia*, with unspeakable bounty and munificence he would reward all his fellow-hunters, and deny nothing to any suitor, when he was in that mood. To say truth, 'tis the common humour of all gamesters, as *Galatæus* observes; if they win, no men living are so jovial and merry, but [5] if they lose, though it be but a trifle, two or three games at Tables, or a dealing at Cards for two pence a game, they are so cholerick & testy that no man may speak with them, and break many times into violent passions, oaths, imprecations, and unbeseeming speeches, little differing from mad men for the time. Generally of all gamesters and

[1 = Leo X.] [2] Tom. 2. de vitis illustrium, l. 4. de vit. Leon. 10. [3] Venationibus adeo perditè studebat et aucupiis. [4] Aut infeliciter venatus tam impatiens inde, ut summos sæpe viros acerbissimis contumeliis oneraret, et incredibile est quali vultûs animique habitu dolorem iracundiamque præferret, &c. [5] Unicuique autem hoc a natura insitum est, ut doleat, sicubi erraverit aut deceptus sit.

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gaming, if it be excessive, thus much we may conclude, that, whether they win or lose for the present, their winnings are not *munera fortunæ, sed insidiæ*, as that wise *Seneca* determines, not fortune's gifts, but baits, the common *catastrophe* is [1] beggary. [2] *Ut pestis vitam, sic adimit alea pecuniam*, as the plague takes away life, [so] doth gaming goods, for [3] *omnes nudi, inopes & egeni.*[4]

> [5] Alea Scylla vorax, species certissima furti,
> Non contenta bonis, animum quoque perfida mergit,
> Fœda, furax, infamis, iners, furiosa, ruina.

For a little pleasure they take, and some small gains and gettings now and then, their wives and children are wringed in the mean time, & they themselves with loss of body and soul rue it in the end. I will say nothing of those prodigious prodigals, *perdendæ pecuniæ genitos*,[6] as he [7] taxed *Anthony, qui patrimonium sine ulla fori calumnia amittunt*, saith [8] *Cyprian*, and [9] mad Sybaritical spendthrifts, *quique una comedunt patrimonia cœna;* [10] that eat up all at a breakfast, at a supper, or amongst Bawds, Parasites, and Players, consume themselves in an instant, as if they had flung it into [11] *Tybur*, with great wagers, vain and idle expences, &c. not themselves only, but even all their friends, as a man desperately swimming drowns him that comes to help him, by suretyship and borrowing they will willingly undo all their associates and allies; [12] *irati pecuniis*, as he saith, angry with their money. [13] *What with a wanton eye, a liquorish tongue, and a gamesome hand*, when they have indiscreetly impoverished themselves, mortgaged their wits together with their lands, and entombed their ancestors' fair possessions in their bowels, they may lead the rest of their days in prison, as many times they do; they repent at leisure; and when all is gone begin to be thrifty: but *sera est in fundo parsimonia*,[14] 'tis then too late to look about; their [15] end is misery, sorrow,

[1] Juven. Sat. [i. 89, 90.] Nec enim loculis comitantibus itur Ad casum tabulæ, posita sed luditur arca. Lemnius, instit. cap. 44. Mendaciorum quidem, et perjuriorum, et paupertatis, mater est alea, nullam habens patrimonii reverentiam, quum illud effuderit, sensim in furta delabitur et rapinas. Saris. Polycrat. l. 1. c. 5. [2] Damhoderus. [3] Dan. Souter. [4] For all gamblers are cleaned out, poor and needy.] [5] Petrar. dial. 27. [6] Born to squander away money.] [7] Sallust. [Hist. iii. 54. Dietsch.] [8] Tom. 3. Ser. de Alea. [9] Plutus in Aristoph. calls all such gamesters madmen. Si in insanum hominem contigero. [Aristophanes, Plutus, 242.] Spontaneum ad se trahunt furorem, et os, et nares, et oculos, rivos faciunt furoris et diversoria. Chrys. Hom. 17. [10] Juv. i. 138.] [11] Paschasius Justus, l. 1. de alea. [12] Seneca. [13] Hall [Characters, Book ii. Of the Unthrift.] [14] [Seneca, Epist. 1. 4. Cf. Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 369.] [15] Sat. 11. [Juv.] [38-40.] Sed deficiente crumena, et crescente gula, quis te manet exitus—rebus in ventrem mersis?

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shame, and discontent. And well they deserve to be infamous and discontent, [1]*catomidiari in Amphitheatro*, as by *Adrian* the Emperor's edict they were of old, *decoctores bonorum suorum*, so he calls them, prodigal fools, to be publickly shamed, and hissed out of all societies, rather than to be pitied or relieved. [2]The *Tuscans* and *Bœotians* brought their bankrupts into the market place in a bier with an empty purse carried before them, all the boys following, where they sat all day, *circumstante plebe*,[3] to be infamous and ridiculous. At [4] *Padua* in *Italy* they have a stone called *the stone of turpitude*, near the Senate house, where spendthrifts, and such as disclaim nonpayment of debts, do sit with their hinder parts bare, that by that note of disgrace others may be terrified from all such vain expence, or borrowing more than they can tell how to pay. The [5]*civilians* of old set guardians over such brain-sick prodigals, as they did over mad men, to moderate their expences, that they should not so loosely consume their fortunes, to the utter undoing of their families.

I may not here omit those two main plagues, and common dotages of human kind, Wine and Women, which have infatuated and besotted myriads of people. They go commonly together.

> [6] Qui vino indulget, quemque alea decoquit, ille
> In Venerem putris———
>
> [He who is fond of wine, whom dice undoes,
> Is also prone to Venus.]

To whom is sorrow, saith *Solomon*, Pro. 23. 29. to whom is woe, but to such a one as loves drink? It causeth torture, (*vino tortus & irâ*), and bitterness of mind, *Sirac.* 31. 29. *Vinum furoris*, *Jeremy* calls it, 25. *cap.* [v. 15.] wine of madness, as well he may, for *insanire facit sanos*, it makes sound men sick and sad, and wise men [7] mad, to say and do they know not what. *Accidit hodiè terribilis casus.* (saith [8]S. *Austin*), hear a miserable accident; *Cyrillus'* son this day in his drink *matrem prægnantem nequitèr oppressit, sororem violare voluit, patrem occidit ferè, & duas alias sorores ad mortem vulneravit*, would have violated his sister, killed his father, &c. A true saying it was of him, *vino dari lætitiam*

[1] Spartian. Adriano. [cap. 18.] [2] Alex. ab Alex. lib. 6. c. 10. Idem Gerbelius, lib. 5. Græ. disc. [3] The people standing round.] [4] Fynes Morys. [5] Justinian. in Digestis. [6] Persius, Sat. 5. [57, 58. quoted memoriter.] [7] Poculum quasi sinus in quo sæpe naufragium faciunt, jactura tum pecuniæ tum mentis, Erasm. in Prov. Calicum remiges. chil. 4. cent. 7. Pro. 41. [8] Ser. 33. ad frat. in Eremo.

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& dolorem, drink causeth mirth, and drink causeth sorrow, drink causeth *poverty and want*, (Prov. 21.) [17.] *shame and disgrace. Multi ignobiles evasere ob vini potum, et* (*Austin*). *amissis honoribus profugi aberrârunt:* many men have made shipwrack of their fortunes, and go like rogues and beggars, having turned all their substance into *aurum potabile*,[1] that otherwise might have lived in good worship and happy estate, and for a few hours' pleasure, for their *Hilary Term's* but short, or [2]*free madness*, as *Seneca* calls it, purchase unto themselves eternal tediousness and trouble.

That other madness is on women. *Apostatare facit cor*,[3] saith the wise man,[4] [5]*atque homini cerebrum minuit.*[6] Pleasant at first she is, like *Dioscorides' Rhododaphne*,[7] that fair plant to the eye, but poison to the taste, the rest as bitter as wormwood in the end (*Prov.* 5. 4.) and sharp as a two-edged sword. (7. 27,) *Her house is the way to Hell, and goes down to the Chambers of Death.* What more sorrowful can be said? They are miserable in this life, mad, beasts, led like [8]*oxen to the slaughter:* & that which is worse, whoremasters & drunkards shall be judged, *amittunt gratiam*, saith *Austin*, *perdunt gloriam, incurrunt damnationem æternam.* They lose grace & glory,

> ——— [9] brevis illa voluptas
> Abrogat æternum cæli decus———

They gain Hell and eternal damnation.

SUBSECT. 14.—*Philautia, or Self-love, Vain-glory, Praise, Honour, Immoderate Applause, Pride, over-much Joy, &c. Causes.*

SELF-LOVE, Pride, and Vain-glory, [10]*cæcus amor sui*, which *Chrysostom* [11] calls one of the devil's three great nets; [12] *Bernard, an arrow which pierceth the soul through, & slays it; a sly insensible enemy, not perceived*, are main causes. Where neither anger, lust, covetousness, fear, sorrow, &c. nor any other perturbation can lay hold, this will slily and insensibly pervert us. *Quem non gula*

[1 Potable gold.] [2 Liberæ unius horæ insaniam longi temporis tædio pensant. [Epistle, lix. 16. memoriter.] [3 It makes the heart to apostatize.] [4 Ecclesiasticus, xix. 2. memoriter.] [5 Menander. [6 And impairs a man's brain.] [7 Dioscorides, iv. 82.] [8 Prov. [7. 22.] [9 Merlin. Cocc. [That brief pleasure blots out the eternal glory of heaven.] [10 Hor. [Odes. i. 18. 14.] [11 See In Cap. i. Genes. Hom. iii.] [12 Sagitta quæ animam penetrat, leviter penetrat, sed non leve infligit vulnus. sup. cant.

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vicit, philautia superavit, (saith *Cyprian*) whom surfeiting could not overtake, self-love hath overcome. [1] *He [that] hath scorned all money, bribes, gifts, upright otherwise and sincere, hath inserted himself to no fond imagination, and sustained all those tyrannical concupiscences of the body, hath lost all his honour, captivated by vain-glory. Chrysostom, sup. Jo. Tu sola animum mentemque peruris, Gloria.*[2] A great assault and cause of our present malady, although we do most part neglect, take no notice of it, yet this is a violent batterer of our souls, causeth melancholy and dotage. This pleasing humour, this soft and whispering popular air, *amabilis insania,*[3] this delectable frenzy, most irrefragable passion, *mentis gratissimus error,*[4] this acceptable disease, which so sweetly sets upon us, ravisheth our senses, lulls our souls asleep, puffs up our hearts as so many bladders, and that without all feeling, [5] in so much as *those that are misaffected with it, never so much as once perceive it, or think of any cure.* We commonly love him best in this [6] malady, that doth us most harm, and are very willing to be hurt; *adulationibus nostris libenter favemus*[7] (saith [8] *Jerome*) we love him, we love him, for it: [9] *O Bonciari, suave, suave fuit à te tali hæc tribui;* 'twas sweet to hear it. And, as [10] *Pliny* doth ingenuously confess to his dear friend *Augurinus, all thy writings are most acceptable, but those especially that speak of us.* Again, a little after to *Maximus:* [11] *I cannot express how pleasing it is to me to hear myself commended.* Though we smile to ourselves, at least ironically, when Parasites bedaub us with false *Encomiums,* as many Princes cannot choose but do, *quum tale quid nihil intra se repererint,* when they know they come as far short, as a mouse to an elephant, of any such virtues; yet it doth us good. Though we seem many times to be angry, [12] *and blush at our own praises, yet our souls inwardly rejoice, it puffs us up;* 'tis *fallax suavitas, blandus dæmon,*[13] *makes us swell beyond our bounds, and forget ourselves.*

[1] Qui omnem pecuniarum contemptum habent, et nulli imaginationi totius mundi se immiscuerint, et tyrannicas corporis concupiscentias sustinuerint, hi multoties capti à vana gloria omnia perdiderunt. [2] Val. Fl. i. 76, 77.] [3] Hor. Od. iii. iv. 5.] [4] Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 140.] [5] Hac correpti non cogitant de medela. [6] Di talem à terris avertite pestem! [Virg. Æn. iii. 620.] [7] We willingly listen to adulation.] [8] Ep. ad Eustochium, de custod. virgin. [Epist. xxii. § 24.] [9] Lips. Ep. ad Bonciarium. [10] Ep. lib. 9. Omnia tua scripta pulcherrima existimo, maxime tamen illa quæ de nobis. [11] Exprimere non possum quàm sit jucundum, &c. [12] Hieron. Et licet nos indignos dicimus, et calidus rubor ora perfundat, attamen ad laudem suam intrinsecus animæ lætantur. [Epist. xxii. § 24.] [13] Beguiling pleasantness, a flattering demon.]

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Her two daughters are lightness of mind, immoderate joy and pride, not excluding those other concomitant vices, which [1] *Jodocus Lorichius* reckons up, bragging, hypocrisy, peevishness, and curiosity.

Now the common cause of this mischief, ariseth from ourselves or others, [2] we are active and passive. It proceeds inwardly from ourselves, as we are active causes, from an over-weening conceit we have of our good parts, own worth, (which indeed is no worth), our bounty, favour, grace, valour, strength, wealth, patience, meekness, hospitality, beauty, temperance, gentry, knowledge, wit, science, art, learning, our [3] excellent gifts and fortunes, for which, *Narcissus*-like,[4] we admire, flatter, & applaud, ourselves, and think all the world esteems so of us; and, as deformed women easily believe those that tell them they be fair, we are too credulous of our own good parts and praises, too well persuaded of ourselves. We brag and venditate[5] our [6] own works, and scorn all others in respect of us; *inflati scientia* (saith *Paul*[7]), our wisdom, [8] our learning; all our geese are swans; and we as basely esteem and villify other men's, as we do over-highly prize & value our own. We will not suffer them to be in *secundis*,[9] no not in *tertiis*;[10] what? *mecum confertur Ulysses?*[11] they are *mures, muscæ, culices præ se*, nits and flies compared to his inexorable and supercilious, eminent and arrogant Worship: though indeed they be far before him. Only wise, only rich, only fortunate, valorous, and fair, puffed up with this tympany of self-conceit; as that proud [12] *Pharisee*, they are not (as they suppose) *like other men*, of a purer and more precious metal: [13] *soli rei gerendæ sunt efficaces*,[14] which that wise *Periander* held of such: [15] *meditantur omne qui prius negotium, &c. Novi quemdam* (saith [16] *Erasmus*) I knew one so arrogant, that he thought himself inferior to no man living, like [17] *Callisthenes*

[1] Thesaur. Theo. [2] Nec enim nihi cornea fibra est. Per. [i. 47.] [3] E manibus illis Nascentur violæ. Pers. 1. Sat. [38. 40.] [4] See Ovid, M. iii. 407 sq.] [5] *i.e.* boast of.] [6] Omnia enim nostra supra modum placent. [7] 1 Cor. viii. 1.] [8] Fab. l. 10. c. 3. Ridentur, mala qui componunt carmina, verum Gaudent scribentes, et se venerantur, et ultro, Si taceas, laudant quicquid scripsere beati. Hor. Ep. 2. [106-108.] l. 2. [9] In the second rank.] [10] In the third rank.] [11] Ovid, M. xiii. 6. Is Ulysses compared with me?] [12] Luke xviii. 10. [13] De meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan. [Juv. xiv. 35.] [14] The only persons able to conduct affairs.] [15] Auson. [Ludus Septem.] Sap. [Periander, line 5.] [16] Chil. 3. cent. 10. prov. 97. Qui se crederet neminem ulla in re præstantiorem. [17] Tanto fastu scripsit, ut Alexandri gesta inferiora scriptis suis existimaret. Jo. Vossius, lib. 1. cap 9. de hist.

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the Philosopher, that neither held *Alexander's* acts, or any other subject, worthy of his pen, such was his insolency; or *Seleucus*, King of *Syria*, who thought none fit to contend with him but the *Romans*, [1] *eos solos dignos ratus quibuscum de imperio certaret.* That which *Tully* writ to *Atticus* long since, is still in force, [2] *there was never yet true Poet nor Orator, that thought any other better than himself.*[3] And such for the most part are your Princes, Potentates, great Philosophers, Historiographers, Authors of Sects or Heresies, and all our great Scholars, as [4] *Hierom* defines; *a natural Philosopher is glory's creature, and a very slave of rumour, fame, & popular opinion;* and, though they write *de contemptu gloriæ,*[5] yet, as he observes, they will put their names to their books. *Vobis et famæ me semper dedi*, saith *Trebellius Pollio*, I have wholly consecrated myself to you and fame. *'Tis all my desire, night and day, 'tis all my study, to raise my name.* Proud [6] *Pliny* seconds him; *Quamquam O! &c.* and that vain-glorious [7] Orator is not ashamed to confess, in an Epistle of his to *Marcus Lucceius, ardeo incredibili cupiditate, &c. I burn with an incredible desire to have my* [8] *name registered in thy book.* Out of this fountain proceed all those cracks and brags,——[9] *speramus carmina fingi Posse linenda cedro, & leni servanda cupresso* —— [10] *Non usitata nec tenui ferar Penna——nec in terra morabor Longius.* [11] *Nil parvum aut humili modo, nil mortale, loquor.* [12] *Dicar qua violens obstrepit Aufidus.* ——*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.* [13] *Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis, &c. cum venit ille dies, &c. Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis Astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum.* (This of *Ovid* I have paraphrased in English.

> "And when I am dead and gone,
> My corpse laid under a stone,
> My fame shall yet survive,
> And I shall be alive;
> In these my works for ever,
> My glory shall persever," &c.)

[1] Plutarch, vit. Catonis. [§ 12.] [2] Nemo unquam Poëta aut Orator, qui quemquam se meliorem arbitraretur. [3] Ad Atticum, xiv. 20, 3.] [4] Consol. ad Pammachium. Mundi philosophus, gloriæ animal, et popularis auræ et rumorum venale mancipium. [5] On the contempt of glory.] [6] Epist. 5. Capitoni suo. Diebus ac noctibus hoc solum cogito, si quâ me possum levare humo. Id voto meo sufficit, &c. [7] Tullius. [Ad Fam. v. 12.] [8] Ut nomen meum scriptis tuis illustretur. [Ibidem.] Inquies animus studio æternitatis noctes et dies angebatur. Heinsius, orat. funeb. de Scal. [9] Hor. Art. Poët. [331, 332.] [10] Hor. Odes. ii. 20. 1-4.] [11] Hor. Odes. iii. 25. 17, 18.] [12] Hor. Odes. iii. 30. 10, 1.] [13] Ovid. Met. xv. 871-876.] Vade, liber felix! Palingen. lib. 18.

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and that of *Ennius*,

> Nemo me lacrimis decoret, neque funera fletu
> Faxit; cur? volito vivu' per ora virûm;[1]
>
> [Let no one grace my grave with tears! For why?
> I live upon men's lips eternally;]

with many such proud strains, and foolish flashes, too common with Writers. Not so much as *Demochares* on the [2] Topicks, but he will be immortal. Typotius, *de Famâ*, shall be famous, and well he deserves, because he writ of Fame; and every trivial Poet must be renowned,

> —— plausuque petit clarescerè vulgi.[3]

This puffing humour it is, that hath produced so many great tomes, built such famous monuments, strong Castles, and *Mausolean* Tombs, to have their acts eternized,

> —— Digito monstrari, et dicier hic est;[4]

to see their names inscribed, as *Phryne* on the walls of *Thebes*, *Phryne fecit.*[5] This causeth so many bloody battles,

> Et noctes cogit vigilare serenas;[6]
>
> [And forces us to watch during calm nights;]

long journies,

> Magnum iter intendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires;[7]

gaining honour, a little applause, pride, self-love, vain-glory. This is it which makes them take such pains, and break out into those ridiculous strains, this high conceit of themselves, to [8] scorn all others; *ridiculo fastu & intolerando contemptu*, as [9] *Palæmon* the Grammarian contemned *Varro, secum & natas & morituras literas jactans*, and brings them to that height of insolency, that they cannot endure to be contradicted, [10] *or hear of anything but their own commendation*, which *Hierom* notes of such kind of men; and, as [11] *Austin* well seconds him, *'tis their sole study day and night to be commended and applauded;* when as indeed, in all wise

[1 Enn. ap. Cic. Tusc. i. 15. 34.] [2 In lib. 8. [3 Claudian, de Consulatu Fl. Mallii Theodori V.C. 3.] [4 Pers. i. 28. To be pointed out with the finger, and to have it said, "There he goes."] [5 See Pliny, 34. 8.] [6 Lucr. i. 142.] [7 Prop. iv. 10. 3.] [8 De ponte dejicere. [9 Sueton. lib. de Gram. [23.] [10 Nihil libenter audiunt nisi laudes suas. [11 Epis. 56. Nihil aliud dies noctesque cogitant, nisi ut in studiis suis laudentur ab hominibus.

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men's judgements, *quibus cor sapit*, they are [1] mad, empty vessels, funges, beside themselves, derided, *& ut camelus in proverbio, quærens cornua, etiam quas habebat aures amisit*,[2] their works are toys, as an Almanack out of date, [3]*Auctoris pereunt gurrulitate sui*, they seek fame and immortality, but reap dishonour and infamy, they are a common obloquy, *insensati*, and come far short of that which they suppose or expect.

[4]O puer, ut sis vitalis metuo.

[O boy, I fear thou'rt shortlived!]

Of so many myriads of Poets, Rhetoricians, Philosophers, Sophisters, as [5] *Eusebius* well observes, which have written in former ages, scarce one of a thousand's works remains, *nomina & libri simul cum corporibus interierunt*, their books and bodies are perished together. It is not as they vainly think, they shall surely be admired and immortal, as one told *Philip* of *Macedon* insulting after a victory, that his shadow was no longer than before, we may say to them,

Nos demiramur, sed non cum deside vulgo,
Sed velut Harpyias, Gorgonas, et Furias;[6]

We marvel too, not as the vulgar we,
But as we Gorgons, Harpies, or Furies see;

or if we do applaud, honour and admire; *quota pars*,[7] how small a part, in respect of the whole world, never so much as hears our names! how few take notice of us! how slender a tract, as scant as *Alcibiades* his land in a Map! And yet every man must and will be immortal, as he hopes, and extend his fame to our Antipodes, when as half, no not a quarter, of his own Province or City, neither knows nor hears of him: but say they did, what's a City to a Kingdom, a Kingdom to *Europe*, *Europe* to the World, the World itself that must have an end, if compared to the least visible Star in the Firmament, eighteen times bigger than it? And then, if those Stars be infinite, and every Star there be a Sun, as some will, & as this Sun of ours hath his Planets about him, all

[1] Quæ major dementia aut dici aut excogitari potest, quàm sic ob gloriam cruciari? Insaniam istam, Domine, longè fac à me! Austin. conf. lib. 10. cap. 37. [2] And as the camel in the old saw, seeking for horns, even lost its ears. See Erasmi Adagia, 829, 830.] [3] Mart. l. 5. 52. [8. They perish by their author's garrulity.] [4] Hor Sat. 1. [60, 61.] l. 2. [5] Lib. cont. Philos. cap. 1. [6] George Buchanan, Fratres Fraterrimi, xxiv.] [7] Ovid, Heroides, xii. 80, et alibi.

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inhabited, what proportion bear we to them, and where's our glory? *Orbem terrarum victor Romanus habebat*, as he crackt in *Petronius*,[1] all the world was under *Augustus:* and so in *Constantine's* time, *Eusebius* brags he governed all the world, *universum mundum præclarè admodum administravit,——et omnes orbis gentes Imperatori subjecti:*[2] so of *Alexander* it is given out, the 4. Monarchies, &c. when as neither *Greeks* nor *Romans* ever had the fifteenth part of the now known world, nor half of that which was then described. What braggadocians are they and we then! *quam brevis hic de nobis sermo*, as [3]he said, [4]*pudebit aucti nominis;* how short a time, how little a while, doth this fame of ours continue! Every private Province, every small Territory and City, when we have all done, will yield as generous spirits, as brave examples, in all respects as famous as ourselves! *Cadwallader* in *Wales*, *Rollo* in *Normandy*, *Robin Hood* and *Little John* are as much renowned in *Sherwood*, as *Cæsar* in *Rome*, *Alexander* in *Greece*, or his *Hephæstio.* [5]*Omnis ætas omnisque populus in exemplum & admirationem veniet*, every Town, City, Book, is full of brave Soldiers, Senators, Scholars, and though [6]*Brasidas* was a worthy Captain, a good man, and, as they thought, not to be matched in *Lacedæmon*, yet, as his mother truly said, *plures habet Sparta Brasida meliores*, *Sparta* had many better men than ever he was; and howsoever thou admirest thyself, thy friend, many an obscure fellow the world never took notice of, had he been in place or action, would have done much better than he or he, or thou thyself.

Another kind of mad men there is, opposite to these, that are insensibly mad, and know not of it, such as contemn all praise and glory, think themselves most free, when as indeed they are most mad: *calcant, sed alio fastu:*[7] a company of *Cynicks*, such as are Monks, Hermits, Anachorites, that contemn the world, contemn themselves, contemn all titles, honours, offices: and yet in that contempt are more proud than any man living whatsoever. They are proud in humility, proud in that they are not proud; *sæpe homo de vanæ gloriæ contemptu vaniùs gloriatur*, as *Austin* hath it, *Confess. lib.* 10. *cap.* 38; like *Diogenes*, *intus gloriantur*, they brag

[1 Ch. 119.] [2 Eus. De Vitâ Constantini, Lib. ii. c. 19.] [3 Macrobius, Som. Scip. [4 Boethius. [De Consol. Philosophiæ, Lib. ii. Metrum vii. line 6.] [5 Putean. Cisalp. hist. lib. 1. [6 Plutarch. Lycurgo. [§ 25.] [7 Cf. Quint. v. 13. 22. They trample upon others with a different kind of pride.]

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inwardly, and feed themselves fat with a self-conceit of sanctity, which is no better than hypocrisy. They go in sheep's russet, many great men that might maintain themselves in cloth of gold, and seem to be dejected, humble, by their outward carriage, when as inwardly they are swoln full of pride, arrogancy, and self-conceit. And therefore *Seneca* adviseth his friend *Lucilius*, [1] *in his attire and gesture, outward actions, especially to avoid all such things as are more notable in themselves: as a ragged attire, hirsute head, horrid beard, contempt of money, coarse lodging, and whatsoever leads to fame that opposite way.*

All this madness yet proceeds from ourselves; the main engine which batters us is from others, we are merely passive in this business, from a company of parasites & flatterers, that with immoderate praise, & bombast epithets, glozing titles, false elogiums, so bedaub & applaud, gild over many a silly & undeserving man, that they clap him quite out of his wits. *Res imprimis violenta est laudum placenta*, as *Hierome* notes, this common applause is a most violent thing, (a drum, fife, and trumpet cannot so animate), that fattens men, erects and dejects them in an instant.

[2] Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.

It makes them fat and lean, as frost doth conies. [3] *And who is that mortal man that can so contain himself, that, if he be immoderately commended, and applauded, will not be moved?* Let him be what he will, those Parasites will overturn him: if he be a King, he is one of the Nine Worthies, more than a man, a God forthwith, —— [4] *edictum Domini Deique nostri:* [5] and they will sacrifice unto him,——

——[6] Divinos si tu patiaris honores,
Ultrò ipsi dabimus meritasque sacrabimus aras.

If he be a soldier, then *Themistocles*, *Epaminondas*, *Hector*, *Achilles*, *duo fulmina belli*, [7] *triumviri terrarum*, [8] *&c.* and the valour of both *Scipios* is too little for him, he is *invictissimus*, *serenissimus*, *multis*

[1] Epist. 13. Illud te admoneo, ne eorum more facias, qui non proficere, sed conspici cupiunt, quæ in habitu tuo, aut genere vitæ notabilia sunt. Asperum cultum, et vitiosum caput, negligentiorem barbam, indictum argento odium, cubile humi positum, et quicquid ad laudem perversa via sequitur, evita. [2] Hor. Epp. ii. i. 181.] [3] Quis vero tam bene modulo suo metiri se novit, ut eum assiduæ et immodicæ laudationes non moveant? Hen. Steph. [4] Mart. [v. 8. 1.] [5] It is the edict of our Lord and God.] [6] Stroza. [If you will accept divine honours, we will of our own accord erect and consecrate well-deserved altars to you.] [7] Virg. Æn. vi. 843. Two thunder-bolts in war.] [8] Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus.]

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tropæis ornatissimus, naturæ dominus, although he be *lepus galeatus*,[1] indeed a very coward, a milk-sop, [2] and as he said of *Xerxes, postremus in pugnâ, primus in fugâ*, & such a one as never durst look his enemy in the face. If he be a big man, then is he a *Sampson*, another *Hercules:* if he pronounce a speech, another *Tully* or *Demosthenes:* (as of *Herod* in the *Acts*,[3] *the voice of God and not of man:*) if he can make a verse, [he is a] *Homer, Virgil, &c.* And then my silly weak patient takes all these elogiums to himself; if he be a Scholar so commended for his much reading, excellent style, method, &c. he will eviscerate himself like a spider, study to death; *Laudatas ostendit avis Junonia pennas*,[4] Peacock-like, he will display all his feathers. If he be a soldier, and so applauded, his valour extoll'd, though it be *impar congressus*,[5] as that of *Achilles* and *Troilus, infelix puer*,[6] he will combat with a Giant, run first upon a breach; as another [7]*Philippus*, he will ride into the thickest of his enemies. Commend his house-keeping, and he will beggar himself: commend his temperance, he will starve himself.

> [8]——laudataque virtus
> Crescit, et immensum gloria calcar habet.[9]

He is mad, mad, mad, no whoe with him;—— *impatiens consortis erit*,[10] he will over the [11] *Alps* to be talked of, or to maintain his credit. Commend an ambitious man, some proud Prince or Potentate, *si plus æquo laudetur* (saith [12]*Erasmus*) *cristas erigit, exuit hominem, Deum se putat*, he sets up his crest, and will be no longer a man, but a God;

> [13]——nihil est quod credere de se
> Non audet, quum laudatur, Dis æqua potestas.

How did this work with *Alexander*, that would needs be *Jupiter's* son, and go like *Hercules* in a lion's skin! *Domitian* a God, ([14]*Dominus Deus noster sic fieri jubet*), like the [15]*Persian* Kings, whose Image was adored by all that came into the City of *Babylon*.

[1] A hare in armour.] [2] Justin. [Lib. ii. c. 10.] [3] xii. 22.] [4] Ovid, A. A. i. 627.] [5] Virg, Æn. i. 474, 5, as unequal a contest.] [6] Do. Unhappy boy!] [7] Livius. [xxxi. 24.] Gloria tantum elatus, non ira, in medios hostes irruere, quod completis muris conspici se pugnantem a muro spectantibus, egregium ducebat. [8] Applauded virtue grows apace, and glory is an immense spur.] [9] Ovid, Ex Ponto. iv. 35, 36.] [10] Lucan, i. 93. He will brook no rival.] [11] I, demens, et sævas curre per Alpes. Ut pueris placeas, et declamatio fias. Juv. Sat. 10. [166, 7.] Aude aliquid, [Juv. i. 73.] [12] In Moriæ Encom. [13] Juvenal. Sat. 4. [70, 71.] [14] Sueton. c. 12. in Domitiano. [15] Brisonius.

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Commodus the Emperor was so gulled by his flattering parasites, that he must be called *Hercules.*[1] [2]*Antonius* the *Roman* would be crowned with ivy, carried in a chariot, and adored for *Bacchus. Cotys*, King of *Thrace*, was married to [3]*Minerva*, and sent three several messengers one after another, to see if she were come to his bedchamber. Such a one was [4]*Jupiter Menecrates, Maximinus Jovianus, Dioclesianus Herculeus, Sapor* the *Persian* King, brother of the Sun and Moon, and our modern Turks, that will be Gods on earth, Kings of Kings, God's shadow, Commanders of all that may be commanded, our Kings of *China* and *Tartary* in this present age. Such a one was *Xerxes*, that would whip the sea, fetter *Neptune, stultâ jactantiâ,*[5] & send a challenge to Mount *Athos:* and such are many sottish Princes, brought into a fool's Paradise by their parasites. 'Tis a common humour, incident to all men, when they are in great places, or come to the solstice of honour, have done, or deserv'd well, to applaud and flatter themselves. *Stultitiam suam produnt, &c.* (saith [6]*Platerus*) your very tradesmen, if they be excellent, will crack and brag, and shew their folly in excess. They have good parts, and they know it, you need not tell them of it; out of a conceit of their worth, they go smiling to themselves, and perpetual meditation of their trophies & plaudites; they run at the last quite mad, and lose their wits.[7] *Petrarch, lib.* 1. *de contemptu mundi*, confessed as much of himself, & *Cardan*, in his 5th book of wisdom, gives an instance in a Smith of *Milan*, a fellow Citizen of his, [8] one *Galeus de Rubeis*, that, being commended for refinding of an instrument of *Archimedes*, for joy ran mad. *Plutarch*, in the life of *Artaxerxes*, hath such a like story of [a Carian] soldier, that wounded King *Cyrus* in battle, and *grew thereupon so* [9] *arrogant, that in a short space after he lost his wits.* So many men, if any new honour, office, preferment, booty, trea-

[1] Lampridian, V. Antonini Diadumeni, cap. 7.] [2] Antonius ab assentatoribus evectus Liberum se patrem appellari jussit, et pro deo se venditavit. Redimitus hedera, et corona velatus aurea, et thyrsum tenens, cothurnisque succinctus, curru velut Liber pater vectus est Alexandriæ. Pater. Lib ii. [c. 82.] [3] Minervæ nuptias ambiit, tanto furore percitus, ut satellites mitteret ad videndum num dea in thalamum venisset, &c. [Athenæus, Deipnosoph. Lib. xii. pp. 531, E. F. 532, A.] [4] Ælian. lib. 12. [cap. 51.] [5] In his foolish boastfulness,] [6] De mentis alienat. cap. 3. [7] Sequiturque superbia formam. [Ov. Fasti. i. 419.] Livius, lib. ii. [c. 48, memoriter.] Oraculum est, vivida sæpe ingenia luxuriare hac et evanescere, multosque sensum penitus amisisse. Homines intuentur, ac si ipsi non essent homines. [8] Galeus de Rubeis, civis noster, faber ferrarius, ob inventionem instrumenti, cochleæ olim Archimedis dicti, præ lætitia insanivit. [9] Insania post modum correptus, ob nimiam inde arrogantiam. [§ 14.]

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sure, possession, or patrimony, *ex insperato*[1] fall unto them, for immoderate joy, and continual meditation of it, cannot sleep, [2] or tell what they say or do; they are so ravished on a sudden, and with vain conceits transported, there is no rule with them. *Epaminondas* therefore, the next day after his *Leuctrian* victory, [3] *came abroad all squalid and submiss*, and gave no other reason to his friends of so doing, than that he perceived himself the day before, by reason of his good fortune, to be too insolent, overmuch joyed. That wise and virtuous Lady, [4] *Queen Katharine*, Dowager of *England*, in private talk, upon like occasion, said, that [5] *she would not willingly endure the extremity of either fortune; but if it were so that of necessity she must undergo the one, she would be in adversity, because comfort was never wanting in it, but still counsel and government were defective in the other:* they could not moderate themselves.

SUBSECT. 15.—*Love of Learning, or overmuch Study. With a Digression of the Misery of Scholars, and why the Muses are Melancholy.*

LEONARTUS FUCHSIUS, *Instit. lib.* 3. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 1, *Felix Plater, lib.* 3. *de mentis alienat. Herc. de Saxonia, Tract. post. de melanch. cap.* 3, speak of a [6] peculiar *fury*, which comes by overmuch study. *Fernelius, lib.* 1. *cap.* 18, [7] puts *study*, contemplation, and continual meditation, as an especial cause of madness: and in his 86. *consul.* cites the same words. *Jo. Arculanus in lib.* 9. *Rhasis ad Almansorem, cap.* 16, amongst other causes reckons up *studium vehemens*:[8] so doth *Levinus Lemnius, lib. de occul. nat. mirac. l.* 1. *cap.* 16. [9] *Many men* (saith he) *come to this malady by continual* [10] *study, and night-waking, and, of all other men, scholars are most subject to*

[1 Unexpectedly.] [2] Bene ferre magnam disce fortunam. Hor. [Odes, iii. 27. 74, 75.] Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repentè Dives ab exili progrediere loco. Ausonius. [viii. 7, 8.] [3] Processit squalidus et submissus, ut hesterni diei gaudium intemperans hodie castigaret. [4] Uxor Henr. 8. [5] Neutrius se fortunæ extremum libenter experturam dixit: sed si necessitas alterius subinde imponeretur, optare se difficilem et adversam: quod in hac nulli unquam defuit solatium, in altera multis consilium, &c. Lod. Vives. [6] Peculiaris furor, qui ex literis fit. [7] Nihil magis auget, ac assidua studia, et profundæ cogitationes. [8 Overmuch study.] [9] Non desunt, qui ex jugi studio, et intempestiva lucubratione, huc devenerunt; hi præ cæteris enim plerumque melancholia solent infestari. [10] Study is a continual and earnest meditation, applied to something with great desire. Tully. [Inv. i. 25, 36.]

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it: and such, *Rhasis* adds, [1] *that have commonly the finest wits, Cont. lib.* 1. *tract.* 9. *Marsilius Ficinus, de sanit. tuenda, lib.* 1. *cap.* 7, puts Melancholy amongst one of those five principal plagues of students, 'tis a common maul unto them all, and almost in some measure an inseparable companion. *Varro* belike for that cause calls *philosophos tristes & severos;*[2] severe, sad, dry, tetrick, are common epithets to scholars: and [3] *Patritius* therefore, in the Institution of Princes, would not have them to be great students. For (as *Machiavel* holds) study weakens their bodies, dulls their spirits, abates their strength and courage; and good scholars are never good soldiers, which a certain *Goth* well perceived, for when his country-men came into *Greece*, and would have burned all their books, he cried out against it, by all means they should [not] do it, [4] *leave them that plague, which in time will consume all their vigour, and martial spirits.* The [5] *Turks* abdicated *Corcutus*, the next heir, from the Empire, because he was so much given to his book: and 'tis the common *tenent* of the world, that learning dulls and diminisheth the spirits, and so *per consequens*[6] produceth melancholy.

Two main reasons may be given of it, why students should be more subject to this malady than others. The one is, they live a sedentary, solitary life, *sibi & musis,*[7] free from bodily exercise, and those ordinary disports which other men use: and many times, if discontent and idleness concur with it, which is too frequent, they are precipitated into this gulf on a sudden: but the common cause is overmuch study; too much learning (as [8] *Festus* told *Paul*) hath made thee mad; 'tis that other extreme which effects it. So did *Trincavellius, lib.* 1. *consil.* 12. & 13. find by his experience, in two of his patients, a young Baron, and another, that contracted this malady by too vehement study. So *Fŏrestus, observat. l.* 10. *observ.* 13. in a young Divine in *Louvain*, that was mad, and said [9] *he had a Bible in his head. Marsilius Ficinus, de sanit. tuend. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. 3. 4. & *l.* 2. *cap.* 16, gives many reasons,

[1] Et illi qui sunt subtilis ingenii, et multæ præmeditationis, de facili incidunt in melancholiam. [2] Philosophers sad and severe.] [3] Ob studiorum sollicitudinem, lib. 5. Tit. 5. [4] Gaspar Ens, Thesaur. Polit. Apoteles. 31. Græcis hanc pestem relinquite, quæ dubium non est quin brevi omnem iis vigorem ereptura, Martiosque spiritus exhaustura sit, ut ad arma tractanda plane inhabiles futuri sint. [5] Knolles, Turk. Hist. [pp. 437, 438. ed. 1603.] [6] Consequently.] [7] To themselves and letters.] [8] Acts, xxvi. 24. [9] Nimiis studiis melancholicus evasit, dicens se Biblium in capite habere.

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[1] *why students dote more often than others.* The first is their negligence: [2] *other men look to their tools; a painter will wash his pencils; a smith will look to his hammer, anvil, forge: an husbandman will mend his plough-irons, and grind his hatchet if it be dull; a falconer or huntsman will have an especial care of his hawks, hounds, horses, dogs, &c. a musician will string and unstring his lute,* &c. *only scholars neglect that instrument, their brain & spirits (I mean), which they daily use, and by which they range over all the world, which by much study is consumed. Vide* (saith *Lucian*[3]) *ne funiculum nimis intendendo aliquandò abrumpas:* see thou twist not the rope so hard, till at length it [4] break. *Ficinus* in his fourth Chap. gives some other reasons; *Saturn* and *Mercury*, the Patrons of Learning, are both dry Planets: and *Origanus* assigns the same cause, why *Mercurialists* are so poor, and most part beggars; for that their President *Mercury* had no better fortune himself. The Destinies of old put poverty upon him as a punishment; since when Poetry and Beggary are *gemelli*, twin-born brats, inseparable companions:

> [5] And to this day is every scholar poor;
> Gross gold from them runs headlong to the boor;

Mercury can help them to knowledge, but not to money. The second is contemplation, [6] *which dries the brain and extinguisheth natural heat; for whilst the spirits are intent to meditation above in the head, the stomack and liver are left destitute, and thence come black blood and crudities by defect of concoction, and for want of exercise the superfluous vapours cannot exhale,* &c. The same reasons are repeated by *Gomesius, lib. 4. cap. 1. de sale,* [7] *Nymannus, orat. de Imag. Jo. Voschius, lib. 2. cap. 5. de peste:* and something more they add, that hard students are commonly troubled with

[1] Cur melancholiâ assiduâ, crebrisque deliramentis, vexentur eorum animi ut desipere cogantur. [2] Sollers quilibet artifex instrumenta sua diligentissimè curat; penicellos pictor; malleos incudesque faber ferrarius; miles equos, arma; venator, auceps, aves et canes; citharam citharædus, &c.; soli Musarum mystæ tam negligentes sunt, ut instrumentum illud quo mundum universum metiri solent, spiritum scilicet, penitus negligere videantur. [3] Dialogi Meretricii, 3, ad fin.] [4] Arcus et arma tuae tibi sunt imitanda Dianæ. Si nunquam cesses tendere, mollis erit. Ovid. [Heroides, iv. 91, 92.] [5] Ephemer. [These lines are Marlowe, Hero and Leander, First Sestiad.] [6] Contemplatio cerebrum exsiccat et extinguit calorem naturalem, unde cerebrum frigidum et siccum evadit, quod est melancholicum. Accedit ad hoc, quod natura in contemplatione, cerebro prorsus cordique intenta, stomachum heparque destituit; unde ex alimentis male coctis sanguis crassus et niger efficitur, dum nimio otio membrorum superflui vapores non exhalant. [7] Cerebrum exsiccatur, corpora sensim gracilescunt.

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gouts, catarrhs, rheums, *cachexia*, *bradypepsia*, bad eyes, stone, and colick, [1] crudities, oppilations, *vertigo*, winds, consumptions, and all such diseases as come by overmuch sitting; they are most part lean, dry, ill coloured, spend their fortunes, lose their wits, and many times their lives, and all through immoderate pains, and extraordinary studies. If you will not believe the truth of this, look upon great *Tostatus* and *Thomas Aquinas'* Works, and tell me whether those men took pains? peruse *Austin*, *Hierome*, &c. and many thousands besides.

> Qui cupit optatam cursu contingere metam,
> Multa tulit, fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit.[2]
>
> He that desires this wished goal to gain,
> Must sweat and freeze before he can attain,

and labour hard for it. So did *Seneca*, by his own confession, *ep.* 8, [3] *not a day that I spend idle, part of the night I keep mine eyes open, tired with waking, and now slumbering, to their continual task.* Hear *Tully pro Archia Poeta:* [4] *whilst others loitered, & took their pleasures, he was continually at his book.* So they do that will be scholars, and that to the hazard (I say) of their healths, fortunes, wits, & lives. How much did *Aristotle* and *Ptolemy* spend, *unius regni pretium* they say, more than a King's ransom; how many crowns *per annum*, to perfect arts, the one about his History of Creatures, the other on his *Almagest!* How much time did *Thebet Benchorat* employ, to find out the motion of the eighth sphere! forty years and more, some write. How many poor scholars have lost their wits, or become dizzards, neglecting all worldly affairs and their own health, wealth, *esse* & *bene esse*, to gain knowledge! for which, after all their pains, in the world's esteem they are accounted ridiculous and silly fools, idiots, asses, and (as oft they are) rejected, contemned, derided, doting, and mad! Look for examples in *Hildesheim*, *spicil.* 2. *de mania & delirio:* read *Trincavellius*, 3. *consil.* 36. *& c.* 17, *Montanus*, *consil.* 233, [5] *Garceus, de Judic. genit. cap.* 33, *Mercurialis*, *consil.* 85, *cap.* 25, *Prosper* [6] *Calenus, in* his Book *de atrà bile.* Go to *Bedlam*

[1] Studiosi sunt cachectici, et nunquam bene colorati; propter debilitatem digestivæ facultatis, multiplicantur in iis superfluitates. Jo. Voschius, parte 2. cap. 5. de peste. [2] Hor. A. P. 412, 413.] [3] Nullus mihi per otium dies exit, partem noctium studiis vindico, non vaco somno, sed oculos vigilia fatigatos, cadentesque, in opere detineo. [4] Cap. vi. § 13.] [5] Johannes Hanuschius Bohemus, nat. 1516, eruditus vir, nimiis studiis in Phrenesin incidit. Montanus instances in a Frenchman of Tolosa. [6] Cardinalis Cæcius, ob laborem, vigiliam, et diuturna studia, factus Melancholicus.

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and ask. Or if they keep their wits, yet they are esteemed scrubs and fools by reason of their carriage: [1] *after seven years' study*——

——— statuâ taciturnius exit
Plerumque, et risu populum quatit,———

[In general he's more silent than a statue,
And makes the people shake their sides with laughter.]

Because they cannot ride an horse, which every clown can do; salute and court a gentlewoman, carve at table, cringe, and make congies, which every common swasher can do, [2] *his populus ridet*, &c. they are laughed to scorn, and accounted silly fools by our gallants. Yea, many times, such is their misery, they deserve it: a mere scholar, a mere ass.

[3] Obstipo capite, et figentes lumine terram,
Murmura cùm secum, et rabiosa silentia rodunt,
Atque experrecto trutinantur verba labello,
Ægroti veteris meditantes somnia, gigni
De nihilo nihilum; in nihilum nil posse reverti.

——— [4] who do lean awry
Their heads, piercing the earth with a fixt eye;
When, by themselves, they gnaw their murmuring,
And furious silence, as 'twere balancing
Each word upon their outstretched lip, and when
They meditate the dreams of old sick men,
As, "Out of nothing, nothing can be brought;
And that which is, can ne'er be turn'd to nought.

Thus they go commonly meditating unto themselves, thus they sit, such is their action and gesture. *Fulgosus l.* 8. *c.* 7, makes mention how *Th. Aquinas*, supping with King *Lewis* of *France*, upon a sudden knocked his fist upon the table, and cried, *conclusum est contra Manichæos*, [5] his wits were a woolgathering, as they say, and his head busied about other matters; when he perceived his error, he was much [6] abashed. Such a story there is of *Archimedes* in *Vitruvius*, [7] that having found out the means to know how much gold was mingled with the silver in King *Hiero's* crown, ran naked forth of the bath and cried εὕρηκα, I have found: [8] *and was*

[1] Ingenium sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas, Et septem studiis annos dedit, insenuitque Libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit Plerumque, et risu populum quatit. Hor. [Ep ii. ii. 81-84.] [2] Pers. Sat. 3. [86.] They cannot fiddle; but, as Themistocles said, he could make a small town become a great city. [3] Pers. Sat. [3. 80-84.] [4] Translated by M. B. Holiday. [5] The Manichees are proved wrong.] [6] Thomas rubore confusus dixit se de argumento cogitâsse. [7] Lib. ix. cap. 3.] [8] Plutarch, vitâ Marcelli [§ 19.] Nec sensit urbem captam, nec milites in domum irruentes, adeo intentus studiis, &c.

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commonly so intent to his studies, that he never perceived what was done about him: when the city was taken, and the soldiers now ready to rifle his house, he took no notice of it. S. *Bernard* rode all day long by the *Lemnian* Lake,[1] and asked at last where he was, *Marullus lib. 2. cap. 4.* It was *Democritus'* carriage alone that made the *Abderites* suppose him to have been mad, and send for *Hippocrates* to cure him: if he had been in any solemn company, he would upon all occasions fall a laughing. *Theophrastus* saith as much of *Heraclitus*, for that he continually wept, and *Laertius* of *Menedemus*, [a disciple of Colotes of] *Lampsacus*, because he ran like a madman, [2] *saying, he came from hell as a spy, to tell the devils what mortal men did.* Your greatest students are commonly no better; silly, soft fellows in their outward behaviour, absurd, ridiculous to others, and no whit experienced in worldly business; they can measure the heavens, range over the world, teach others wisdom, and yet in bargains and contracts they are circumvented by every base tradesman. Are not these men fools? and how should they be otherwise, *but as so many sots in schools, when (as* [3] *he well observed) they neither hear nor see such things as are commonly practised abroad?* how should they get experience, by what means? [4] *I knew in my time many Scholars,* saith *Æneas Sylvius* (in an Epistle of his to *Kaspar Schlick*, Chancellor to the Emperor [5]) *excellent well learned, but so rude, so silly, that they had no common civility, nor knew how to manage their domestick or publick affairs.* Paglarensis *was amazed, and said his farmer had surely cozened him, when he heard him tell that his sow had eleven pigs, and his ass had but one foal.* To say the best of this Profession, I can give no other testimony of them in general, than that of *Pliny* of *Isæus;* [6] *he is yet a scholar, than which kind of men there is nothing so simple,* so sincere, none

[1 Not only is there no Lake at all in Lemnos, but there is also no evidence that St. Bernard was ever there. It should be Lake Leman. See a Note by Gibbon in chap. lix. of the famous *Decline and Fall.*] [2] Sub Furiæ larvâ circumivit urbem, dictitans se exploratorem ab inferis venisse, delaturum dæmonibus mortalium peccata. [Laert. lib. 6. cap. 9.] [3] Petronius. [cap. i.] Ego arbitror in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil eorum quæ in usu habemus aut audiunt aut vident. [4] Novi meis diebus plerosque studiis literarum deditos, qui diciplinis admodum abundabant, sed nihil civilitatis habentes, nec rem publ. nec domesticam regere nôrant. Stupuit Paglarensis, et furti villicum accusavit. qui suem fetam undecim porcellos, asinam unum duntaxat pullum enixam retulerat. [Prefatory Letter to the famous Lucretia and Euryalus, No. 114 of the Letters of Æneas Sylvius.] [5 Frederick III.] [6 Lib. 1. Epist. 3. Adhuc scholasticus tantum est; quo genere hominum, nihil aut est simplicius, aut sincerius, aut melius.

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better; they are most part harmless, honest, *upright*, *innocent*, plain dealing men.

Now because they are commonly subject to such hazards, and inconveniences, as dotage, madness, simplicity, *&c. Jo. Voschius* would have good scholars to be highly rewarded, and had in some extraordinary respect above other men, *to have greater* [1] *privileges than the rest, that adventure themselves and abbreviate their lives for the publick good.* But our Patrons of Learning are so far nowadays from respecting the *Muses*, and giving that honour to scholars, or reward, which they deserve, and are allowed by those indulgent privileges of many noble Princes, that, after all their pains taken in the *Universities*, cost and charge, expences, irksome hours, laborious tasks, wearisome days, dangers, hazards, (barred *interim* from all pleasures which other men have, mewed up like hawks all their lives), if they chance to wade through them, they shall in the end be rejected, contemned, and, which is their greatest misery, driven to their shifts, exposed to want, poverty, and beggary. Their familiar attendants are,

> [2] Pallentes morbi, luctus, curæque, laborque,
> Et metus, et malesuada fames, et turpis egestas,
> Terribiles visu formæ.——
> Grief, labour, care, pale sickness, miseries,
> Fear, filthy poverty, hunger that cries,
> Terrible monsters to be seen with eyes.

If there were nothing else to trouble them, the conceit of this alone were enough to make them all melancholy. Most other Trades and Professions, after some seven years' Prenticeship, are enabled by their Craft to live of themselves. A Merchant adventures his goods at sea, and, though his hazard be great, yet, if one Ship return of four, he likely makes a saving voyage. An husbandman's gains are almost certain; *quibus ipse Jupiter nocere non potest* ('tis [3]*Cato's* hyperbole, a great husband[man] himself;) only scholars, methinks, are most uncertain, unrespected, subject to all casualties, and hazard. For first, not one of a many proves to be a scholar, all are not capable and docile, [4] *ex omni ligno non fit Mercurius:* [5] we can make Mayors and Officers every year, but not Scholars: Kings can invest Knights and Barons, as *Sigismund* the Emperor confessed; Universities can give Degrees; and *Tu quod*

[1] Jure privilegiandi, qui ob commune bonum abbreviant sibi vitam. [2] Virg. 6. Æn. [274 sq. quoted memoriter.] [3] Plutarch. vitâ ejus, [§ 21.] Certum agricolatonis lucrum, &c. [4] Quotannis fiunt Consules et Proconsules, Rex et Poeta quotannis non nascitur. [Petronius, Catalecta.] [5] Erasm. Adagia, pp. 566, 567.]

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es, è populo quilibet esse potest;[1] but he, nor they, nor all the world, can give Learning, make Philosophers, Artists, Orators, Poets. We can soon say, as *Seneca* well notes, *O virum bonum! ô divitem!* point at a rich man, a good, an happy man, a proper man, *sumptuosè vestitum, calamistratum, bene olentem; magno temporis impendio constat hæc laudatio, ô virum literatum!*[2] but 'tis not so easily performed to find out a learned man. Learning is not so quickly got. Though they may be willing to take pains, to that end sufficiently informed, and liberally maintained by their Patrons and Parents, yet few can compass it. Or, if they be docile, yet all men's wills are not answerable to their wits, they can apprehend, but will not take pains; they are either seduced by bad companions, *vel in puellam impingunt, vel in poculum,*[3] and so spend their time to their friends' grief and their own undoings. Or, put case they be studious, industrious, of ripe wits, and perhaps good capacities, then how many diseases of body and mind must they encounter! No labour in the world like unto study! It may be, their temperature will not endure it, but, striving to be excellent, to know all, they lose health, wealth, wit, life, and all. Let him yet happily escape all these hazards, *æreis intestinis*, with a body of brass, and is now consummate and ripe, he hath profited in his studies, and proceeded with all applause: after many expences, he is fit for preferment: where shall he have it? he is as far to seek it (after twenty years' standing) as he was at the first day of his coming to the University.[4] For what course shall he take, being now capable and ready? The most parable and easy, and about which many are employed, is to teach a School, turn Lecturer or Curate, and for that he shall have Falconer's wages, ten pounds *per annum*, and his diet, or some small stipend, so long as he can please his Patron or the Parish; if they approve him not (for usually they do but a year or two) as inconstant as [5]they that cried "*Hosanna*" one day, and "*Crucify* him" the other; serving-man-like, he must go and look a new Master: if they do, what is his reward?

> [6] Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
> Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.

Like an ass, he wears out his time for provender, and can shew a

[1 Martial, v. 13. 10. What you are any one i' th' world can be.] [2 Seneca, Epistle 88.] [3 They come to grief with women or wine.] [4 This is true occasionally even now, Anno Domini 1891.] [5 Mat. 21. [9. cf. 27. 22.] [6 Hor. Epist. i. 20. [17, 18.]

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stum[1] rod, *togam tritam & laceram*, saith [2]*Hædus*, an old torn gown, an ensign of his infelicity, he hath his labour for his pain, a *modicum* to keep him till he be decrepit, and that is all. *Grammaticus non est felix*, &c.[3] If he be a trencher Chaplain in a Gentleman's house, as it befel [4]*Euphormio*, after some seven years' service, he may perchance have a Living to the halves, or some small Rectory with the mother of the maids at length, a poor kinswoman, or a crackt chambermaid, to have and to hold during the time of his life. But if he offend his good Patron, or displease his Lady Mistress in the mean time,

> [5] Ducetur plantâ, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
> Poneturque foras, si quid tentaverit unquam
> Hiscere——

as *Hercules* did by *Cacus*, he shall be dragged forth of doors by the heels, away with him! If he bend his forces to some other studies, with an intent to be *à secretis*[6] to some Nobleman, or in such a place with an Embassador, he shall find that these persons rise like Prentices one under another, as in so many Tradesmen's shops, when the Master is dead, the Foreman of the shop commonly steps in his place. Now for Poets, Rhetoricians, Historians, Philosophers, [7]Mathematicians, Sophisters, *&c.* they are like Grasshoppers, sing they must in Summer, and pine in the Winter, for there is no preferment for them. Even so they were at first, if you will believe that pleasant Tale of *Socrates*,[8] which he told fair *Phædrus* under a Plane-tree, at the banks of the river *Ilissus*. About noon, when it was hot, and the Grasshoppers made a noise, he took that sweet occasion to tell him a Tale, how Grasshoppers were once Scholars, Musicians, Poets, *&c.* before the *Muses* were born, and lived without meat and drink, and for that cause were turned by *Jupiter* into Grasshoppers; and may be turned again *in Tithoni cicadas, aut Lyciorum ranas*,[9] for any reward I see they are like to have: or else, in the mean time, I would they could live, as they did, without any viaticum, like so many [10]*Manucodiatæ*, those *Indian* Birds of *Paradise*, as we commonly call them, those I mean that live with the Air, and Dew of Heaven, and need no

[1] *Stumpe* is the reading of the 4th edition. I take that to be the right reading, and to mean a rod by long use worn to a stump. But this passage is a veritable crux.] [2] Lib. 1. de contem. amor. [3] Cf. Juv. vii. 215-243. A scholar is not a happy man.] [4] Satyricon. [Part i. § 16.] [5] Juv. Sat. 5. [125-127.] [6] A secretary.] [7] Ars colit astra. [8] Plato's Phædrus, 229 A. sq.] [9] Into Tithonus' grasshoppers, or frogs of the Lycians.] [10] Aldrovandus, de Avibus, l. 12. Gesner, &c.

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other food: for, being as they are, their [1]*Rhetorick only serves them to curse their bad fortunes*, & many of them for want of means are driven to hard shifts; from Grasshoppers they turn Humble-Bees and Wasps, plain Parasites, and make the *Muses* Mules, to satisfy their hunger-starved paunches, and get a meal's meat. To say truth, 'tis the common fortune of most scholars to be servile and poor, to complain pitifully, and lay open their wants to their respectless Patrons, as [2]*Cardan* doth, as [3]*Xylander*, and many others; and, which is too common in those Dedicatory Epistles, for hope of gain, to lie, flatter, and with hyperbolical elogiums and commendations to magnify and extol an illiterate unworthy idiot for his excellent virtues, whom they should rather, as [4]*Machiavel* observes, vilify and rail at downright for his most notorious villanies and vices. So they prostitute themselves, as fiddlers or mercenary tradesmen, to serve great men's turns for a small reward. They are like [5]*Indians*, they have store of gold, but know not the worth of it: for I am of *Synesius'* opinion, [6]*King Hiero got more by Simonides' acquaintance, than Simonides did by his:* they have their best education, good institution, sole qualification from us, and, when they have done well, their honour and immortality from us; we are the living tombs, registers, and so many trumpeters of their fames: what was *Achilles* without *Homer? Alexander* without *Arrian* and *Curtius?* who had known the *Cæsars* but for *Suetonius* and *Dion?*

> [7] Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
> Multi: sed omnes illacrimabiles
> Urgentur ignotique longâ
> Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
>
> [Many brave persons lived ere Agamemnon:
> But are all buried in night's long obscurity,
> Unwept, unknown, because they lacked a bard.]

They are more beholden to scholars, than scholars to them; but they under-value themselves, and so by those great men are kept down. Let them have that *Encyclopædian*, all the learning in the

[1] Literas habent queis sibi et fortunæ suæ maledicant. Sat. Menip. [2] Lib. de libris propriis, fol. 24. [3] Præfat. translat. Plutarch. [4] Polit. disput. Laudibus extollunt eos, ac si virtutibus pollerent, quos ob infinita scelera potius vituperare oporteret. [5] Or as horses know not their strength, they consider not their own worth. [6] Plura ex Simonidis familiaritate Hiero consecutus est, quam ex Hieronis Simonides. [Ep. 49.] [7] Hor. Lib. 4. Od. 9. [25-28.]

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world; they must keep it to themselves, [1] *live in base esteem, and starve, except they will submit,* as *Budæus* well hath it, *so many good parts, so many ensigns of arts, virtues, be slavishly obnoxious to some illiterate Potentate, and live under his insolent Worship, or Honour, like Parasites, qui tanquam mures alienum panem comedunt.* [2] For, to say truth, *artes hæ non sunt lucrativæ,* as *Guido Bonat,* that great Astrologer, could foresee, they be not gainful arts these, *sed esurientes & famelicæ,* but poor and hungry.

[3] Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
Sed genus et species cogitur ire pedes:

The rich Physician, honour'd Lawyers ride,
Whilst the poor Scholar foots it by their side.

Poverty is the *Muse's* Patrimony, and, as that Poetical divinity teacheth us, when *Jupiter's* daughters were each of them married to the Gods, the *Muses* alone were left solitary, *Helicon* forsaken of all Suitors, and I believe it was, because they had no portion.

Calliope longum cælebs cur vixit in ævum?
Nempe nihil dotis, quod numeraret, erat.

Why did Calliope live so long a maid?
Because she had no dowry to be paid.

Ever since all their followers are poor, forsaken, and left unto themselves; in so much that, as [4] *Petronius* argues, you shall likely know them by their clothes. *There came,* saith he, *by chance into my company, a fellow not very spruce to look on, that I could perceive by that note alone he was a Scholar, whom commonly rich men hate. I asked him what he was; he answered, a Poet. I demanded again why he was so ragged; he told me this kind of learning never made any man rich.*

[5] Qui pelago credit, magno se fœnore tollit;
Qui pugnas et rostra petit, præcingitur auro:
Vilis adulator picto jacet ebrius ostro;
Sola pruinosis horret facundia pannis.

A merchant's gain is great, that goes to sea;
A soldier embossed all in gold;
A flatterer lies fox'd in brave array;
A scholar only ragged to behold.

[1] Inter inertes et plebeios fere jacet, ultimum locum habens, nisi tot artis virtutisque insignia, turpiter, obnoxiè, supparasitando fascibus subjecerit protervæ insolentisque potentiæ. Lib. 1. de contempt. rerum fortuitarum. [2] Who like mice devour another man's bread.] [3] Buchanan, eleg. lib. [4] In Satyricon. [cap. 83.] Intrat senex, sed cultu non ita speciosus, ut facilè appareret eum hac nota literatum esse, quos divites odisse solent. Ego, inquit, Poeta sum. Quare ergo tam malè vestitus es? Propter hoc ipsum; amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit. [5] Petronius Arbiter. [Satyr. cap. 83.]

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All which our ordinary Students, right well perceiving in the Universities how unprofitable these Poetical, Mathematical, and Philosophical Studies are, how little respected, how few Patrons, apply themselves in all haste to those three commodious Professions of Law, Physick, and Divinity, sharing themselves between them, [1] rejecting these Arts in the mean time, History, Philosophy, Philology, or lightly passing them over, as pleasant toys fitting only table talk, and to furnish them with discourse. They are not so behoveful: he that can tell his money hath Arithmetick enough: he is a true Geometrician, can measure out a good fortune to himself; a perfect Astrologer, that can cast the rise and fall of others, and mark their errant motions to his own use. The best Opticks are to reflect the beams of some great men's favour and grace to shine upon him. He is a good Engineer that alone can make an instrument to get preferment. This was the common tenent and practice of *Poland*, as *Cromerus* observed not long since in the first Book of his History; their Universities were generally base; not a Philosopher, a Mathematician, an Antiquary, *&c.* to be found of any note amongst them, because they had no set reward or stipend; but every man betook himself to Divinity, *hoc solum in votis habens, optimum sacerdotium*, a good Parsonage was their aim. This was the practice of some of our near neighbours, as [2] *Lipsius* inveighs; *they thrust their children to the study of Law and Divinity, before they be informed aright, or capable of such studies. Scilicet omnibus artibus antistat spes lucri, & formosior est cumulus auri, quam quicquid Græci Latinique delirantes scripserunt. Ex hoc numero deinde veniunt ad gubernacula reipub. intersunt & præsunt consiliis regum. O pater! O patria!* [3] So he complained, and so may others. For even so we find, to serve a great man, to get an Office in some Bishop's Court, to practise in some good Town, or compass a Benefice, is the mark we shoot at, as being so advantageous, the high way to preferment.

[1] Oppressus paupertate animus nihil eximium aut sublime cogitare potest. Amœnitates literarum, aut elegantiam, quoniam nihil præsidii in his ad vitæ commodum videt, primò negligere, mox odisse, incipit. Heins. [2] Epistol. quæst. Lib. 4. Ep. 21. [3] In fact the hope of gain stands before all the arts, and a load of gold is more beautiful than all that Greek and Latin dizzards have written. Such monied men come to govern the helm of State, and are present and prominent at King's councils. O my father! O my country! O pater! O patria! is Enn. ap. Cic. Tusc. 3. 19. 44.]

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Although many times, for ought I can see, these men fail as often as the rest in their projects, and are as usually frustrate of their hopes. For let him be a Doctor of the Law, an excellent Civilian of good worth, where shall he practise and expatiate? Their fields are so scant, the Civil Law with us so contracted with Prohibitions, so few Causes, by reason of those all-devouring municipal Laws, *quibus nihil illiteratius*, saith [1]*Erasmus*, an illiterate and a barbarous study, (for though they be never so well learned in it, I can hardly vouchsafe them the name of Scholars, except they be otherwise qualified), and so few Courts are left to that profession, such slender offices, and those commonly to be compassed at such dear rates, that I know not howan ingenious man should thrive amongst them. Now [2] for Physicians, there are in every Village so many Mountebanks, Empiricks, Quacksalvers, Paracelsians, as they call themselves, *causifici & sanicidæ*,[3] so [4]*Clenard* terms them, Wizards, Alchemists, poor Vicars, cast Apothecaries, Physicians' men, Barbers, and Goodwives, professing great skill, that I make great doubt how they shall be maintained, or who shall be their Patients. Besides, there are so many of both sorts, and some of them such Harpies, so covetous, so clamorous, so impudent; and as [5] he said, litigious idiots,

> Quibus loquacis affatim arrogantiæ est,
> Peritiæ parùm aut nihil,
> Nec ulla mica literarii salis;
> Crumenimulga natio,
> Loquuteleia turba, litium strophæ,
> Maligna litigantium
> Cohors, togati vultures,
> Lavernæ alumni, agyrtæ, &c.
>
> Which have no skill but prating arrogance,
> No learning, such a purse-milking nation,
> Gown'd vultures, thieves, and a litigious rout
> Of cozeners, that haunt this occupation, &c.

that they cannot well tell how to live one by another, but, as he jested (in the Comedy) of clocks, they were so many, [6]*major pars populi aridâ reptant fame*, they are almost starved a great part of them, and ready to devour their fellows, [7]*et noxiâ calliditate se corrumpunt*, such a multitude of pettifoggers and Empiricks, such impostors, that an honest man knows not in what sort to compose

[1] Ciceron. dial. [2 *Qu.* Next?] [3 Pretenders, and killers of persons in good health.] [4] Epist. lib. 2. [5] Ja. Dousa, Epodon. lib. 2. car. 2. [6] Plautus, Fragm.] [7] Barcl. Argenis, lib. 3. [p. 322.]

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and behave himself in their society, to carry himself with credit in so vile a rout; *scientiæ nomen, tot sumptibus partum & vigiliis, profiteri dispudeat, postquam &c.*

Last of all to come to our Divines, the most noble profession and worthy of double honour, but of all others the most distressed and miserable. If you will not believe me, hear a brief of it, as it was not many years since publickly preached at *Paul's* Cross,[1] by a grave Minister then, and now a Reverend Bishop of this land. *We that are bred up in learning, & destinated by our Parents to this end, we suffer our childhood in the Grammar-school, which* Austin[2] *calls* magnam tyrannidem, & grave malum, *& compares it to the torments of martyrdom; when we come to the University, if we live of the College allowance, as* Phalaris *objected to the* Leontines, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς πλὴν λιμοῦ καὶ φόβου,[3] *needy of all things but hunger & fear; or, if we be maintained but partly by our Parents' cost, do expend in unnecessary maintenance, books, & degrees, before we come to any perfection, five hundred pounds, or a thousand marks. If, by this price of the expence of time, our bodies and spirits, our substance and patrimonies, we cannot purchase those small rewards, which are ours by law, and the right of inheritance, a poor Parsonage, or a Vicarage, of* 50 l. per annum, *but we must pay to the Patron for the lease of a life (a spent & outworn life) either in annual pension, or above the rate of a copy-hold, & that with the hazard & loss of our souls, by Simony and perjury, and the forfeiture of all our spiritual preferments in* esse *and* posse, *both present and to come; what father after a while will be so improvident, to bring up his son, to his great charge, to this necessary beggary? What Christian will be so irreligious, to bring up his son in that course of life, which by all probability & necessity* coget ad turpia, *enforcing to sin, will entangle him in Simony and perjury, when as the Poet saith,* Invitatus ad hæc aliquis de ponte negabit:[4] *a beggar's brat taken from the bridge where he sits a begging, if he knew the inconvenience, had cause to refuse it.* This being thus, have not we fished fair all this while, that are initiate Divines, to find no better fruits of our labours?[5] *Hoc est cur palles? cur quis non prandeat hoc est?* Do we macerate ourselves for this? Is it for this we rise so early all the

[1] Joh. Howson, 4 Novembris, 1597. The sermon was printed by Arnold Hartfield, [John Howson was Bp. of Oxford 1619-1628, and Bp. of Durham 1628-1632.]
[2] Confess. Book i. cap. ix.] [3] Phalaris, Letter xxxiii.] [4] Juv. xiv. 134.]
[5] Pers. Sat. 3. [85.]

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year long, [1]*leaping* (as he saith) *out of our beds, when we hear the bell ring, as if we had heard a thunderclap?* If this be all the respect, reward, and honour, we shall have, [2]*Frange leves calamos, & scinde, Thalia, libellos:* let us give over our books, and betake ourselves to some other course of life. To what end should we study? [3]*Quid me litterulas stulti docuere parentes?* What did our parents mean to make us Scholars, to be as far to seek of preferment after twenty years' study, as we were at first? Why do we take such pains? *Quid tantum insanis juvat impallescere chartis?* [4] If there be no more hope of reward, no better encouragement, I say again, *Frange leves calamos, & scinde, Thalia, libellos;* let's turn soldiers, sell our books, and buy swords, guns, and pikes, or stop bottles with them, turn our Philosophers' gowns, as *Cleanthes* once did, unto millers' coats, leave all, and rather betake ourselves to any other course of life, than to continue longer in this misery. [5]*Præstat dentiscalpia radere, quàm literariis monumentis magnatum favorem emendicare.*[6]

Yea, but methinks I hear some man except at these words, that, though this be true which I have said of the estate of Scholars, and especially of Divines, that it is miserable and distressed at this time, that the Church suffers shipwrack of her goods, and that they have just cause to complain, there is a fault, but whence proceeds it? If the cause were justly examined, it would be retorted upon ourselves; if we were cited at that tribunal of truth, we should be found guilty, and not able to excuse it. That there is a fault among us, I confess, and were there not a buyer, there would not be a seller: but to him that will consider better of it, it will more than manifestly appear, that the fountain of these miseries proceeds from these griping Patrons. In accusing them, I do not altogether excuse us; both are faulty, they and we: yet, in my judgment, theirs is the greater fault, more apparent causes, & more to be condemned. For my part, if it be not with me as I would, or as it should, I do ascribe the cause, as [7]*Cardan* did in the like case, *meo infortunio potiùs quam illorum sceleri,* to [8]mine own infelicity rather than their naughtiness; although I

[1] E lecto exsilientes, ad subitum tintinnabuli plausum, quasi fulmine territi. I. [2] Mart. [ix. 73. 9.] [3] Mart. [ix. 73. 7.] [4] Pers. v. 62. quoted memoriter.] [5] Sat. Menip. [6] It would be better to make toothpicks, than by literary labours to try and get the favour of the great.] [7] Lib. 3. de consolat. [8] I had no money, I wanted impudence, I could not scamble, temporize, dissemble: non pranderet olus, &c. Vis, dicam? ad palpandum et adulandum penitus insulsus, recudi

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have been baffled in my time by some of them, & have as just cause to complain as another: or rather indeed to mine own negligence; for I was ever like that *Alexander* in [1] *Plutarch*, *Crassus* his tutor in Philosophy, who, though he lived many years familiarly with rich *Crassus*, was even as poor when from, (which many wondered at), as when he came first to him; he never asked, the other never gave him any thing; when he travelled with *Crassus*, he borrowed an hat of him, at his return restored it again. I have had some such noble friends, acquaintance, and scholars, but most part, (common courtesies and ordinary respects excepted), they and I parted as we met, they gave me as much as I requested, and that was—— And as *Alexander ab Alexandro*, *Genial*, *dier. l.* 6. *c.* 16. made answer to *Hieronymus Massainus*, that wondered, *quum plures ignavos & ignobiles ad dignitates & sacerdotia promotos quotodie videret*, when other men rose, still he was in the same state, *eodem tenore & fortunâ, cui mercedem laborum studiorumque deberi putaret*, whom he thought to deserve as well as the rest; he made answer, that he was content with his present estate, was not ambitious; and although *objurgabundus suam segnitiem accusaret, cum obscuræ sortis homines ad sacerdotia & pontificatus evectos* [*videret,*] &*c.* he chid him for his backwardness, yet he was still the same: and for my part (though I be not worthy perhaps to carry *Alexander's* books) yet by some overweening and well wishing friends the like speeches have been used to me; but I replied still with *Alexander*, that I had had enough, and more peradventure than I deserved; and with *Libanius Sophista*, that rather chose (when honours and offices by the Emperor were offered unto him) to be *talis Sophista, quam talis Magistratus.*[2] I had as lief be still *Democritus Junior*, and *privus privatus, si mihi jam daretur optio, quam talis fortasse Doctor, talis Dominus.——Sed quorsum hæc?*[3] For the rest, 'tis on hoth sides *facinus detestandum*[4] to buy and sell Livings, to detain from the Church that which God's and men's Laws have bestowed on it; but in them most, and that from the covetousness and ignorance of such as are interested in this

non possum, jam senior, ut sim talis; et fingi nolo, utcunque male cedat in rem meam, et obscurus inde delitescam. [1] Vit. Crassi. [§ iii.] Nec facilè judicari potest, utrum pauperior cum primo ad Crassum, &c. [2] Sophist than Prefect. See Gibbon's Hist. ch. xxiv. Also Eunapius, Vita Libanii.] [3] And a private person, if I had the choice now, than a Doctor of Divinity or Lord Bishop. But to what purpose do I say all this?] [4] An abominable deed.]

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business; I name covetousness in the first place, as the root of all these mischiefs, which, *Achan*-like, compels them to commit sacrilege, and to make Simoniacal compacts, (and what not?) to their own ends, [1] that kindles God's wrath, brings a plague, vengeance, and an heavy visitation, upon themselves and others. Some, out of that insatiable desire of filthy lucre, to be enriched, care not how they come by it, *per fas & nefas*, hook or crook, so they have it. And others, when they have with riot and prodigality imbezelled their estates, to recover themselves, make a prey of the Church, robbing it, as [2] *Iulian* the Apostate did, spoil Parsons of their revenues (in *keeping half back*, [3] as a great man amongst us observes,) *and that maintenance on which they should live:* by means whereof barbarism is increased, and a great decay of Christian Professors: for who will apply himself to these divine studies, his son, or friend, when, after great pains taken, they shall have nothing whereupon to live? But with what event do they these things?

> [4] Opesque totis viribus venamini,
> At inde messis accidit miserrima.

They toil and moil, but what reap they? They are commonly unfortunate families that use it, accursed in their progeny, &, as common experience evinceth, accursed themselves in all their proceedings. *With what face* (as [5] he quotes out of *Aust.*) *can they expect a blessing or inheritance from Christ in Heaven, that defraud Christ of his inheritance here on earth?* I would all our Simoniacal Patrons, and such as detain Tithes, would read those judicious Tracts of S^r^ *Henry Spelman*, and S^r^ *James Sempil*, Knights; those late elaborate and learned Treatises of D^r^. *Tillesley*, and M^r^. *Montagu*, which they have written of that subject. But though they should read, it would be to small purpose, *clames licet, & mare cælo confundas;* [6] thunder, lighten, preach hell and damnation, tell them 'tis a sin, they will not believe it; denounce and terrify, they have [7] *cauterized consciences*, they do not attend; as the enchanted adder, they stop their ears. [8] Call them base, irreligious, profane, barbarous, Pagans, Atheists, Epicures, (as

[1] Deum habent iratum, sibique mortem æternam acquirunt, aliis miserabilem ruinam. Serrarius, in Josuam, 7. Euripides. [2] Nicephorus, lib. 10. cap. 5. [3] Lord Cook, in his Reports, second part, fol. 44. [4] Euripides. [5] Sir Henry Spelman, de non temerandis Ecclesiis. [6] Juv. vi. 283, 284.] [7] 1. Tim. 4. 2.] [8] Psalms, lviii. 4, 5.]

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some of them surely are), with the Bawd in *Plautus*,[1] *Euge! optimè!* they cry, and applaud themselvès with that Miser, [2] *simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ:* say what you will, *quocunque modo rem:* [3] as a dog barks at the Moon, to no purpose are your sayings: take your Heaven, let them have money;—a base, profane, Epicurean, hypocritical rout! For my part, let them pretend what zeal they will, counterfeit religion, blear the world's eyes, bombast themselves, and stuff out their greatness with Church spoils, shine like so many peacocks; so cold is my charity, so defective in this behalf, that I shall never think better of them, than that they are rotten at core, their bones are full of Epicurean hypocrisy, and Atheistical marrow, they are worse than Heathens. For, as *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* observes, *antiq. Rom. lib.* 7. [cap. 70], [4] *primum locum, &c. Greeks and Barbarians observe all religious rites, and dare not break them for fear of offending their Gods;* but our Simoniacal contractors, our senseless *Achans*, our stupefied Patrons, fear neither God nor Devil, they have evasions for it, it is no sin, or not due *jure divino*, or, if a sin, no great sin, &c. And though they be daily punished for it, and they do manifestly perceive, that, as he said, frost and fraud come to foul ends;[5] yet, as [6] *Chrysostom* follows it, *nulla ex pœna fit correctio, & quasi adversis malitia hominum provocetur, crescit quotidiè quod puniatur:* they are rather worse than better,—*iram atque animos à crimine sumunt*, and the more they are corrected, the more they offend: but let them take their course, [7] *Rode, caper, vites*, go on still as they begin, "'tis no sin!" let them rejoice secure, God's vengeance will overtake them in the end, and these ill-gotten goods, as an eagle's feathers, [8] will consume the rest of their substance: it is [9] *aurum Tolosanum*, and will produce no better effects. [10] *Let them lay it up safe, and make their conveyances never so close, lock and shut door,* saith *Chrysostom, yet fraud and covetous-*

[1 Ballio, in Plautus, Pseudolus, A. i. Sc. iii.] [2 Hor. [Sat. i. i. 67.] [3 Hor. Epp. i. i. 66.] [4 Primum locum apud omnes gentes habet patritius deorum cultus, et geniorum, nam hunc diutissimè custodiunt tam Græci quàm Barbari, &c. [5 A Proverb often in the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, Ld. Chancellor.] [6 Tom. 1. de steril. trium annorum sub Eliâ sermone. [7 Ovid, Fast. [i. 357. Gnaw, goat, the vines.] [8 De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres. [Quoted by Rabelais, Pantagruel. Book iii. ch. ii.] [9 Strabo, lib. 4. Geog. [cap. i. § 13. See also Erasmi Adagia, p. 396.] [10 Nihil facilius opes evertet, quam avaritia et fraude parta. Etsi enim seram addas tali arcæ, et exteriore janua et vecte eam communias, intus tamen fraudem et avaritiam, &c. In 5. Corinth.

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ness, two most violent thieves, are still included, and a little gain evil-gotten will subvert the rest of their goods. The eagle in *Æsop*,[1] seeing a piece of flesh, now ready to be sacrificed, swept it away with her claws, and carried it to her nest; but there was a burning coal stuck to it by chance, which unawares consumed her young ones, nest and all together. Let our Simoniacal Church-chopping Patrons, and sacrilegious Harpies, look for no better success.

A second cause is ignorance, and from thence contempt, *successit odium in literas ab ignorantia vulgi;* which [2] *Junius* well perceived: this hatred and contempt of learning proceeds out of [3] ignorance; as they are themselves barbarous, idiots, dull, illiterate, & proud, so they esteem of others.

Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones:

let there be bountiful Patrons, and there will be painful Scholars in all Sciences. But when they contemn learning, and think themselves sufficiently qualified, if they can write and read, scamble at a piece of Evidence, or have so much Latin as that Emperor had, *qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere*,[5] they are unfit to do their country service, to perform or undertake any action or employment, which may tend to the good of a Common-wealth, except it be to fight, or to do country Justice, with common sense, which every Yeoman can likewise do. And so they bring up their children, rude as they are themselves, unqualified, untaught, uncivil most part. [6] *Quis è nostra juventute legitimè instituitur literis? Quis oratores aut philosophos tangit? Quis historiam legit, illam rerum agendarum quasi animam? Præcipitant parentes vota sua*,[7] *&c.* 'twas *Lipsius'* complaint to his illiterate country-men, it may be ours. Now shall these men judge of a Scholar's worth, that have no worth, that know not what belongs to a student's labours, that cannot distinguish between a true Scholar and a drone? or him that by reason of a voluble tongue, a strong voice, a pleasing tone, and some trivantly *Polyanthean* helps, steals and gleans a few notes from other men's Harvests, and so makes a fairer show than he that is truly learned indeed: that thinks it no more to

[1 5, Ed. Halm.] [2 Acad. cap. 7. [3 Ars neminem habet inimicum præter ignorantem. [4 Mart. viii. lvi. 5.] [5 A favourite maxim with the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.] He that cannot dissemble cannot live. [6 Epist. quest. lib. 4. epist. 21. Lipsius. [7 Which of our youths is sufficiently instructed in letters? Who handles the orators or philosophers? Who reads History, the soul as it were of actions? Parents are in too great a hurry for their own views.]

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preach than to speak, [1] *or to run away with an empty cart*, as a grave man said; and thereupon vilify us and our pains; scorn us and all learning. [2] Because they are rich, and have other means to live, they think it concerns them not to know, or to trouble themselves with it; a fitter task for younger brothers, or poor men's sons, to be Pen and Inkhorn men, pedantical slaves, and no whit beseeming the calling of a Gentleman; as *Frenchmen* and *Germans* commonly do, neglect therefore all human learning, what have they to do with it? Let Mariners learn Astronomy; Merchants' Factors study Arithmetick; Surveyors get them Geometry; Spectacle-makers Opticks; Landleapers Geography; Town-Clerks Rhetorick; what should he do with a spade, that hath no ground to dig? or they with Learning, that have no use of it? Thus they reason, and are not ashamed to let Mariners, Prentices, and the basest servants, be better qualified than themselves. In former times, Kings, Princes, and Emperors, were the only Scholars, excellent in all faculties.

Julius Cæsar mended the year,[3] and writ his own Commentaries,

> ——[4] media inter prælia semper,
> Stellarum, cœlique plagis, superisque vacavit.
>
> [And, though for ever fighting, yet found time
> To study th' heavenly bodies.]

[5] *Antonius, Adrian, Nero, Severus, Julian, &c.* [6] *Michael* the Emperor, and *Isacius*, were so much given to their studies, that no base fellow would take so much pains: *Orion, Perseus, Alphonsus, Ptolemæus*, famous Astronomers: *Sabor, Mithridates, Lysimachus*, admired Physicians: *Plato's* kings all: *Evax*, that *Arabian* Prince, a most expert Jeweller, and an exquisite Philosopher; the Kings of *Egypt* were Priests of old, chosen and from thence,—*Idem rex hominum Phœbique sacerdos:* but those heroical times are past; the *Muses* are now banished in this bastard age *ad sordida tuguriola*, to meaner persons, and confined alone almost to *Universities*. In those days Scholars were highly beloved, [7] honoured, esteemed; as old *Ennius* by *Scipio Africanus*,

[1] Dr. King, in his last lecture on Jonah, sometime Right Reverend Lord Bishop of London. [1611-1621.] [2] Quibus opes et otium, hi barbaro fastu literas contemnunt. [3] *i.e.* reformed the Calendar.] [4] Lucan. lib. [x. 185, 186.] [5] Spartian. Solliciti de rebus nimis. [Adriano, cap. xiv.] [6] Nicet. 1. Anal. Fumis lucubrationum sordebant. [7] Grammaticis olim et dialectices jurisque professoribus, qui specimen eruditionis dedissent, eadem dignitatis insignia decreverunt Imperatores, quibus ornabant heroas. Erasm. ep. Jo. Fabio epis. Vien.

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Virgil by *Augustus*, *Horace* by *Mæcenas:* Princes' companions; dear to them, as *Anacreon* to *Polycrates*, *Philoxenus* to *Dionysius*, and highly rewarded. *Alexander* sent *Xenocrates* the Philosopher fifty talents, because he was poor; *visu rerum aut eruditione præstantes viri mensis olim regum adhibiti*, as *Philostratus* relates of *Adrian*, and *Lampridius* of *Alexander Severus*. Famous Clerks came to these Princes' Courts, *velut in Lyceum*, as to an University, and were admitted to their tables, *quasi divûm epulis accumbentes*;[1] *Archelaus*, that *Macedonian* King, would not willingly sup without *Euripides*, (amongst the rest he drank to him at supper one night, and gave him a cup of gold for his pains[2]) *delectatus poetæ suavi sermone*;[3] and it was fit it should be so, because, as [4]*Plato* in his *Protagoras* well saith, a good Philosopher as much excels other men, as a great King doth the Commons of his country; and again, [5]*quoniam illis nihil deest, & minimè egere solent, & disciplinas quas profitentur soli à contemptu vindicare possunt;* they needed not to beg so basely, as they compel [6]Scholars in our times to complain of poverty, or crouch to a rich chuff for a meal's meat, but could vindicate themselves, and those Arts which they professed. Now they would & cannot: for it is held by some of them, as an axiom, that to keep them poor will make them study; they must be dieted, as horses to a race, not pampered, [7]*alendos volunt, non saginandos, ne melioris mentis flammula extinguatur;* a fat bird will not sing, a fat dog cannot hunt; and so by this depression of theirs, [8]some want means, others will, all want [9]encouragement, as being forsaken almost, & generally contemned. 'Tis an old saying: *Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones*,[10] and 'tis a true saying still. Yet oftentimes, I may not deny it, the main fault is in ourselves. Our Academicks too frequently offend in neglecting patrons, as [11]*Erasmus* well taxeth, or making ill choice of them; *negligimus oblatos, aut amplectimur parum aptos;* or, if we get a good one, *non studemus mutuis officiis favorem ejus alere*, we do not ply and follow him as we should.

[1 Cf. Virg, Æn. i. 79.] [2 Plut. *On Shyness*, § vii.] [3 Being delighted at the agreeable conversation of the poet.] 4 Probus vir et Philosophus magis præstat inter alios homines, quam Rex inclytus inter plebeios. 5 Heinsius, præfat. Poematum. 6 Servile nomen Scholaris jam. 7 Seneca. 8 Haud facilè emergunt, &c. [Juv. iii. 164.] 9 Media quod noctis ab hora Sedisti quâ nemo faber, quâ nemo sedebat, Qui docet obliquo lanam diducere ferro: Rara tamen merces. Juv. Sat. [vii. 222 sq.] [10 Martial, viii. lvi. 5. Let there be Mæcenases, Flaccus, and Virgils will not be wanting.] 11 Chil. 4. Cent. 1. adag. 1.

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Idem mihi accidit adolescenti[1] (saith *Erasmus*, acknowledging his fault), *& gravissimè peccavi*, and so may [2] I say myself, I have offended in this, and so peradventure have many others. We did not *respondere magnatum favoribus, qui cæperunt nos amplecti*, apply ourselves with that readiness we should: idleness, love of liberty, (*immodicus amor libertatis effecit ut diù cum perfidis amicis*, as he confesseth, *& pertinaci pauperate colluctarer*), bashfulness, melancholy, timorousness, cause many of us to be too backward and remiss. So some offend in one extreme, but too many on the other; we are most part too forward, too solicitous, too ambitious, too impudent; we commonly complain *deesse Mæcenates*, [that Mæcenases are wanting,] want of encouragement, want of means, when as the true defect is in our own want of worth, our insufficiency. Did *Mæcenas* take notice of *Horace* or *Virgil* till they had showed themselves first? or had *Bavius* and *Mævius*[3] any patrons? *Egregium specimen dent*, saith *Erasmus*, let them approve themselves worthy first, sufficiently qualified for learning and manners, before they presume or impudently intrude and put themselves on great men, as too many do; with such base flattery, parasitical colloguing, such hyperbolical elogies they do usually insinuate, that it is a shame to hear and see. *Immodicæ laudes conciliant invidiam potius quam laudem*;[4] and vain commendations derogate from truth; and we think in conclusion, *non melius de laudato, pejus de laudante*, ill of both, the commender and commended. So we offend, but the main fault is in their harshness, defect of patrons. How beloved of old, and how much respected was *Plato* to *Dionysius*? How dear to *Alexander* was *Aristotle*, *Demaratus* to *Philip*, *Solon* to *Crœsus*, *Anaxarchus* [to Alexander], and *Trebatius* to *Augustus*, *Cassius* to *Vespasian*, *Plutarch* to *Trajan*, *Seneca* to *Nero*, *Simonides* to *Hiero!* how honoured!

[5] "Sed hæc priûs fuere, nunc recondita
Senent quiete.

[But] those days are gone:

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum:[6]

as he said of old, we may truly say now; he is our *Amulet*, our

[1] The same happened to myself when I was a young man.] [2] Had I done as others did, put myself forward, I might have haply been as great a man as many of my equals. [3] Virg. Ecl. iii. 90; Hor. Epod. x. 2.] [4] Immoderate panegyric raises envy rather than praise.] [5] Catullus [iv. 25, 26]. [6] All our hope and motive in study turns on Cæsar only. Juv. vii. 1.]

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[1] Sun, our sole comfort and refuge, our *Ptolemy*, our common *Mæcenas, Jacobus munificus, Jacobus pacificus, mysta Musarum, Rex Platonicus*:[2] *grande decus, columenque nostrum*:[3] a famous Scholar himself, and the sole Patron, Pillar, and sustainer of learning: but his worth in this kind is so well known, that, as *Paterculus* of *Cato, jam ipsum laudare nefas sit*:[4] and, which [5] *Pliny* to *Trajan, seria te carmina, honorque æternus annalium, non hæc brevis & pudenda prædicatio colet.* But he is now gone, the Sun of ours set, and yet no night follows,

——Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.[6]

We have such another in his room,

[7] Primo avulso non deficit alter
Aureus; et simili frondescit virga metallo;

and long may he reign and flourish amongst us!

Let me not be malicious, and lie against my *Genius*; I may not deny but that we have a sprinkling of our Gentry, here and there one, excellently well learned, like those *Fuggers*[8] in *Germany*, *Du Bartas*, *Du Plessis*, *Sadael* in *France*; *Picus Mirandula*, *Schottus*, *Barotius* in *Italy*;

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.[9]

But they are but few in respect of the multitude, the major part (& some again excepted, that are indifferent) are wholly bent for hawks and hounds, and carried away many times with intemperate lust, gaming, and drinking. If they read a book at any time (*si quid est interim otii â venatu, poculis, alea, scortis*[10]) 'tis an English Chronicle, *Sir Huon of Bordeaux, Amadis de Gaul, &c.* a Play-book, or some pamphlet of News, and that at such seasons only, when they cannot stir abroad, to drive away time, [11] their sole discourse is dogs, hawks, horses, and what News? If some one have been a traveller in *Italy*, or as far as the Emperor's Court, wintered in *Orleans*, and can court his Mistress in broken French, wear his clothes neatly in the newest fashion, sing some choice out-landish

[1] Nemo est quem non Phœbus hic noster solo intuitu lubentiorem reddat. [2] James the munificent, James the pacific, the priest of the Muses, the Platonic King.] [3] Hor. Odes. ii. xvii. 4.] [4] It would be monstrous to praise him. Paterc. ii. 45.] [5] Panegyr. [§ 54.] [6] Camden ascribes this line, in full "Mira Cano; Sol" *sq.* to Giraldus, who applied the line to Richard I. succeeding Henry II.] [7] Virg. [Æn. vi. 143, 144. Another golden one does not fail when the first is removed; the new king is a chip of the old block. Charles I. is here meant.] [8] The well-known merchant-princes of Augsburg.] [9] Virgil, Æn. i. 118.] [10] If they have any leisure from hunting, drinking, dicing, drabbing.] [11] Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa Fortuna. Juv. Sat. 8. [73, 74.]

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tunes, discourse of Lords, Ladies, Towns, Palaces, and Cities, he is complete, and to be admired: [1] otherwise he and they are much at one; no difference betwixt the Master and the Man, but worshipful titles: wink and choose betwixt him that sits down (clothes excepted) and him that holds the trencher behind him. Yet these men must be our Patrons, our Governors too sometimes, statesmen, magistrates, noble, great, and wise, by inheritance.

Mistake me not (I say again) *Vos, ô patricius sanguis,*[2] you that are worthy Senators, Gentlemen, I honour your names and persons, and with all submissiveness prostrate myself to your censure and service. There are amongst you, I do ingenuously confess, many well deserving Patrons, and true patriots, of my knowledge, besides many hundreds which I never saw, no doubt, or heard of, pillars of our common-wealth,[3] whose worth, bounty, learning, forwardness, true zeal in Religion, and good esteem of all Scholars, ought to be consecrated to all posterity; but of your rank there are a debauched, corrupt, covetous, illiterate crew again, no better than stocks, *merum pecus* (testor Deum, non mihi videri dignos ingenui hominis appellatione) [4] barbarous *Thracians* (*& quis ille Thrax qui hoc neget?*) [5] a sordid, profane, pernicious company, irreligious, impudent and stupid, (I know not what epithets to give them,) enemies to learning, confounders of the Church, and the ruin of a common-wealth. Patrons they are by right of inheritance, and put in trust freely to dispose of such Livings to the Church's good; but (hard taskmasters they prove) they take away their straw, and compel them to make their number of brick: they commonly respect their own ends, commodity is the steer[er] of all their actions; and him they present, in conclusion, as a man of greatest gifts, that will give most; no penny, [6] no *Pater Noster*, as the saying is. *Nisi preces auro fulcias, amplius irritas: ut Cerberus offa,*[7] their attendants and officers must be bribed, feed, and made, as *Cerberus* is with a sop by him that goes to hell. It was an old saying, *omnia Romæ venalia,*[8] 'tis a

[1] Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui Indignus genere, et præclaro nomine tantum Insignis. Juv. Sat. 8. [30-32.] [2] Pers. i. 61.] [3] I have often met with myself, and conferred with, divers worthy gentlemen in the country, no whit inferior, if not to be preferred for divers kinds of learning, to many of our academics. [4] Mere cattle. I call God to witness, that they do not seem to me to deserve the name of free men.] [5] And what Thracian would deny this?] [6] Ipse licet Musis venias comitatus, Homere, Nil tamen attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras. [Ovid. A. A. ii. 279, 280.] [7] Cf. Virg. Æn. vi. 420, 421.] [8] All things are for sale at Rome.]

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rag of Popery, which will never be rooted out, there is no hope, no good to be done, without money. A Clerk may offer himself, approve his [1]worth, learning, honesty, religion, zeal; they will commend him for it, but—[2] *probitas laudatur & alget.*[3] If he be a man of extraordinary parts, they will flock afar off to hear him, as they did in *Apuleius*,[4] to see *Psyche: multi mortales confluebant ad videndum sæculi decus, speculum gloriosum; laudatur ab omnibus, spectatur ab omnibus; nec quisquam non rex, non regius, cupidus ejus nuptiarum, petitor accedit; mirantur quidem divinam formam omnes, sed ut simulacrum fabrè politum mirantur;* many mortal men came to see fair *Psyche*, the glory of her age; they did admire her, commend, desire her for her divine beauty, and gaze upon her, but as on a picture; none would marry her, *quod indotata*;[5] fair *Psyche* had no money. [6] So they do by learning;

> [7]——didicit jam dives avarus
> Tantum admirari, tantum laudare, disertos,
> Ut pueri Junonis avem——
> Your rich men have now learn'd of latter days
> T'admire, commend, and come together
> To hear and see a worthy Scholar speak,
> As children do a Peacock's feather.

He shall have all the good words that may be given, [8] "a proper man, and 'tis pity he hath no preferment," all good wishes, but inexorable, indurate as he is, he will not prefer him, though it be in his power, because he is *indotatus*, he hath no money. Or if he do give him entertainment, let him be never so well qualified, plead affinity, consanguinity, sufficiency, he shall serve seven years, as *Jacob* did for *Rachel*, before he shall have it. [9] If he will enter at first, he must get in at that *Simoniacal* gate, come off [10] soundly, and put in good security to perform all covenants, else he will not deal with, or admit him. But if some poor scholar, some Parson chaff,[11] will offer himself; some Trencher Chaplain, that will take it to the halves, thirds, or accept of what he will give, he is welcome; be conformable,[12] preach as he will have him, he likes

[1] Et legat historias, auctores noverit omnes Tanquam ungues digitosque suos. Juv. Sat. 7. [231, 232.] [2] Juvenal [i. 74]. [3] Virtue is commended, but not rewarded.]. [4] Metamorphoses, iv. 85.] [5] Because without dowry.] [6] Tu vero licet Orpheus sis, saxa sono testudinis emolliens, nisi plumbea eorum corda auri vel argenti malleo emollias, &c. Sarisburiensis, Polycrat. lib. 5. c. 10. [7] Juven. Sat. 7. [30-32.] [8] Euge! bene! no need. Dousa epod. lib. 2.—Dos ipsa scientia, sibique congiarium est. [9] Quatuor ad portas Ecclesias itur ad omnes; Sanguinis aut Simonis, præsulis, atque Dei. Holcot. [10] = Pay. The expression is used in Shak. *M. W. of W.* Act iv. Sc. iii.] [11] *Qu.* chuff? A common word in our older writers. Chaff I cannot find.] [12] Compliant, a Parson Supple.]

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him before a million of others; for the best is always best cheap: and then as *Hierom* said to *Chromatius*, [1] *patellâ dignum operculum;* such a Patron, such a Clerk; the Cure is well supplied, and all parties pleased. So that is still verified in our age, which [2] *Chrysostom* complained of in his time; *qui opulentiores sunt in ordinem parasitorum cogunt eos, & ipsos tanquam canes ad mensas suas enutriunt, eorumque impudentes ventres iniquarum cœnarum reliquiis differciunt, iisdem pro arbitrio abutentes:* rich men keep these Lecturers, and fawning Parasites, like so many dogs, at their tables, and filling their hungry guts with the offals of their meat, they abuse them at their pleasure, and make them say what they propose. [3] *As children do by a bird or a butterfly in a string, pull in and let him out as they list, do they by their Trencher Chaplains, prescribe, command their wits, let in and out, as to them it seems best.* If the Patron be precise, so must his Chaplain be, if he be Papistical, his Clerk must be so too, or else be turned out. These are those Clerks which serve the turn, whom they commonly entertain, and present to Church Livings, whilst in the mean time we that are University men, like so many hide-bound calves in a pasture, tarry out our time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, & are never used: or, as too many candles, illuminate ourselves alone, obscuring one another's light, & are not discerned here at all, the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some Country Benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light, and be seen over all. Whilst we lie waiting here, as those sick men did at the pool of [4] *Bethesda*, till the Angel stirred the water, expecting a good hour, they step between, and beguile us of our preferment. I have not yet said. If after long expectation, much expence, travail, earnest suit of ourselves and friends, we obtain a small Benefice at last, our misery begins afresh; we are suddenly encountered with the flesh, world, and Devil, with a new onset; we change a quiet life for an ocean of troubles, we come to a ruinous house, which, before it be habitable, must be necessarily (to our great damage) repaired; we are compelled to sue for dilapidations, or else sued ourselves, and, scarce yet settled, we

[1 Ep. i. 7. sc. *accedit.* A worthy cover is added to the pan; said sarcastically of the connection of two vile or common things of the same nature. Chromatius was Bishop of Aquileia.] [2] Lib. contra Gentiles, de Babila martyre. [3] Præscribunt, imperant, in ordinem cogunt; ingenium nostrum, prout ipsis videbitur, astringunt et relaxant, ut papilionem pueri aut bruchum filo demittunt aut attrahunt, nos à libidine sua pendere æquum censentes. Heinsius. [4] Joh. 5. [2 *sq.*].

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are called upon for our predecessor's arrearages; first fruits, tenths, subsidies, are instantly to be paid, benevolence, procurations, &c. and, which is most to be feared, we light upon a crackt title, as it befel *Clenard* of *Brabant*, for his Rectory and Charge of his *Beginæ;* he was no sooner inducted, but instantly sued, *cæpimusque* ([1] saith he) *strenuè litigare, & implacabili bello confligere:* at length after ten years' suit, as long as *Troy's* siege, when he had tired himself, and spent his money, he was fain to leave all for quietness' sake, and give it up to his adversary. Or else we are insulted over and trampled on by domineering officers, fleeced by those greedy *Harpies* to get more fees; we stand in fear of some precedent lapse; we fall amongst refractory, seditious sectaries, peevish Puritans, perverse Papists, a lascivious rout of Atheistical *Epicures*, that will not be reformed, or some litigious people, (*those wild beasts of Ephesus* must be fought with [2]), that will not pay their dues without much repining, or compelled by long suit; for *laici clericis oppido infesti*,[3] an old axiom; all they think well gotten that is had from the Church, and by such uncivil harsh dealings they make their poor Minister weary of his place, if not his life: and put case they be quiet honest men, make the best of it, as often it falls out, from a polite and terse Academick he must turn rustick, rude, melancholise alone, learn to forget; or else, as many do, become Maltsters, Graziers, Chapmen, &c. (now banished from the Academy, all commerce of the Muses, and confined to a country village, as *Ovid* was from *Rome* to *Pontus*,) and daily converse with a company of idiots and clowns.

Nos interim quod attinet (*nec enim immunes ab hac noxâ sumus*) *idem reatus manet, idem nobis, et si non multò gravius, crimen objici potest: nostrâ enim culpâ fit, nostrâ incuriâ, nostrâ avaritiâ, quòd tam frequentes fœdæque fiant in Ecclesiâ nundinationes*, (templum est venale, Deusque), *tot sordes invehantur, tanta grassetur impietas, tanta nequitia, tam insanus miseriarum Euripus, & turbarum æstuarium, nostro, quam, omnium* (*Academicorum imprimis*) *vitio fit. Quod tot Resp. malis afficiatur, à nobis*

[1] Epist. lib. 2. Jam suffectus in locum demortui, ... protinus exortus est adversarius, &c., post multos labores, sumptus, &c. [Clenard was born in Brabant 1495. He died in 1542. Beginæ was the name of the village where he was offered this Living.] [2] An allusion to 1 Cor. xv. 32.] [3] In a note to Jeremy Taylor, vol. v. p. 9, Eden says "Sext. Decretal. Bonif. viii. lib. iii. tit. 23. cap. 3. init. col. 528." The axiom means, the laity generally hate the clergy.]

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seminarium; ultrò malum hoc accersimus, & quâvis contumeliâ, quâvis interìm miseriâ digni, qui pro virili non occurrimus. Quid enim fieri posse speramus, quum tot indies sine delectu pauperes alumni, terræ filii, & cujuscunque ordinis homunciones, ad gradus certatim admittantur? qui si definitionem, distinctionemque unam aut alteram, memoritèr edidicerint, & pro more tot annos in dialecticâ posuerint, non refert quo profectu, quales demum sint, idiotæ, nugatores, otiatores, aleatores, compotores, indigni, libidinis voluptatumque administri,

Sponsi Penelopes, nebulones, Alcinoique,[1]

modò tot annos in Academiâ insumpserint, et se pro togatis venditârint; lucri causâ, & amicorum intercessu præsentantur: addo etiam, et magnificis nonnunquam elogiis morum et scientiæ; et jam valedicturi testimonialibus hisce literis, amplissimè conscriptis in eorum gratiam, honorantur ab iis qui fidei suæ et existimationis jacturam proculdubiò faciunt. Doctores enim et Professores (*quod ait*[2] *ille*) id unum curant, ut ex professionibus frequentibus, et tumultuariis potius quam legitimis, commoda sua promoveant, & ex dispendio publico suum faciant incrementum. *Id solum in votis habent annui plerumque magistratus, ut ab incipientium numero*[3] *pecunias emungant, nec multum interest qui sint, literatores an literati, modò pingues, nitidi, ad aspectum speciosi, et, quòd verbo dicam, pecuniosi sint.* [4]*Philosophastri licentiantur in artibus, artem qui non habent;* [5]eosque sapientes esse jubent, qui nulla præditi sunt sapientia, et nihil ad gradum præterquam velle adferunt. *Theologastri, (solvant modo), satis superque docti, per omnes honorum gradus evehuntur et ascendunt. Atque hinc fit quòd tam viles scurræ passim, tot idiotæ, literarum crepusculo positi, larvæ pastorum, circumforanei vagi, bardi, fungi, crassi, asini, merum pecus, in sacrosanctos theologiæ aditus illotis pedibus irrumpant, præter inverecundam frontem adferentes nihil, vulgares quasdam quisquilias, et scholarium quædam nugamenta, indigna quæ vel recipiantur in triviis. Hoc illud indignum genus hominum et famelicum, indigum, vagum, ventris mancipium, ad stivam potius relegandum, ad haras aptius quam ad aras, quod divinas hasce literas turpitèr prostituit: hi sunt qui pulpita complent, in ædes nobilium irrepunt, et, quum reliquis vitæ destituantur subsidiis, ob corporis et animi egestatem,*

[1 Hor. Epp. i. ii. 28.] [2] Jun. Acad. cap. 6. [3] Accipiamus pecuniam, demittamus asinum, ut apud Patavinos, Italos. [4] Hos non ita pridem perstrinxi in Philosophastro, Comædia Latina, in Æde Christi Oxon. publice habita, Anno 1617, Feb. 16. [5] Sat. Menip.

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aliarum in Repub. partium minimè capaces sint, ad sacram hanc ancoram confugiunt, sacerdotium quovis modò captantes, non ex sinceritate, sed, *quod* [1] Paulus *ait,* cauponantes verbum Dei. *Ne quis interim viris bonis detractum quid putet, quos habet Ecclesia Anglicana quam plurimos, egregiè doctos, illustres, intactæ famæ homines, et plures forsan quam quævis Europæ provincia; ne quis à florentissimis Academiis, quæ viros undequâque doctissimos, omni virtutum genere suspiciendos, abunde producunt; et multò plures utraque habitura, multo splendidior futura, si non hæ sordes splendidum lumen ejus obfuscarent, obstaret corruptio, et cauponantes quædam Harpyiæ, proletariique, bonum hoc nobis non inviderent. Nemo enim tam cæcâ mente, qui non hoc ipsum videat, nemo tam stolido ingenio, qui non intelligat, tam pertenaci judicio, qui non agnoscat, ab his idiotis circumforaneis sacram pollui Theologiam, ac cælestes Musas quasi profanum quiddam prostitui.* Viles animæ & effrontes (*sic enim* Lutherus [2] *alicubi vocat*) lucelli causa, ut muscæ ad mulctra,[3] ad nobilium & heroum mensas advolant, in spem sacerdotii, *cujuslibet honoris, officii, in quamvis aulam, urbem se ingerunt, ad quodvis se ministerium componunt:*

—— Ut nervis alienis mobile lignum
Ducitur,[4]

[5]offam sequentes, psittacorum more, in prædæ spem quidvis effutiunt: *obsecundantes Parasiti* ([6] Erasmus *ait*) quidvis docent, dicunt, scribunt, suadent, et contra conscientiam probant, non ut salutarem reddant gregem, sed ut magnificam sibi parent fortunam. [7] Opiniones quasvis & decreta contra verbum Dei astruunt, ne offendant patronum, sed ut retineant favorem procerum, & populi plausum, sibique ipsis opes accumulent. *Eo etenim plerumque animo ad Theologiam accedunt, non ut rem divinam, sed ut suam faciant; non ad Ecclesiæ bonum promovendum, sed expilandum; quærentes, quod* Paulus *ait,* non quæ Jesu Christi, sed quæ sua, *non Domini thesaurum, sed ut sibi suisque thesaurizent. Nec tantum iis, qui vilioris fortunæ, & abjectæ sortis sunt, hoc in usu est: sed et medios, summos, elatos, ne dicam Episcopos, hoc malum invasit.*

[8] Dicite, pontifices, in sacris quid facit aurum?

[9]Summos sæpe viros transversos agit avaritia, *et qui reliquis*

[1] 2 Cor. ii. 17. [2] Comment. in Gal. [3] Cf. Hom. Il. ii. 469-471.] [4] Hor. Lib. ii. Sat. 7. 81.] [5] Heinsius. [6] Ecclesiast. [7] Luth. in Gal. [8] Pers. Sat. 2. [69.] [9] Sallust. [De Bello Jugurthino, cap. vi. § 3, memoriter.]

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morum probitate prælucerent, hi facem præferunt ad Simoniam, et, in corruptionis hunc scopulum impingentes, non tondent pecus, sed deglubunt, et, quocunque se conferunt, expilant, exhauriunt, abradunt, magnum famæ suæ, si non animæ, naufragium facientes: ut non ab infimis ad summos, sed à summis ad infimos, malum promanâsse videatur, & illud verum sit quod ille olim lusit, Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest. Simoniacus enim (*quod cum* Leone *dicam*) gratiam non accepit; si non accipit, non habet, et si non habet, nec gratus potest esse. *Tantum enim absunt istorum nonnulli, qui ad clavum sedent, à promovendo reliquos, ut penitus impediant, probè sibi conscii, quibus artibus illic pervenerint.* [1] Nam qui ob literas emersisse illos credat, desipit: qui vero ingenii, eruditionis, experientiæ, probitatis, pietatis, & Musarum id esse pretium putat, (*quod olim revera fuit, hodiè promittitur*), planissime insanit. *Utcunque vel undecunque malum hoc originem ducat, (non ultra quæram,) ex his primordiis cœpit vitiorum colluvies, omnis calamitas, omne miseriarum agmen, in Ecclesiam invehitur. Hinc tam frequens Simonia, hinc ortæ querelæ, fraudes, imposturæ, ab hoc fonte se derivârunt omnes nequitiæ; ne quid obiter dicam de ambitione, adulatione plusquam aulicâ, ne tristi domicænio laborent, de luxu, de fœdo nonnunquam vitæ exemplo, quo nonnullos offendunt, de compotatione Sybaritica &c. Hinc ille squalor Academicus,* "tristes hac tempestate Camenæ,"[2] *quum quivis homunculus, artium ignarus, his artibus assurgat, hunc in modum promoveatur & ditescat, ambitiosis appellationibus insignis, & multis dignitatibus augustus, vulgi oculos perstringat, benè se habeat, & grandia gradiens majestatem quamdam ac amplitudinem præ se ferens, miramque sollicitudinem, barbâ reverendus, togâ nitidus, purpurâ corruscus, supellectilis splendore & famulorum numero maximè conspicuus.* Quales statuæ (*quod ait* [3] *ille*) quæ sacris in ædibus columnis imponuntur, velut oneri cedentes videntur, ac si insudarent, quum revera sensu sint carentes, & nihil saxeam adjuvent firmitatem: *Atlantes videri volunt, quum sint statuæ lapideæ, umbratiles reverà homunciones, fungi forsan & bardi, nihil à saxo differentes. Quum interim docti viri, et vitæ sanctioris ornamentis præditi, qui æstum diei sustinent, his iniquâ sorte serviant, minimo forsan salario contenti, puris nominibus nuncupati, humiles, obscuri; multoque digniores licet, egentes, inhonorati, vitam privam privatam agant; tenuique sepulti sacerdotio, vel in collegiis suis in æternum incarcerati, ingloriè deli-*

[1] Sat. Menip. [2] Probably a quotation.] [3] Budæus, de Asse, lib. 5.

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tescant. Sed nolo diutius hanc movere sentinam. Hinc illæ lacrimæ,[1] *lugubriis Musarum habitus,* [2] *hinc ipsa religio* (*quod cum* Sesellio *dicam*) in ludibrium & contemptum adducitur, *abjectum sacerdotium,* (*atque hæc ubi fiunt, ausim dicere, &c putidum* [3] *putidi dicterium de Clero usurpare*), putidum vulgus, *inops, rude, sordidum, melancholicum, miserum, despicabile, contemnendum.*[4]

[1 Ter. And. i. i. 99.] [2 Lib. de rep. Gallorum, [3 Campian.

[4 Meantime, as regards us (for we are not free from this fault) the same charge remains, the same accusation, if not a much heavier one, may be brought against us; for it is through our fault, our carelessness, our avarice, that there are such frequent and foul traffickings in the Church (the Temple is put up for sale, and even God himself), such corruptions prevalent, such impiety and wickedness rampant, such a mad Euripus of miseries, such an estuary of troubles; all this is, I say, owing to the fault of all of us, but especially us University-bred men. For we are the main cause why the State is oppressed with so many evils; we of our ownselves introduce this sad state of affairs, though deserving meantime any scorn and misery for not counteracting it to the best of our abilities. For what do we expect can happen, when every day pell-mell poor sons of Alma Mater, sprung from the soil, mannikins of no rank whatever, are eagerly admitted to degrees? And if these have learnt by heart one or two definitions and distinctions, and spent the usual number of years in chopping logic, it matters not to what profit, whatever kind of fellows they eventually turn out to be, idiots, trifiers, idlers, gamesters, tipplers, worthless, slaves to lust and pleasure,

> "Such as the suitors of Penelope,
> Or worthless courtiers of Alcinous,"

provided they have spent so many years at the University, and passed muster as gownsmen, they are presented for lucre's sake and through the interest of their friends: I may add often with splendid testimonials to their morals and learning; and on leaving College they are furnished with these, written most amply in their favour, by those who undoubtedly thereby abandon good faith and lose credit. For Doctors and Professors (as one says) care for this only, that from their various professions, irregular more frequently than legitimate ones, they may promote their own interests, and make their gains at the cost of the public. The only thing our annual officials generally desire is that they may squeeze money from the number of those who take degrees, nor do they much care what manner of men they are, whether literate or illiterate, provided they are fat, and sleek, and handsome, and, to sum up in one word, monied. Philosophasters who have no art become Masters of Arts: and the authorities bid those be wise who are endowed with no wisdom, and bring nothing to their degree but the desire to take it. Theologasters, sufficiently and more than sufficiently learned if they but pay the fees, emerge full-blown B.D.'s and D.D.'s. And hence it happens that such sorry buffoons everywhere, so many idiots, placed in the twilight of letters, ghosts of pastors, itinerant quacks, stupid, dolts, clods, asses, mere animals, burst with unwashed feet into the sacred precincts of Theology, bringing nothing but a brazen countenance, some vulgar trash, and scholastic trifles hardly worth hearing on the high roads. This is that unworthy and half-starved class of men, indigent, vagabond, slaves to their belly, that ought to be sent back to the plough-tail, fitter for sties than altars, who basely prostitute our Divinity; these are they who fill pulpits, creep into noblemen's houses, and, since they are deprived of other means of livelihood by their feebleness of mind and body, and are very unfitted for any

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MEMB. IV.

SUBSECT. 1.—*Non-necessary, remote, outward, adventitious, or accidental causes: as first from the Nurse.*

OF those remote, outward, ambient, *necessary* causes, I have sufficiently discoursed in the precedent member. The *non-neces-*

other functions in the State, flee to this sacred refuge, clutching at the Priesthood by hook or by crook, not in sincerity, but, as Paul says, "making merchandise of the word of God." Let no one meantime think that I intend any disparagement to the very many in the Church of England, exceptionably learned, eminent, and of spotless fame, who are more perhaps than any other nation in Europe could produce; let no one think that I intend any disparagement to our most flourishing Universities, which produce in abundance men most learned in every branch of learning, and men to be respected for every kind of virtue; and both Oxford and Cambridge would have many more such, and be far more famous, did not these blots obscure their splendid lustre, did not corruption stand in the way, did not some huckstering Harpies and proletaries envy them this distinction. For no one has so blind a mind as not to see, no one so dull an intelligence as not to perceive, no one so obstinate a judgement, as to refuse to realise that sacred Theology is polluted by these idiots and mountebanks, and the heavenly Muses prostituted as some common thing. Vile souls full of effrontery (to use the language somewhere of Luther) for the sake of gain, as flies to the milk-pails, fly to the tables of nobles and heroes, in the hope of the Priesthood or any honour and office, and pour into any Hall or Town, willing to undertake any duty,

"As Marionettes dance on the Showman's wires,"

following wherever hunger leads them, and, like parrots, in hope of prey they chatter anything: complaisant Parasites (as Erasmus calls them) they teach, say, write, urge, prove, anything against their conscience, not to improve the flock, but to get for themselves a large fortune. They enunciate any opinions and tenents contrary to the word of God, not to offend their Patron, and to retain the favour of influential persons, and the applause of the people, and to heap up riches for themselves. For the spirit in which they generally approach Theology in is not to look after Divinity, but themselves; not to promote the welfare of the Church, but to plunder it; "seeking," as Paul[1] says, "not the things of Jesus Christ, but their own things," not the Master's treasure, but to store up treasure for themselves and their families. Nor is this the case only with those of poorer fortunes and mean lot: this evil has invaded the middle and highest classes, men of eminence, not to say Bishops.

"The part that money plays in sacred things
Tell us, ye Pontiffs."

For ofttimes the very highest men are perverted by avarice, and those who outshine all others in the exemplariness of their character lead the way[2] to Simony, and, dashing against this rock of corruption, not only shear but fleece the flock, and, wherever they betake themselves, plunder, and drain, and pillage, making ship-

[1 Philippians, ii. 21.] [2 Literally, lead the torch, as was done before brides in bridal processions.]

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sary follow; of which, saith [1] Fuchsius, no art can be made, by reason of their uncertainty, casualty, and multitude; so called *not necessary*, because (according to [2] *Fernelius*) *they may be avoided*,

wrack of their reputation, if not of their souls; so that the evil seems to have proceeded not from bottom to top but from top to bottom, and that is true which one of old playfully said,

"What one first bought, that may one justly sell."

The Simoniac (to use the words of Leo) has not received a favour, and if he receives it not, he has it not, and if he has it not, he cannot be favoured. So far indeed are some of those who sit at the helm from promoting others, that they stand altogether in their way, being well aware themselves to what arts they owed their own position. For he who thinks they rose on account of their love of letters is a fool: indeed he who supposes promotion is the reward of genius, learning, experience, probity, piety, and devotion to the Muses (as was once actually the case, but now is only an expectation), is very obviously a madman. However or wherever this evil originated I shall not seek further; from these beginnings sprung these dregs of corruptions, every calamity, all the numerous miseries that trouble the Church. Hence the so common Simony, hence have arisen complaints, frauds, impostures; from this source has sprung all wickedness. I shall not speak in passing of the ambition, the flattery grosser than that of Courts, to escape from short commons at home, the luxury, the frequently bad example of their lives, by which they offend some, their Sybaritic drinking-parties, etc. Hence that Academic squalor, "that sadness of the Muses in these days," since any mannikin ignorant of arts rises by these arts, is promoted and grows rich in this manner, distinguished by ambitious titles, and majestic with many dignities, and attracts the eyes of the common people, and holds his head high, and exhibits a certain majesty and grandeur, and great solicitude about his personal appearance, being venerable through his beard, neat in his gown, glittering in purple, and especially conspicuous for the splendour of his household arrangements and the number of his servants. As the statues (as one says), which are placed on columns in sacred buildings, seem as if yielding beneath their load, and as if they sweated, when really they are inanimate, and add nothing to the firmness of the stone; so these wish to seem Atlases, though they are in reality stony statues, shadowy mannikins, perhaps stupid and dolts, differing in nothing from stone. Meantime learned men, endowed with the graces of a holy life, and "bearing the burden and heat of the day,"[3] by some unfair destiny serve these men, perhaps contented with a very small salary, called by pure names, humble, obscure, and needy, though far more worthy, and unhonoured lead a private life, buried in some scanty country Living, or imprisoned all their lives in their Colleges, and languish in obscurity. But I will not dwell on this sad theme any longer. Hence come our tears, hence is it that the Muses are in mourning, hence is it that Religion itself, to use the words of Sesellius, is brought into ridicule and contempt, and the Priesthood is debased; and, since this is the case, I may venture to say so, and to quote the low saying of a low person about the Clergy, that they are a low lot, poor, ignorant, sordid, melancholy, wretched, despicable, and contemptible![4]

[1] Proem. lib. 2. Nulla ars constituti potest. [2] Lib. 1. c. 19. de morborum causis. Quas declinare licet, aut nulla necessitate utimur. [3] Matt. 20. 12.] [4] How all this reminds us of Eachard! Surely Macaulay had read his Burton too. Yet neither he nor Churchill Babington (in his famous attack on Lord Macaulay) mention Burton. Curious this. See a Letter of mine in *Notes and Queries*, Jan. 4, 1890.]

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and used without necessity. Many of these accidental causes, which I shall entreat [= treat] of here, might have well been reduced to the former, because they cannot be avoided, but fatally happen to us, though accidentally, and unawares, at some time or other: the rest are contingent and evitable, and more properly inserted in this rank of causes. To reckon up all is a thing unpossible; of some therefore most remarkable of these contingent causes which produce Melancholy, I will briefly speak, and in their order.

From a child's nativity, the first ill accident that can likely befall him in this kind is a bad nurse, by whose means alone he may be tainted with this [1] malady from his cradle. *Aulus Gellius, l.* 12. *c.* 1, brings in *Favorinus*, that eloquent Philosopher, proving this at large, [2] *that there is the same virtue and property in the milk as in the seed, and not in men alone, but in all other creatures. He gives instance in a kid and lamb: if either of them suck of the other's milk, the lamb of the goat's, or the kid of the ewe's, the wool of the one will be hard, and the hair of the other soft. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerar. Cambriæ, l.* 1. *c.* 2, confirms this by a notable example which happened in his time. A sow-pig by chance sucked a brach,[3] and, when she was grown, [4] *would miraculously hunt all manner of deer, and that as well, or rather better than any ordinary hound.* His conclusion is, [5] *that men and beasts participate of her nature and conditions, by whose milk they are fed. Favorinus* urgeth it farther, and demonstrates it more evidently, that if a nurse be [6] *misshapen, unchaste, unhonest, impudent, drunk,* [7] cruel or the like, the child that sucks upon her breast will be so too; all other affections of the mind, and diseases, are almost engrafted, as it were, & imprinted into the temperature of the infant, by the nurse's milk, as pox, leprosy, melancholy, &c. *Cato* for some such reason would make his servants' children suck upon his wife's breast, because by that means they would love him and his the better, & in all likelihood agree with them.[8] A more evident

[1] Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu. Hor. [Ep. i. ii. 69, 70.] [2] Sicut valet ad fingendas corporis atque animi similitudines vis et natura seminis, sic quoque lactis proprietas. Neque id in hominibus solum, sed in pecudibus animadversum. Nam si ovium lacte hœdi, aut caprarum agni alerentur, constat fieri in his lanam duriorem, in illis capillum gigni severiorem. [3] A deer-hound. See Nares' Glossary.] [4] Adulta in ferarum persequutione ad miraculum usque sagax. [5] Tam animal quodlibet quam homo, ab illâ cujus lacte nutritur, naturam contrahit. [6] Improba, informis, impudica, temulenta nutrix, &c. quoniam, in moribus efformandis, magnam sæpe partem ingenium altricis et natura lactis tenet. [7] Hyrcanæque admôrunt ubera tigres, Virg. [Æn. iv. 367.] [8] Plut. v. Cat. § 20.]

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example that the minds are altered by milk, cannot be given, than that of [1]*Dion*, which he relates of *Caligula's* cruelty; it could neither be imputed to father nor mother, but to his cruel nurse alone, that anointed her paps with blood still when he sucked, which made him such a murderer, & to express her cruelty to an hair: and that of *Tiberius*, who was a common drunkard, because his nurse was such a one. *Et si delira fuerit,* [2](one observes) *infantulum delirum faciet,* [and] if she be a fool or dolt, the child she nurseth will take after her, or otherwise be misaffected; which *Franciscus Barbarus, l. 2. c. ult. de re uxoriâ*, proves at full, & *Ant. Guivarra, lib. 2. de Marco Aurelio:* the child will surely participate. For bodily sickness there is no doubt to be made. *Titus, Vespasian's* son, was therefore sickly, because the nurse was so, *Lampridius.* And if we may believe Physicians, many times children catch the pox from a bad nurse, *Botaldus, cap.* 61. *de lue vener.* Besides evil attendance, negligence, and many gross inconveniences, which are incident to nurses, much danger may so come to the child. [3] For these causes *Aristotle, Polit. lib. 7. c. 17. Favorinus*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, would not have a child put to nurse at all, but every mother to bring up her own of what condition soever she be; for a sound and able mother to put out her child to nurse is *naturæ intemperies,*[4] so [5] *Guatso* calls it, 'tis fit therefore she should be nurse herself; the mother will be more careful, loving, and attendant, than any servile woman, or such hired creatures; this all the world acknowledgeth; *convenientissimum est* (as *Rod. à Castro, de nat. mulierum lib. 4. c.* 12, in many words confesseth) *matrem ipsam lactare infantem,*[6] who denies that it should be so? and which some women most curiously observe; amongst the rest, [7] that Queen of *France*, a *Spaniard* by birth, that was so precise and zealous in this behalf, that, when in her absence a strange nurse had suckled her child, she was never quiet till she had made the infant vomit it up again. But she was too jealous. If it be so, as many times it is, they must be put forth, the mother be not fit or well able to be a nurse, I would then advise such mothers, (as [9]*Plutarch* doth in his book

[1] Lib. 2. de Cæsaribus. [2] Beda, c. 27. l. 1. Eccles. hist. [3] Ne insitivo lactis alimento degeneret corpus, et animus corrumpatur. [4] An outrage upon nature.] [5] Lib. 3. de civ. convers. [6] It is most fit that the mother should suckle her own infant.] [7] Stephanus. [8] Nutrices non quasvis, sed maximè probas, deligamus. [§ v.]

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de liberis educandis, and [1] S. *Hierome, lib. 2. epist. 27*, *Lætæ de institut. fil. Magninus, part. 2. Reg. sanit. cap. 7*, and the said *Rodericus*) that they make choice of a sound woman, of a good complexion, honest, free from bodily diseases, if it be possible, and all passions and perturbations of the mind, as sorrow, fear, grief, [2] folly, melancholy. For such passions corrupt the milk, and alter the temperature of the child, which now being [3] *udum & molle lutum*,[4] is easily seasoned and perverted. And if such a nurse may be found out, that will be diligent and careful withal, let *Favorinus* and *M. Aurelius* plead how they can against it, I had rather accept of her in some cases than the mother herself, and (which *Bonacialus*, the Physician, *Nic. Biesius* the politician, *lib. 4. de repub. cap. 8*, approves,) [5] *some nurses are much to be preferred to some mothers.* For why may not the mother be naught, a peevish drunken flirt, a waspish cholerick slut, a crazed piece, a fool, (as many mothers are), unsound, as soon as the nurse? There is more choice of nurses than mothers; and therefore, except the mother be most virtuous, staid, a woman of excellent good parts, and of a sound complexion, I would have all children in such cases committed to discreet strangers. And 'tis the only way (as by marriage they are engrafted to other families) to alter the breed, or, if any thing be amiss in the mother, as *Lodovicus Mercatus* contends, *Tom. 2. lib. de morb. hæred.* to prevent diseases and future maladies, to correct and qualify the child's ill-disposed temperature, which he had from his parents. This is an excellent remedy, if good choice be made of such a nurse.

SUBSECT. 2.—*Education a Cause of Melancholy.*

EDUCATION, of these accidental causes of Melancholy, may justly challenge the next place, for if a man escape a bad nurse, he may be undone by evil bringing up. [6] *Jason Pratensis* puts this of *Education* for a principal cause; bad parents, step-mothers, tutors, masters, teachers, too rigorous, too severe, too remiss or indulgent on the other side, are often fountains and furtherers of this disease. Parents, and such as have the tuition and oversight of children, offend many times in that they are too stern, alway threatening,

[1] Nutrix non sit lasciva aut temulenta. Hier. [2] Prohibendum ne stolida lactet. [3] Pers. [3. 23.] [4] Moist and soft clay.] [5] Nutrices interdum matribus sunt meliores. [6] Lib. de morbis capitis, cap. de mania. Haud postrema causa supputatur educatio, inter has mentis abalienationis causas. Injusta noverca. [Virg. Ecl. iii. 33.]

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chiding, brawling, whipping, or striking; by means of which their poor children are so disheartened and cowed, that they never after have any courage, a merry hour in their lives, or take pleasure in any thing. There is a great moderation to be had in such things, as matters of so great moment to the making or marring of a child. Some fright their children with beggars, bugbears, and hobgoblins, if they cry, or be otherwise unruly: but they are much to blame in it, many times, saith *Lavater, de spectris, part* 1. *cap.* 5, *ex metu in morbos graves incidunt, et noctu dormientes clamant*, for fear they fall into many diseases, and cry out in their sleep, and are much the worse for it all their lives: these things ought not at all, or to be sparingly done, & upon just occasion. Tyrannical, impatient, hair-brain Schoolmasters, *aridi magistri*, so [1] *Fabius* terms them, *Ajaces flagelliferi*,[2] are in this kind as bad as hangmen and executioners, they make many children endure a martyrdom all the while they are at school, with bad diet, if they board in their houses, too much severity and ill usage, they quite pervert their temperature of body and mind: still chiding, railing, frowning, lashing, tasking, keeping, that they are *fracti animis*, moped many times, weary of their lives, [3] *nimia severitate deficiunt & desperant*, and think no slavery in the world (as once I did myself) like to that of a Grammar Scholar. *Præceptorum ineptiis discruciantur ingenia puerorum*,[4] saith *Erasmus*, they tremble at his voice, looks, coming in. *S. Austin* in the first book of his *Confess. & cap. ix.* calls this schooling *meticulosam necessitatem*,[5] and elsewhere a martyrdom, and confesseth of himself, how cruelly he was tortured in mind for learning Greek; *nulla verba noveram, & sævis terroribus & pœnis, ut nossem, instabatur mihi vehementer*, I knew nothing, and with cruel terrors and punishment I was daily compelled. [6] *Beza* complains in like case of a rigorous Schoolmaster in *Paris*, that made him by his continual thunder and threats once in a mind to drown himself, had he not met by the way with an uncle of his that vindicated him from that misery for the time, by taking him to his house. *Trincavellius, lib.* 1. *consil.* 16, had a patient nineteen years of age, extremely melancholy, *ob nimium studium, Tarvitii & præceptoris*

[1] Lib. 2. cap. 4. [2] Flogging Ajaxes.] [3] Idem. Et quod maxime nocet dum in teneris ita timent nihil conantur. [4] The pupil's faculties are perverted by the indiscretion of the master. See Erasmus, *De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, and the Colloquy, *Euntes in ludum literarium.*] [5] An awful necessity.] [6] Præfat. ad Testam.

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minas, by reason of overmuch study, and his [1] Tutor's threats. Many Masters are hard-hearted, and bitter to their servants, and by that means do so deject, with terrible speeches and hard usage so crucify them, that they become desperate, and can never be recalled.

Others again, in that opposite extreme, do as great harm by their too much remissness; they give them no bringing up, no calling to busy themselves about, or to live in, teach them no trade, or set them in any good course; by means of which their servants, children, scholars, are carried away with that stream of drunkenness, idleness, gaming, and many such irregular courses, that in the end they rue it, curse their parents, and mischief themselves. Too much indulgence causeth the like, [2] *inepta lenitas Patris & facilitas prava*, when as, *Micio*-like, with too much liberty and too great allowance, they feed their children's humours, let them revel, wench, riot, swagger, and do what they will themselves, and then punish them with a noise of musicians.

> [3] Obsonat, potat, olet unguenta de meo.
> Amat? dabitur à me argentum, dum erit commodum.
> Fores effregit? restituentur: discidit
> Vestem? resarcietur.——Faciat quod lubet,
> Sumat, consumat, perdat; decretum est pati.

But as *Demea* told him, *tu illum corrumpi sinis*,[4] your lenity will be his undoing, *videre videor jam diem illum, quum hinc egens profugiet aliquo militatum*,[5] I foresee his ruin. So parents often err, many fond mothers especially, dote so much upon their children, like [6] *Æsop's* Ape,[7] till in the end they crush them to death. *Corporum nutrices, animarum novercæ*, pampering up their bodies to the undoing of their souls, they will not let them be [8] corrected or controlled, but still soothed up in every thing they do, that in conclusion *they bring sorrow, shame, heaviness to their parents, Ecclus. cap.* 30. 8, 9, *become wanton, stubborn, wilful, and dis-*

[1] Plus mentis pædagogico supercilio abstulit, quàm unquam præceptis suis sapientiæ instillavit. [2] Ter. Adelph. 3. [3. 36, 37.] [3] Idem. Act. 1. Sc. 2. [37 *sq.* He feasts, drinks, perfumes himself at my expense. If he is in love, I will supply him with money, as long as it will be convenient. Has he broken in the gates? they shall be repaired. Has he torn his garment? it shall be mended. Let him do what he pleases, take, spend, waste; I am resolved to submit.] [4] Idem. i. ii. 97.] [5] Idem. iii. iii. 30, 31.] [6] Camerarius, em. 77. cent. 2. hath elegantly expressed it in an emblem; perdit amando, &c. [7] Fab. 366, ed. Halm.] [8] Prov. xiii. 24. He that spareth the rod hates his son.

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obedient; rude, untaught, head-strong, incorrigible, and graceless. *They love them so foolishly,* saith [1] *Cardan, that they rather seem to hate them, bringing them not up to virtue but injury, not to learning but to riot, not to sober life and conversation, but to all pleasure and licentious behaviour.* Who is he of so little experience that knows not this of *Fabius* to be true? [2] *Education is another nature, altering the mind and will, and I would to God* (saith he) *we ourselves did not spoil our children's manners by our overmuch cockering and nice education, and weaken the strength of their bodies and minds. That causeth custom, custom nature, &c.* For these causes *Plutarch,* in his book *de lib. educ.* [§ vii,] and *Hierom, epist. lib.* 1. *epist.* 17, to *Læta de instit. filiæ,* gives a most especial charge to all parents, and many good cautions about bringing up of children, that they be not committed to undiscreet, passionate, bedlam Tutors, light, giddy-headed, or covetous persons, & spare for no cost, that they may be well nurtured & taught, it being a matter of so great consequence. For such parents as do otherwise, *Plutarch* esteems of them [3] *that* [*they*] *are more careful of their shoes than of their feet,* that rate their wealth above their children. And he, saith [4] *Cardan, that leaves his son to a covetous Schoolmaster to be informed, or to a close Abbey to fast and learn wisdom together, doth no other, than that he be a learned fool, or a sickly wise man.*

SUBSECT. 3.—*Terrors and Affrights, Causes of Melancholy.*

TULLY (in the 4th of his *Tusculans* [5]) distinguisheth these terrors which arise from the apprehension of some terrible object heard or seen from other fears, and so doth *Patritius, lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *de regis institut.* Of all fears they are most pernicious and violent,

[1] Lib. 2. de consol[atione.] Tam stultè pueros diligimus ut odisse potius videamur; illos non ad virtutem sed ad injuriam, non ad eruditionem sed ad luxum, non ad virtutem sed voluptatem educantes. [2] Lib. 1. c. 3. Educatio altera natura; alterat animos et voluntatem; atque utinam (inquit) liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus, quum infantiam statim deliciis solvimus: mollior ista educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes et mentis et corporis frangit; fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura. [3] Perinde agit ac si quis de calceo sit solicitus, pedem nihil curet. [De lib. ed. § vii.] Juven. Nil patri minus est quam filius. [vii. 187, 188, quoted memoriter.] [4] Lib. 3. de sapientia. Qui avaris pædagogis pueros alendos dant, vel clausos in cœnobiis jejunare simul et sapere, nihil aliud agunt, nisi ut sint vel non sine stultitia eruditi, vel non integra vita sapientes. [5] Capp. vi, vii.]

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and so suddenly alter the whole temperature of the body, move the soul & spirits, strike such a deep impression, that the parties can never be recovered, causing more grievous and fiercer Melancholy, (as *Felix Plater, c.* 3. *de mentis alienat.* [1] speaks out of his experience,) than any inward cause whatsoever: *and imprints itself so forcibly in the spirits, brain, humours, that, if all the mass of blood were let out of the body, it could hardly be extracted. This horrible kind of Melancholy* (for so he terms it) *had been often brought before him, and troubles and affrights commonly men and women, young and old, of all sorts.* [2] *Hercules de Saxonia* calls this kind of Melancholy (*ab agitatione spirituum*) by a peculiar name, it comes from the agitation, motion, contraction, dilatation of spirits, not from any distemperature of humours, and produceth strong effects. This terror is most usually caused, as [3] *Plutarch* will have, *from some imminent danger, when a terrible object is at hand*, heard, seen, or conceived, [4] *truly appearing, or in a* [5] *dream:* and many times the more sudden the accident, it is the more violent.

> [6] Stat terror animis, et cor attonitum salit,
> Pavidumque trepidis palpitat venis jecur.
>
> Their soul's affright,[7] their heart amazed quakes,
> The trembling liver pants i' th' veins, and aches.

Artemidorus the Grammarian lost his wits by the unexpected sight of a Crocodile, *Laurentius* 7. *de melan.* [8] The Massacre at *Lyons*, 1572, in the reign of *Charles* the 9th, was so terrible and fearful, that many ran mad, some died, great-bellied women were brought to bed before their time, generally all affrighted and aghast. Many lose their wits [9] *by the sudden sight of some spectrum or devil, a thing very common in all ages*, saith *Lavater part.* 1. *c.* 9, as *Orestes* did at the sight of the *Furies*, which appeared to him in

[1] Terror et metus, maximè ex improviso accedentes, ita animum commovent, ut spiritus nunquam recuperent; gravioremque melancholiam terror facit, quam quæ ab interna causa fit. Impressio tam fortis in spiritibus humoribusque cerebri, ut, extracta tota sanguinea massa, ægre exprimatur; et hæc horrenda species melancholiæ frequenter oblata mihi, omnes exercens, viros, juvenes, senes. [2] Tract. de melan. cap. 7. et 8. Non ab intemperie, sed agitatione, dilatatione, contractione, motu spirituum. [3] Lib. de fort. et virtut. Alex. [Orat. ii. fin.] Præsertim ineunte periculo, ubi res prope adsunt terribiles. [4] Fit a visione horrenda, reverâ apparente, vel per insomnia. Platerus. [5] A painter's wife in Basil, 1600, somniavit filium bello mortuum; inde melancholica consolari noluit. [6] Senec. Herc. Oet. [708, 709.] [7] *i.e.* affrighted, as in Spenser's Faerie Queene, ii. 5. 37.] [8] Quarta pars Comment. de statu religionis in Gallia sub Carolo 9. 1572. [9] Ex occursu dæmonum aliqui furore corripiuntur, ut experientia notum est.

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black (as [1]*Pausanias* records). The Greeks call them *μορμολυκεῖα*,[2] which so terrify their souls. Or if they be but affrighted by some counterfeit devils in jest,

> —— [3] ut pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
> In tenebris metuunt ——

as children in the dark conceive hobgoblins, and are sore afraid, they are the worse for it all their lives; some by sudden fires, earthquakes, inundations, or any such dismal objects. *Themison* the Physician fell into an *Hydrophobia* by seeing one sick of that disease (*Dioscorides, l.* 6. *c.* 33.) or by the sight of a monster, a carcase, they are disquieted many months following, & cannot endure the room where a corse hath been, for a world would not be alone with a dead man, or lie in that bed many years after in which a man hath died. At [4]*Basil* a many little children in the spring time went to gather flowers in a meadow at the town's end, where a malefactor hung in gibbets; all gazing at it, one by chance flung a stone, and made it stir, by which accident the children affrighted ran away; one, slower than the rest, looking back, and seeing the stirred carcase wag towards her, cried out it came after [her], & was so terribly affrighted, that for many days she could not rest, eat, or sleep, she could not be pacified, but melancholy died. [5]In the same town another child, beyond the *Rhine*, saw a grave opened, & upon the sight of the carcase was so troubled in mind, that she could not be comforted, but a little after departed, and was buried by it, *Platerus, observat. l.* 1. A Gentlewoman of the same city saw a fat hog cut up; when the entrails were opened, and a noisome savour offended her nose, she much misliked, and would not longer abide: a Physician in presence told her, as that hog, so was she, full of filthy excrements, and aggravated the matter by some other loathsome instances, in so much this nice Gentlewoman apprehended it so deeply, that she fell forthwith a vomiting, was so mightily distempered in mind and body, that, with all his art and persuasions, for some months after, he could

[1] Lib. 8. [ch. 34.] [2] Hob-goblins. See Ar. Thesm. 417; Plato, Phædo 77 E.] [3] Lucret. [ii. 55, 56.] [4] Puellæ extra urbem in prato concurrentes, &c. mœsta et melancholica domum rediit, per dies aliquot vexata, dum mortua est. Plater. [5] Altera trans-Rhenana, ingressa sepulchrum recens apertum, vidit cadaver, et domum subito reversa putavit eam vocare; post paucos dies obiit, proximo sepulchro collocata. Altera, patibulum sero præteriens, metuebat ne urbe exclusa illic pernoctaret, unde melancholica facta, per multos annos laboravit. Platerus.

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not restore her to herself again, she could not forget it, or remove the object out of her sight. *Idem.* Many cannot endure to see a wound opened, but they are offended, a man executed, or labour of any fearful disease, as possession, apoplexies, one bewitched: [1] or if they read by chance of some terrible thing, the symptoms alone of such a disease, or that which they dislike, they are instantly troubled in mind, aghast, ready to apply it to themselves, they are as much disquieted as if they had seen it, or were so affected themselves. *Hecatas sibi videntur somniare,* [2] they dream and continually think of it. As lamentable effects are caused by such terrible objects heard, read, or seen; *auditus maximos motus in corpore facit,* as [3] *Plutarch* holds, no sense makes greater alteration of body & mind [than hearing]: sudden speech sometimes, unexpected news, be they good or bad, *prævisa minus oratio,* will move as much, *animum obruere, et de sede suâ dejicere,* as a [4] Philosopher observes, will take away our sleep, and appetite, disturb and quite overturn us. Let them bear witness that have heard those tragical alarums, out-cries, hideous noises, which are many times suddenly heard in the dead of the night by irruption of enemies & accidental fires, &c., those [5] panick fears, which often drive men out of their wits, bereave them of sense, understanding and all, some for a time, some for their whole lives, they never recover it. The [6] *Midianites* were so affrighted by *Gideon's* soldiers, they breaking but every one a pitcher; and [7] *Hannibal's* army by such a panick fear was discomforted at the walls of *Rome.* [8] *Augusta Livia,* hearing a few tragical verses recited out of *Virgil,* [9] *Tu Marcellus eris, &c.,* fell down dead in a swoon. *Edinus,* King of *Denmark,* by a sudden sound which he heard, [10] *was turned into fury, with all his men, Cranzius. l.* 5, *Dan. Hist. & Alexander ab Alexandro, l.* 3. *c.* 5. *Amatus Lusitanus* had a patient, that by reason of bad tidings became *epilepticus, cen.* 2. *cura* 90. *Cardan, subtil. l.* 18, saw one that lost his wits by mistaking of an *echo.* If one sense alone can

[1] Subitus occursus, inopinata lectio. [2] Lucian, Philopseudes, § 39.] [3] Lib. de auditione. [§ ii.] [4] Theod. Prodromus, lib. 7. Amorum. [5] Effuso cernens fugientes agmine turmas, Quis mea nunc inflat cornua, Faunus ait. Alciat. embl. 122. [6] Judg. 7. 19. [7] Plutarchus vita [Fabii. Maximi, §§ 17, 18, hardly warrant text. Burton's reading of an author was not always accurate, or he trusted too much to his memory. This we see again and again.] [8] It was not Augusta Livia, but Octavia, Marcellus' mother, who fainted away on hearing Virgil repeat the lines beginning, *Tu Marcellus eris.* See Donatus, Life of Virgil, § 47.] Æn. vi. 884.] [10] In furorem cum sociis versus.

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cause such violent commotions of the mind, what may we think when hearing, sight, & those other senses, are all troubled at once, as by some earth-quakes, thunder, lightning, tempests, &c.? At *Bologna* in *Italy*, *Anno* 1504, there was such a fearful earth-quake about eleven a clock in the night (as [1] *Beroaldus*, in his book *de terræ motu*, hath commended to posterity) that all the city trembled, the people thought the world was at an end, *actum de mortalibus;* such a fearful noise it made, such a detestable smell, the inhabitants were infinitely affrighted, and some ran mad. *Audi rem atrocem, et annalibus memorandam* (mine author adds), hear a strange story, and worthy to be chronicled; I had a servant at the same time called *Fulco Argelanus*, a bold proper man, so grievously terrified with it, that he [2] was first melancholy, after doted, at last mad, & made away himself. At [3] Fuscinum *in* Japan *there was such an earth-quake and darkness on a sudden, that many men were offended with headache, many overwhelmed with sorrow and melancholy. At* Meacum *whole streets & goodly palaces were overturned at the same time, & there was such an hideous noise withal, like thunder, and filthy smell, that their hair stared for fear, and their hearts quaked; men and beasts were incredibly terrified. In* Sacai, *another city, the same earthquake was so terrible unto them, that many were bereft of their senses; and others by that horrible spectacle so much amazed, that they knew not what they did. Blasius*, a Christian, the reporter of the news, was so affrighted for his part that, though it were two months after, he was scarce his own man, neither could he drive the remembrance of it out of his mind. Many times some years following they will tremble afresh at the [4] remembrance or conceit of such a terrible object, even all their lives long, if mention be made of it. *Cornelius Agrippa* relates out of *Gulielmus Parisiensis* a story of one, that, after a distasteful purge which a Physician had prescribed unto him, was so much moved, [5] *that at the very sight of physick he would be distempered;*

[1] Subitarius terræ motus. [2] Cœpit inde desipere cum dispendio sanitatis, inde adeo dementans ut sibi ipsi mortem inferret. [3] Historica relatio de rebus Japonicis, tract. 2. de legat. regis Chinensis, a Lodovico Frois, Jesuita. A. 1596. Fuscini derepente tanta aeris caligo et terræ motus, ut multi capite dolerent, plurimis cor mœrore et melancholia obrueretur. Tantum fremitum edebat, ut tonitru fragorem imitari videretur, tantamque, &c. In urbe Sacai tam horrificus fuit, ut homines vix sui compotes essent, à sensibus abalienati, mœrore oppressi tam horrendo spectaculo, &c. [4] Quum subit illius tristissima noctis imago. [Ovid, Tristia, i. iii. 1.] [5] Qui solo aspectu medicinæ movebatur ad purgandum.

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though he never so much as smelled to it, the box of physick long after would give him a purge; nay, the very remembrance of it did effect it; [1] *like travellers and sea-men*, saith *Plutarch, that when they have been stranded, or dashed on a rock, for ever after fear not that mischance only, but all such dangers whatsoever.*

SUBSECT. 4.—*Scoffs, Calumnies, bitter Jests, how they cause Melancholy.*

IT is an old saying, [2] *a blow with a word strikes deeper than a blow with a sword:* & many men are as much galled with a calumny, a scurrile & bitter jest, a libel, a pasquil, satire, apologue, epigram, stage-plays, or the like, as with any misfortune whatsoever. Princes & Potentates, that are otherwise happy, & have all at command, secure and free, *quibus potentia sceleris impunitatem fecit*, are grievously vexed with these pasquilling libels & satires: they fear a railing [3] *Aretine* more than an enemy in the field, which made most Princes of his time (as some relate) *allow him a liberal pension, that he should not tax them in his satires.*[4] The Gods had their *Momus*, *Homer* his *Zoilus*, *Achilles* his *Thersites*, *Philip* his *Demades;* the *Cæsars* themselves in *Rome* were commonly taunted. There was never wanting a *Petronius*, a *Lucian*, in those times, nor will be a *Rabelais*, an *Euphormio*, a *Boccalini*, in ours. Pope Adrian the Sixth [5] was so highly offended and grievously vexed with Pasquillers at *Rome*, he gave command that statue should be demolished and burned, the ashes flung into the river *Tiber*, and had done it forthwith, had not *Lodovicus Suessanus*, a facete companion, dissuaded him to the contrary, by telling him that *Pasquil's* ashes would turn to frogs in the bottom of the river, and croak worse and louder than before.—*Genus irritabile vatum;*[6] and therefore [7] *Socrates* in *Plato* adviseth all his friends, *that respect their*

[1] Sicut viatores si ad saxum impegerint, aut nautæ, memores sui casûs, non ista modo quæ offendunt, sed et similia horrent perpetuò et tremunt. [2] Leviter volant, graviter vulnerant. Bernardus. [3] Ensis sauciat corpus, mentem sermo. [4] Sciatis eum esse qui a nemine fere ævi sui magnate non illustre stipendium habuit, ne mores ipsorum satiris suis notaret. Gasp. Barthius, præfat. porno[bosco]did. [5] Jovius, in vita ejus. Gravissimè tulit famosis libellis nomen suum ad Pasquilli statuam fuisse laceratum, decrevitque ideo statuam demoliri, &c. [6] Hor. Epp. ii. ii. 102. The race of poets is an irritable one.] [7] Plato, lib. 13. de legibus. Qui existimationem curant, poetas vereantur, quia magnam vim habent ad laudandum et vituperandum. [This reference must be wrong, as there are not 13 Books of Plato's Laws. The probability is that Burton, who is very loose often in his quotations, is thinking of Plato, Republic, x. pp. 605-608.]

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credits, to stand in awe of Poets, for they are terrible fellows, can praise and dispraise as they see cause. Hinc quam sit calamus sævior ense patet. The Prophet *David* complains, *Psal.* 123. 4, *that his soul was full of the mocking of the wealthy, and of the despitefulness of the proud;* and *Psal.* 55. [3,] 4, *for the voice of the wicked &c., and their hate; his heart trembled within him, and the terrors of death came upon him: fear and horrible fear, &c.*, and *Psal.* 69. 20, *Rebuke hath broken my heart, and I am full of heaviness.* Who hath not like cause to complain, and is not so troubled, that shall fall into the mouths of such men? for many are of so [1] petulant a spleen, and have that figure *sarcasmus* so often in their mouths, so bitter, so foolish, as [2] *Balthasar Castilio* notes of them, that *they cannot speak, but they must bite;* they had rather lose a friend than a jest; and what company soever they come in, they will be scoffing, insulting over their inferiors, especially over such as any way depend upon them, humouring, misusing, or putting gulleries on some or other, till they have made, by their humouring or gulling, [3]*ex stulto insanum*, [a madman out of] a mope or a noddy, and all to make themselves merry:

> ——— dummodo risum
> Excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico.

Friends, neuters, enemies, all are as one; to make a fool a madman is their sport, & they have no greater felicity than to scoff & deride others; they must sacrifice to the god of laughter, with them in *Apuleius*,[5] once a day, or else they shall be melancholy themselves; they care not how they grind and misuse others, so they may exhilarate their own persons. Their wits indeed serve them to that sole purpose, to make sport, to break a scurrile jest, which is *levissimus ingenii fructus*, the froth of wit, as *Tully*[6] holds; and for this they are often applauded. In all other discourse dry, barren, stramineous, dull & heavy, here lies their *Genius;* in this alone they excel, please themselves & others. *Leo Decimus*, that scoffing *Pope*, as *Jovius* hath registred in the 4th Book of his Life, took an extraordinary delight in humouring of silly fellows, and to

[1] Petulanti splene cachinno. [Pers. i. 12.] [2] [De] Curiali. lib. 2. [p. 138, ed. 1603.] Ea quorumdam est inscitia, ut quoties loqui, toties mordere licere sibi putent. [3] Ter. Eunuch. [ii. ii. 23.] [4] Hor. ser. lib. 1. sat. 4. [34, 35.] [5] Metam. iii. 50. But it should be once a year.] [6] De orat. [ii. 60, 247, where tenuissimus is the vera lectio.]

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put gulleries upon them; [1] *by commending some, persuading others* to this or that; he made *ex stolidis stultissimos et maxime ridiculos, ex stultis insanos*; soft fellows stark noddies, & such as were foolish quite mad before he left them. One memorable example he recites there, of *Tarascomus* of *Parma*, a Musician, that was so humoured by *Leo Decimus*, & *Bibiena* his second in this business, that he thought himself to be a man of most excellent skill, (who was indeed a ninny); they [2] *made him set foolish songs, and invent new ridiculous precepts, which they did highly commend*, as to tie his arm that played on the lute, to make him strike a sweeter stroke, [3] *and to pull down the Arras hangings, because the voice would be clearer, by reason of the reverberation of the wall.* In the like manner they persuaded one *Baraballius*, of *Gaeta*, that he was as good a Poet as *Petrarch;* would have him to be made a Laureate Poet, and invite all his friends to his instalment; and had so possessed the poor man with a conceit of his excellent Poetry, that, when some of his more discreet friends told him of his folly, he was very angry with them, and said [4] *they envied his honour and prosperity.* It was strange (saith *Jovius*) to see an old man of 60 years, a venerable and grave old man, so gulled. But what cannot such scoffers do, especially if they find a soft creature, on whom they may work? Nay, to say truth, who is so wise, or so discreet, that may not be humoured in this kind, especially if some excellent wits shall set upon him? He that mads others, if he were so humoured, would be as mad himself, as much grieved and tormented; he might cry with him in in the Comedy, *Proh Jupiter! tu homo adigis me ad insaniam.*[5] For all is in these things as they are taken; if he be a silly soul, and do not perceive it, 'tis well, he may haply make others sport, and be no whit troubled himself; but if he be apprehensive of his folly, and take it to heart, then it torments him worse than any lash. A bitter jest, a slander, a calumny, pierceth deeper than any loss, danger, bodily pain, or injury whatsoever; *leviter enim volat,*[6] as *Bernard* of an arrow, *sed graviter vulnerat,*[7] especially if it shall proceed from a virulent tongue, it cuts (saith *David*) *like a two-edged sword. They shoot bitter words as arrows*, Ps. 64. 3. *And they smote with their tongues,*

[1] Laudando, et mira iis persuadendo. [2] Et, vana inflatus opinione, incredibilia ac ridenda quædam musices præcepta commentaretur, &c. [3] Ut voces, nudis parietibus illisæ, suavius ac acutius resilirent. [4] Immortalitati et gloriæ suæ prorsus invidentes. [5] Ter. Ad. i. ii. 31. By Jupiter, you drive me mad!] [6] It flies swiftly.] [7] But wounds deeply.]

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Jer. 18. 18, & that so hard, that they leave an incurable wound behind them. Many men are undone by this means, moped, & so dejected, that they are never to be recovered; and, of all other men living, those which are actually melancholy, or inclined to it, are most sensible (as being suspicious, cholerick, apt to mistake) & impatient of an injury in that kind: they aggravate, and so meditate continually of it, that it is a perpetual corrosive, not to be removed till time wear it out. Although they peradventure that so scoff do it alone in mirth and merriment, and hold it *optimum aliena frui insania*,[1] an excellent thing to enjoy another man's madness; yet they must know that it is a mortal sin (as [2]*Thomas* holds) and, as the Prophet [3]*David* denounceth, they *that use it shall never dwell in God's tabernacle.*

Such scurrile jests, flouts, & sarcasms, therefore, ought not at all to be used, especially to our betters, to those that are in misery, or any way distressed; for to such *ærumnarum incrementa sunt*, they multiply grief, and, as [4]he perceived, *in multis pudor, in multis iracundia, &c.*, many are ashamed, many vexed, angered, and there is no greater cause or furtherer of melancholy. *Martin Cromerus*, in the 6th Book of his History, hath a pretty story to this purpose, of *Vladislaus* the Second, King of *Poland*, and *Peter Dunnius*, Earl of *Shrine*; they had been hunting late, & were enforced to lodge in a poor cottage. When they went to bed, *Vladislaus* told the Earl in jest, that his wife lay softer with the Abbot of *Shrine;* he, not able to contain, replied, *Et tua cum Dobesso*, & yours with *Dobessus*, a gallant young Gentleman in the Court, whom *Christina* the Queen loved. *Tetigit id dictum Principis animum*, these words of his so galled the Prince, that he was long after *tristis et cogitabundus*, very sad and melancholy for many months: but they were the Earl's utter undoing: for when *Christina* heard of it, she persecuted him to death. *Sophia* the Empress, *Justinian's* wife, broke a bitter jest upon *Narses* the Eunuch, (a famous Captain, then disquieted for an overthrow which he lately had), that he was fitter for a distaff, & to keep women company, than to wield a sword, or to be General of an army: but it cost her dear, for he so far distasted it, that he went forthwith to the adverse part, much troubled in his thoughts, caused the the *Lombards* to rebel, and thence procured many miseries to the

[1 Pliny, Nat. Hist. 18. 5.] [2] 2. 2dæ quæst. 75. Irrisio mortale peccatum. [3] Psal. xv. 3. [4] Balthasar Castilio, lib. 2. De Aulico. [p. 138, ed. 1603.]

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Common-wealth.[1] *Tiberius* the Emperor with-held a Legacy from the people of *Rome*, which his Predecessor *Augustus* had lately given, and, perceiving a fellow round a dead corse in the ear, would needs know wherefore he did so; the fellow replied, that he wished the departed soul to signify to *Augustus* the commons of *Rome* were yet unpaid; for this bitter jest the Emperor caused him forthwith to be slain, and carry the news himself.[2] For this reason, all those that otherwise approve of jests in some cases, and facete companions, (as who doth not?) let them laugh and be merrie, *rumpantur & ilia Codro*,[3] 'tis laudable and fit; those yet will by no means admit them in their companies, that are in any way inclined to this malady; *non jocandum cum iis qui miseri sunt et ærumnosi*, no jesting with a discontented person. 'Tis *Castilio's* caveat,[4] *Io. Pontanus'*,[5] and [6]*Galateus'*, and every good man's.

Play with me, but hurt me not:
Jest with me, but shame me not.

Comitas[7] is a virtue betwixt *rusticity and scurrility*, *two extremes*, *as affability* is betwixt *flattery* and *contention*, it must not exceed, but be still accompanied with [8] ἀβλάβεια or innocency, *quæ nemini nocet*, *omnem injuriæ oblationem abhorrens*, [which] hurts no man, abhors all offer of injury. Though a man be liable to such a jest or obloquy, have been overseen,[9] or committed a foul fact, yet it is no good manners or humanity to upbraid, to hit him in the teeth with his offence, or to scoff at such a one; 'tis an old axiom, *turpis in reum omnis exprobratio*. I speak not of such as generally tax vice, *Barclay*, *Gentilis*, *Erasmus*, *Agrippa*, *Fishcart*,[10] *&c.*, the *Varronists* and *Lucians* of our time, Satirists, Epigrammatists, Comedians, Apologists, &c. but such as personate, rail, scoff, calumniate, perstringe by name, or in presence offend.

[11] Ludit qui stolidâ procacitate,
Non est Sestius ille, sed caballus;

'tis horse-play this, and those jests (as he [12] saith) *are no better than injuries*, biting jests, *mordentes & aculeati*; they are poisoned jests, leave a sting behind them, and ought not to be used.

[1] See Gibbon's D. and F. ch. xlv.] [2] Sueton. Tiber. c. 57.] [3] Virg. Ecl. vii. 26.] [4] De Aulico, lib. 2. p. 138, ed. 1603.] [5] De sermone lib. 4. cap. 3. [6] Fol. 55. Galateus. [7] Apparently here = mirth.] [8] Tully Tusc. quæst. [iii. 8.] [9] i.e. drawn into error. See Nares' Glossary. ed. Halliwell and Wright.] [10] Hallam calls Fishcart "the Skelton of Germany."] [11] Mart. lib. 1. epig. [41. 19, 20.] [12] Tales joci ab injuriis non possunt discerni. Galateus, fol. 55.

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[1] Set not thy foot to make the blind to fall,
Nor wilfully offend thy weaker brother:
Nor wound the dead with thy tongue's bitter gall,
Neither rejoice thou in the fall of other.

If these rules could be kept, we should have much more ease and quietness than we have, less melancholy: whereas, on the contrary, we study to misuse each other, how to sting and gall, like two fighting boars, bending all our force and wit, friends, fortunes, to crucify [2] one another's souls; by means of which there is little content and charity, much virulency, hatred, malice, and disquietness, among us.

SUBSECT. 5.—*Loss of Liberty, Servitude, Imprisonment, how they cause Melancholy.*

To this catalogue of causes I may well annex loss of liberty, servitude, or imprisonment, which to some persons is as great a torture as any of the rest. Though they have all things convenient, sumptuous houses to their use, fair walks and gardens, delicious bowers, galleries, good fare & diet, & all things correspondent, yet they are not content, because they are confined, may not come and go at their pleasure, have & do what they will, but live [3]*alienâ quadrâ*, at another man's table and command. As it is [4] in meats, so is it in all other things, places, societies, sports; let them be never so pleasant, commodious, wholesome, so good; yet *omnium rerum est satietas*,[5] there is a loathing satiety of all things; (the children of *Israel* were tired with *Manna*;) it is irksome to them so to live, as to a bird in a cage, or a dog in his kennel, they are weary of it. They are happy, it is true, and have all things, to another man's judgment, that heart can wish, or that they themselves can desire, *bona si sua nôrint*,[6] yet they loathe it, and are tired with the present. *Est natura hominum novitatis avida*;[7] men's nature is still desirous of news, variety, delights; and our wandering affections are so irregular in this kind, that they must change, though it be to the worst. Bachelors must be married, and married men would be bachelors; they do not love their own wives, though otherwise

[1] Pybrac, in his Quatrains, 37. [2] Ego hujus misera fatuitate et dementia conflictor. Tull. ad. Attic. lib. 11. [25, 2.] [3] Miserum est aliena vivere quadra. Juv. [v. 2. quoted memoriter.] [4] Crambe bis cocta. [Juv. vii. 154. quoted memoriter.] Vitæ me redde priori. [Hor. Epp. i. vii. 95.] [5] Hom. Il. xiii. 636.] [6] Virg. Georg. ii. 458, if they knew their blessings;] [7] Pliny, N. H. xii. 5.]

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fair, wise, virtuous, and well qualified, because they are theirs; our present estate is still the worst; we cannot endure one course of life long, (*et quod modo voverat, odit,*)[1] one calling long, *esse in honore juvat, mox displicet*, one place long, [2]*Romæ Tibur amo ventosus, Tibure Romam*, that which we earnestly sought we now contemn. *Hoc quosdam agit ad mortem* (saith [3]*Seneca*) *quod proposita sæpe mutando in eadem revolvuntur, et non relinquunt novitati locum. Fastidio* [*illis*] *cæpit esse vita, & ipse mundus; et subit illud rapidissimarum deliciarum, Quousque eadem?* This alone kills many a man, that they are tied to the same still; as a horse in a mill, a dog in a wheel, they run round, without alteration or news; their life groweth odious, the world loathsome, & that which crosseth their furious delights, *What? still the same? Marcus Aurelius* and *Solomon*, that had experience of all worldly delights and pleasure, confessed as much of themselves; what they most desired was tedious at last, and that their lust could never be satisfied; all was vanity and affliction of mind.

Now if it be death itself, another hell, to be glutted with one kind of sport, dieted with one dish, tied to one place, though they have all things otherwise as they can desire, & are in heaven to another man's opinion, what misery and discontent shall they have, that live in slavery, or in prison itself! *Quod tristius morte, in servitute vivendum*, as *Hermolaus* told *Alexander* in [4]*Curtius*, worse than death is bondage: [5]*hoc animo scito omnes fortes, ut mortem servituti anteponant*, all brave men at arms (*Tully* holds) are so affected. [6]*Equidem ego is sum qui servitutem extremum omnium malorum esse arbitror:* I am he (saith *Boterus*) that account servitude the extremity of misery. And what calamity do they endure, that live with those hard taskmasters, in gold mines, (like those 30,000[7] *Indian* slaves at *Potosi*, in *Peru*), tin mines, lead-mines, stone-quarries, coal-pits, like so many mouldwarps[8] under ground, condemned to the gallies, to perpetual drudgery, hunger, thirst, and stripes, without all hope of delivery! How are those women in *Turkey* affected, that most part of the year come not abroad; those *Italian* and *Spanish* Dames, that are mewed up like hawks, and lockt up by their jealous husbands![9] How tedious is it to them that live in stoves and caves half a year together,

[1 Ovid, Met. xi. 128.] [2 Hor. [Epp. i. 8. 12.] [3 De tranquill. animi. [cap. ii.] [4 Lib. 8. [cap. 7.] [5 Tullius Lepido, Fam. 10. 27. [6 Boterus, l. 1. polit. cap. 4. [7 Laet. descript. Americæ. [8 = moles.] [9 On this matter see Part. iii. Sect. iii. Mem. ii. Subs. i.]

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as in Iceland, *Muscovy*, or under the [1]Pole itself, where they have six months perpetual night! Nay, what misery and discontent do they endure, that are in prison! They want all those six non-natural things at once, good air, good diet, exercise, company, sleep, rest, ease, &c., that are bound in chains all day long, suffer hunger, and (as [2]*Lucian* describes it) *must abide that filthy stink, and rattling of chains, howlings, pitiful out-cries, that prisoners usually make: these things are not only troublesome, but intolerable.* They lie nastily amongst toads and frogs in a dark dungeon, in their own dung, in pain of body, in pain of soul, as *Joseph* did, *Ps.* 105. 18, *they hurt his feet in the stocks, the iron entered his soul.* They live solitary, alone, sequestered from all company but heart-eating melancholy; and, for want of meat, must eat that bread of affliction, prey upon themselves. Well might [3]*Arculanus* put long imprisonment for a cause, especially to such as have lived jovially, in all sensuality and lust, upon a sudden are estranged and debarred from all manner of pleasures: as were *Huniades*, *Edward* ii., and *Richard* ii., *Valerian* the Emperor, *Bajazet* the *Turk*. If it be irksome to miss our ordinary companions & repast for once a day, or an hour, what shall it be to lose them for ever? If it be so great a delight to live at liberty, and to enjoy that variety of objects the world affords, what misery and discontent must it needs bring to him, that shall now be cast headlong into that *Spanish* Inquisition, to fall from Heaven to Hell, to be cubbed up upon a sudden? how shall he be perplexed, what shall become of him? [4]*Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, being imprisoned by his youngest brother *Henry* the First, *ab illo die inconsolabili dolore in carcere contabuit*, saith *Matthew Paris*, from that day forward pined away with grief. [5]*Jugurtha*, that generous Captain, *brought to Rome in triumph, and after imprisoned, through anguish of his soul and melancholy died.*[6] *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*,[7] the second man from King *Stephen* (he that built that famous Castle of [8]*Devizes* in *Wiltshire*) was so tortured in prison with hunger, and all those

[1] If there be any inhabitants. [2] In Toxari. [§ 29.] Interdiu quidem collum vinctum est, et manus constricta, noctu verò totum corpus vincitur; ad has miserias accedit corporis fœtor, strepitus ejulantium, somni brevitas; hæc omnia planè molesta et intolerabilia. [3] In 9 Rhasis. [4] William the Conqueror's eldest son. [5] Sallust. [113, 114.] Romam triumpho ductus, tandemque in carcerem conjectus, animi dolore periit. [6] Camden, in Wiltsh. Miserum senem ita fame et calamitatibus in carcere fregit, inter mortis metum et vitæ tormenta, &c. [7] [Bp. of S. 1107-1142.] [8] Vies, hodie.

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calamities accompanying such men, [1] *ut vivere noluerit, mori nescierit*, he would not live, and could not die, betwixt fear of death and torments of life. *Francis*, King of *France*, was taken prisoner by *Charles* the Fifth, *ad mortem ferè melancholicus*, saith *Guicciardini*, melancholy almost to death, and that in an instant. But this is as clear as the Sun, and needs no further illustration.

SUBSECT. 6.—*Poverty and Want, Causes of Melancholy.*

POVERTY and want are so violent oppugners, so unwelcome guests, so much abhored of all men, that I may not omit to speak of them apart. Poverty, although (if considered aright, to a wise, understanding, truly regenerate, & contented man) it be *Donum Dei*, a blessed estate, the way to Heaven, as [2] *Chrysostom* calls it, God's gift, the mother of modesty, & much to be preferred before riches (as shall be shewed in his [3] place) yet, as it is esteemed in the world's censure, it is a most odious calling, vile and base, a severe torture, *summum scelus*, a most intolerable burden. We [4] shun it all, *cane pejus et angue*,[5] we abhor the name of it, [6] *Paupertas fugitur, totoque arcessitur orbe*, as being the fountain of all other miseries, cares, woes, labours, and grievances whatsoever. To avoid which, we will take any pains,—*extremos currit mercator ad Indos*,[7] we will leave no haven, no coast, no creek of the world unsearched, though it be to the hazard of our lives; we will dive to the bottom of the sea, to the bowels of the earth,[8] five, six, seven, eight, nine hundred fathom deep, through all five Zones, and both extremes of heat and cold: we will turn parasites and slaves, prostitute ourselves, swear and lie, damn our bodies and souls, forsake God, abjure Religion, steal, rob, murder, rather than endure this unsufferable yoke of Poverty, which doth so tyrannize, crucify, and generally depress us.

For look into the world, and you shall see men most part esteemed according to their means, and happy as they are rich: [9] *Ubique tanti quisque quantum habuit fuit.* If he be likely to thrive, and in the way of preferment, who but he? In the vulgar opinion, if a man be wealthy, no matter how he gets it, of what parentage, how qualified, how virtuously endowed, or villainously inclined; let

[1] Seneca. [Ep. 30.] [2] Com. ad Hebræos. [3] Part. 2. Sect. 3. Memb. 3. [4] Quem ut difficilem morbum pueris tradere formidamus. Plut. [5] Hor. Epp. i. xvii. 30. Worse than a dog or a snake.] [6] Lucan. l. 1. [166.] [7] Hor. Epp. i. i. 45.] [8] As in the silver mines at Freiburg in Germany. Fynes Moryson. [9] Euripides. [Fragm. from the Bellerophontes. Preserved in Seneca, Epistle 115.]

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him be a bawd, a gripe, an usurer, a villain, a Pagan, a Barbarian, a wretch, [1] *Lucian's* Tyrant, *on whom you may look with less security than on the Sun:* so that he be rich (and liberal withal) he shall be honoured, admired, adored, reverenced, & highly magnified. *The rich is had in reputation because of his goods, Ecclus.* 10. 30. He shall be befriended: *for riches gather many friends, Prov.* 19. 4; —*multos numerabit amicos,* [3] all [4] happiness ebbs and flows with his money. He shall be accounted a gracious Lord, a *Mœcenas,* a benefactor, a wise, discreet, a proper, a valiant, a fortunate man, of a generous spirit, *pullus Jovis,* [5] *et gallinæ filius albæ:* [6] a hopeful, a good man, a virtuous honest man. *Quando ego te Junonium puerum, et matris partum verè aureum?* as [7] *Tully* said of *Octavianus,* while he was adopted *Cæsar,* and an [8] heir apparent of so great a Monarchy, he was a golden child. All [9] honour, offices, applause, grand titles, and turgent epithets, are put upon him; *omnes omnia bona dicere;* [10] all men's eyes are upon him, God bless his good Worship! his Honour! [11] every man speaks well of him, every man presents him, seeks and sues to him for his love, favour, & protection, to serve him, belong unto him; every man riseth to him, as to *Themistocles* in the *Olympicks;* [12] if he speak, as of *Herod, vox Dei, non hominis!* [13] [it is] the voice of God, not of man! All the graces, Veneres, pleasures, elegances attend him, [14] golden Fortune accompanies and lodgeth with him, and, as to those *Roman* Emperors, is placed in his chamber.

[15] ——— Securâ naviget aurâ,
Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio:

he may sail as he will himself, and temper his estate at his pleasure; Jovial days, splendour and magnificence, sweet musick, dainty fare, the good things and fat of the land, fine clothes, rich attires, soft beds, down pillows, are at his command; all the world labours

[1 Tyr. § 26.] Minore periculo solem quam hunc defixis oculis licet intueri. [2] Omnis enim res, Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque, pulchris Divitiis parent. Hor. Ser. l. 2. Sat. 3. [94-96.] Clarus erit, fortis, justus, sapiens, etiam rex, Et quicquid volet. Hor. [Sat. ii. iii. 97, 98.] [3 Ovid, Tristia, i. ix. 5.] [4] Et genus, et formam, regina pecunia donat. [Hor. Epp. i. vi. 37.] Money adds spirits, courage, &c. [5 Cf. Virg. Eclogues, iv. 49.] [6 Juv. xiii. 141.] [7] Epist. [ad Brutum, Lib. ii. Epist. 8.] [8] Our young Master, a fine towardly Gentleman, (God bless him!) and hopeful. Why, he is heir apparent to the Right Worshipful, to the Right Honourable, &c. [9] O nummi, nummi: vobis hunc præstat honorem. [Juv. v. 136.] [10 Ter. Andr. i. i. 69, 70.] [11] Exinde sapere eum omnes dicimus, ac quisque fortunam habet. Plaut. Pseud. [A. ii. Sc. iii. 13, 14. memoriter.] [12 See Pausanias, viii. 50.] [13 Acts xii. 22.] [14] Aurea Fortuna principum cubiculis reponi solita. Julius Capitolinus, vita Antonini [Pii. c. 12.] [15] Petronius. [cap. 137.]

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for him; thousands of artificers are his slaves, to drudge for him, run, ride, and post for him: [1] Divines (for *Pythia Philippizat*),[2] Lawyers, Physicians, Philosophers, Scholars, are his, wholly devote to his service. Every man seeks his [3] acquaintance, his kindred, to match with him; though he be an auf,[4] a ninny, a monster, a goosecap, *uxorem ducat Danaen*,[5] when and whom he will; *hunc optant generum Rex & Regina* [6]—he is an excellent [7] match for my son, my daughter, my niece, &c. *Quicquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiat*;[8] let him go whither he will, trumpets sound, bells ring, &c. all happiness attends him, every man is willing to entertain him, he sups in [9] *Apollo* wheresoever he comes; what preparation is made for his [10] entertainment, fish & fowl, spices & perfumes, all that sea and land affords! What cookery, masking, mirth, to exhilarate his person!

> [11] Da Trebio, pone ad Trebium, vis frater ab illis
> Ilibus?———

What dish will your good Worship eat of?

> ——[12] dulcia poma,
> Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
> Ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives.
>
> Sweet apples, and whate'er thy fields afford,
> Before thy Gods be served, let serve thy Lord.

What sport will your Honour have? hawking, hunting, fishing, fowling, bulls, bears, cards, dice, cocks, players, tumblers, fiddlers, jesters, &c., they are at your good Worship's command. Fair houses, gardens, orchards, terraces, galleries, cabinets, pleasant walks, delightsome places, they are at hand; [13] *in aureis lac, vinum in argenteis, adolescentulæ ad nutum speciosæ*, wine, wenches, &c., a *Turkey* Paradise, an Heaven upon earth. Though he be a silly soft fellow, and scarce have common sense, yet if he be born to fortunes, (as I have said), [14] *jure hæreditario sapere jubetur*, he must have honour and office in his course: [15] *nemo nisi dives*

[1] Theologi opulentis adhærent, jurisperiti pecuniosis, literati nummosis, liberalibus artifices. [2] Minucius Felix, cap. 26.] [3] Multi illum iuvenes, multæ petiere puellæ. [Catull. 62. 42.] [4] We now spell this word oaf.] [5] Petronius, cap. 137. He may marry Danaë.] [6] Pers. ii. 37.] [7] Dummodo sit dives, barbarus ille placet. [Ovid, A. A. ii. 276.] [8] Pers. ii. 38. Whatever he treads upon will become a rose. See Jahn's Note.] [9] Plut. in Lucullo, [§ 41.] A rich chamber so called. [10] Panis pane melior. [11] Juv. Sat. 5. [135, 6.] [12] Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 2. [12-14.] [13] Bohemus de Turcis; et Bredenbach. [14] Euphormio. [Part. iv. c. iv. memoriter.] [15] Qui pecuniam habent, elati sunt animis, [those who have money are] lofty spirits, brave men at arms; all rich men are generous, courageous, &c.

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honore dignus (*Ambros. offic.* 21.) none so worthy as himself: he shall have it, *atque esto quicquid Servius aut Labeo.*[1] Get money enough, and command [2] Kingdoms, Provinces, Armies, hearts, hands, and affections; thou shalt have Popes, Patriarchs, to be thy Chaplains and Parasites; thou shalt have (*Tamerlane*-like) Kings to draw thy coach, Queens to be thy Laundresses, Emperors thy footstools, build more Towns and Cities than great *Alexander*, *Babel* Towers, *Pyramids*, and *Mausolean* Tombs, &c., command Heaven and Earth, and tell the World it is thy vassal; *auro emitur diadema, argento cœlum panditur, denarius Philosophum conducit, nummus jus cogit, obolus literatum pascit, metallum sanitatem conciliat, aes amicos conglutinat.*[3] And therefore, not without good cause, *John* [*de*] *Medici*, that rich *Florentine*, when he lay upon his death-bed, calling his sons *Cosmo* and *Lorenzo* before him, amongst other sober sayings, repeated this, *Animo quieto digredior, quod vos sanos et divites post me relinquam;* it doth me good to think yet, though I be dying, that I shall leave you my children *sound and rich.* For wealth sways all. It is not with us, as amongst those *Lacedæmonian* Senators of *Lycurgus* in *Plutarch;*[4] *he preferred that deserved best, was most virtuous and worthy of the place;* [5] *not swiftness, or strength, or wealth, or friends, carried it in those days;* but *inter optimos optimus, inter temperantes temperantissimus*, the most temperate & best. We have no *Aristocracies* but in contemplation, all *Oligarchies*, wherein a few rich men domineer, do what they list, and are privileged by their greatness.[6] They may freely trespass, and do as they please, no man dare accuse them, no not so much as mutter against them, there is no notice taken of it, they may securely do it, live after their own laws, and for their money get Pardons, Indulgences, redeem their souls from Purgatory and Hell itself,—*clausum possidet arca Jovem.*[7] Let them be *Epicures*, or *Atheists*, *Libertines*, *Machiavelians*, (as often they are),

> [8] Et quamvis perjuris erit, sine gente, cruentus,
> [Perjured, of low extraction, stained with blood,]

[1] Petronius, cap. 137.] [2] Nummus ait, Pro me nubat Cornubia Romæ. [3] A diadem is purchased with gold, silver opens the way to heaven, a philosopher may be hired for a penny, money controls justice, an obol feeds a man of letters, money procures health, wealth attaches friends.] [4] V. Lycurgi, § 17.] [5] Non fuit apud mortales ullum excellentius certamen, non inter celeres celerrimo, non inter robustos robustissimo, &c. [6] Quicquid libet licet. [Spartianus, Antoninus Caracallus, cap. x.] [7] Petronius, cap. 137. Jupiter is shut up in a strong-box. The almighty dollar and *œuf* evidently had as great power in Burton's days as in our own days.] [8] Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 2. [15.]

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they may go to heaven through the eye of a needle, if they will themselves, they may be canonized for Saints, they shall be [1]honourably interred in *Mausolean* Tombs, commended by Poets, registered in Histories, have Temples and Statues erected to their names,—*è manibus illis—nascentur violæ.*[2]—If he be bountiful in his life, & liberal at his death, he shall have one to swear, as he did by *Claudius* the Emperor in *Tacitus*,[3] he saw his soul go to Heaven, and be miserably lamented at his funeral. *Ambubaiarum collegia*[4] *&c. Trimalchionis tapanta* [Trimalchio's factotum] in Petronius *rectà in cælum abiit*,[5] went right to Heaven: (a base quean! [6]*thou wouldst have scorned once in thy misery to "take bread from her hand;"*) and why? *modio nummos metiit*,[7] she measured her money by the bushel. These prerogatives do not usually belong to rich men, but to such as are most part seeming rich; let him have but a good [8]outside, he carries it, and shall be adored for a God, as [9]*Cyrus* was amongst the *Persians*, *ob splendidum apparatum*, for his gay tires. Now most men are esteemed according to their clothes. In our gullish times, whom you peradventure in modesty would give place to, as being deceived by his habit, and presuming him some great Worshipful man, believe it, if you shall examine his estate, he will likely be proved a serving man of no great note, my Lady's Tailor, his Lordship's Barber, or some such gull, a *Fastidious Brisk*,[10] [a] Sir *Petronel Flash*,[11] a mere out-side. Only this respect is given him, that, wheresoever he comes, he may call for what he will, and take place by reason of his outward habit.

But on the contrary, if he be poor, *Prov.* 15. 15, *all his days are miserable*, he is under hatches, dejected, rejected, and forsaken, poor in purse, poor in spirit; [12]*prout res nobis fluit, ita et animus se habet;* [13]money gives life and soul. Though he be honest, wise, learned, well deserving, noble by birth, and of excellent good parts: yet, in that he is poor, unlikely to rise, come to honour, office, or good means, he is contemned, neglected, *frustra sapit*,

[1] Cum moritur dives concurrunt undique cives: Pauperis ad funus vix est ex millibus unus. [2] Pers. i. 38, 40. And from their ashes shall spring violets.] [3] Is not Tacitus a slip for Seneca, and an allusion intended to the *Apocolocyntosis*? For Tacitus has nothing of this kind.] [4] Hor. Sat. i. ii. 1.] [5] Satyricon, cap. 37.] [6] Et modo quid fuit? Ignoscet mihi genius tuus, noluisses de manu illius panem accipere. [Do. cap. 37.] [7] Mensa est, is the proper reading.] [8] He that wears silk, satin, velvet, and gold lace, must needs be a Gentleman. [9] Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. 8. [ch. iii. § 14.] [10] A character in Ben Jonson's Every Man Out of his Humour.] [11] See Halliwell's Dict. of Archaisms, *v.* Petronel.] [12] Euripides. [Fr. 288. preserved in Seneca, Epist. 115.] [13] Est sanguis atque spiritus pecunia mortalibus.

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inter literas esurit, amicus molestus.[1] [2]*If he speak, what babbler is this? Ecclus.* [xx. 7,] his nobility without wealth is [3]*projecta vilior alga*, and he not esteemed. *Nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis,*[4] if once poor, we are metamorphosed in an instant, base slaves, villains, and vile drudges; [5]for to be poor is to be a knave, a fool, a wretch, a wicked, an odious fellow, a common eye-sore; say poor and say all: they are born to labour, to misery, to carry burdens like juments, *pistum stercus comedere*[6] with *Ulysses* companions,[7] and, as *Chremylus* objected in *Aristophanes*,[8] [9]*salem lingere*, [to] lick salt, to empty jakes, fay channels,[10] carry out dirt and dunghills, sweep chimneys, rub horse-heels, &c. I say nothing of *Turks'* Galley-slaves, which are bought[11] and sold like juments, or those *African* Negroes, or poor [12]*Indian* drudges, *qui indies hinc inde deferendis oneribus occumbunt, nam quod apud nos boves et asini vehunt, trahunt, &c.*[13] *Id omne misellis Indis, &c.* They are ugly to behold, and, though erst spruce, now rusty and squalid, because poor, [14]*immundas fortunas æquum est squalorem sequi*, it is ordinarily so. [15]*Others eat to live, but they live to drudge,* [16]*servilis et misera gens nihil recusare audet*, a servile generation, that dare refuse no task.

——[17] Heus tu, Dromo, Cape hoc flabellum, ventulum huic facito, dum lavamur,

sirrah, blow wind upon us while we wash; and bid your fellow get him up betimes in the morning; be it fair or foul, he shall run 50 miles a foot to morrow, to carry me a letter to my mistress; *Sosia ad pistrinum, Sosia* shall tarry at home and grind malt all day long; *Tristan* [shall] thresh. Thus are they commanded, being indeed some of them as so many footstools for rich men to tread on, blocks for them to get on horse-back, or as [18]*walls for them to piss on.* They are commonly such people, rude, silly, superstitious,

[1] He is wise in vain, he hungers in spite of his knowledge, he is troublesome as a friend.] [2] In tenui rara est facundia panno. Juv. [vii. 145.] [3] Hor. [more worthless than sea-weed. Sat. ii. v. 8.] [4] Juv. xiii. 142.] [5] Egere est offendere, et indigere scelestum esse. Sat. Menip. [6] To eat dung.] [7] See Homer, Odyssey, x. 239 *sq.*] [8] Plutus, 535-547.] [9] Plaut. [Curculio,] Act. 4. [4. 6.] [10] Nullum tam barbarum, tam vile munus est, quod non lubentissimè obire veli, gens vilissima. [11] Lausius, orat. in Hispaniam. [12] Laet. descript. Americæ. [13] Who daily faint beneath the burdens they carry from place to place, for they draw the loads which oxen and asses do with us. Such is all the life of the wretched Indians.] [14] Plautus. [Cistellaria, i. i. 115.] [15] Leo Afer, cap. ult. l. 1. Edunt non ut bene vivant, sed ut fortiter laborent. Heinsius. [16] Munster de rusticis Germaniæ, Cosmog. cap. 27. lib. 3. [17] Ter. Eunuch. [iii. v. 46, 47. quoted memoriter.] [18] Pauper paries factus, quem caniculæ commingant.

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idiots, nasty, unclean, lousy, poor, dejected, slavishly humble: and, as [1] *Leo Afer* observes of the commonalty of *Africa*, *naturâ viliores sunt, nec apud suos duces majore in pretio quàm si canes essent:* base by nature, and no more esteemed than dogs; [2] *miseram, laboriosam, calamitosam vitam agunt, et inopem, infelicem; rudiores asinis, ut è brutis plane natos dicas:* no learning, no knowledge, no civility, scarce common sense, nought but barbarism amongst them; *belluino more vivunt, neque calceos gestant neque vestes*, like rogues & vagabonds, they go bare-footed & bare-legged, the soles of their feet being as hard as horse hoofs, as [3] *Radzivilius* observed at *Damietta* in *Egypt*, leading a laborious, miserable, wretched, unhappy life, [4] *like beasts and juments, if not worse:* (for a [5] *Spaniard* in *Yucatan* sold three Indian boys for a cheese, and an hundred Negro slaves for an horse): their discourse is scurrility, their *summum bonum* a pot of Ale. There is not any slavery which these villains will not undergo; *inter illos flerique latrinas evacuant, alii culinariam curant, alii stabularios agunt, urinatores, & id genus similia exercent, &c.* like those people that dwell in the [6] *Alps, chimney-sweepers, jakes-farmers, dirt-daubers, vagrant rogues*, they labour hard some, and yet cannot get clothes to put on, or bread to eat. For what can filthy poverty give else, but [7] beggary, fulsome nastiness, squalor, contempt, drudgery, labour, ugliness, hunger and thirst: *pediculorum & pulicum numerum*, (as [8] he well followed it in *Aristophanes*,) fleas and lice? *pro pallio vestem laceram, & pro pulvinari lapidem benè magnum ad caput*, rags for his raiment, and a stone for his pillow, *pro cathedrâ ruptæ caput urnæ*, he sits in a broken pitcher, or on a block, for a chair, *& maluæ ramos pro panibus comedit*, he drinks water, and lives on wort leaves, pulse, like a hog, or scraps like a dog; *ut nunc nobis vita afficitur, quis non putabit insaniam esse, infelicitatemque?* (as *Chremylus* concludes his speech,) as we poor men live nowadays, who will not take our life to be [9] infelicity, misery, and madness?

1 Lib. 1. cap. ult. 2 Deos omnes illis infensos diceres: tam pannosi, fame fracti, tot assiduè malis afficiuntur, tamquam pecora quibus splendor rationis emortuus. 3 Peregrin. Hieros. 4 Nihil omnino meliorem vitam degunt, quam feræ in silvis, jumenta in terris. Leo Afer. 5 Bartholomaeus a Casa. 6 Ortelius, in Helvetia. Qui habitant in Cæsia valle ut plurimùm latomi, in Oscella valle cultrorum fabri, fumarii in Vigetia, sordidum genus hominum, quod repurgandis caminis victum parat. 7 I write not this any ways to upbraid, or scoff at, or misuse poor men, but rather to condole and pity them by expressing, &c. 8 Chremylus [Ar. Plut. 535-547.] 9 Paupertas durum onus miseris mortalibus.

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If they be of [a] little better condition than those base villains, hunger-starved beggars, wandering rogues, those ordinary slaves, and day-labouring drudges, yet they are commonly so preyed upon by [1] polling officers for breaking laws, by their tyrannizing land-lords, so flead and fleeced by perpetual [2] exactions, that, though they do drudge, fare hard, and starve their *Genius*, they cannot live in [3] some countries; but what they have is instantly taken from them; the very care they take to live, to be drudges, to maintain their poor families, their trouble and anxiety, *takes away their sleep*, *Sirac.* 31. 1, it makes them weary of their lives: when they have taken all pains, done their utmost and honest endeavours, if they be cast behind by sickness, or over-taken with years, no man pities them; hard-hearted and merciless, uncharitable as they are, they leave them so distressed, to beg, steal, murmur, and [4] rebel, or else starve. The feeling and fear of this misery compelled those old *Romans*, whom *Menenius Agrippa* pacified,[5] to resist their governors: outlaws, and rebels, in most places, to take up seditious arms; and in all ages hath caused uproars, murmurings, seditions, rebellions, thefts, murders, mutinies, jars and contentions, in every common-wealth: grudging, repining, complaining, discontent, in each private family, because they want means to live according to their callings, bring up their children; it breaks their hearts they cannot do as they would. No greater misery than for a Lord to have a Knight's living, a Gentleman a Yeoman's, not to be able to live as his birth and place requires! Poverty and want are generally corrosives to all kinds of men, especially to such as have been in good and flourishing estate, are suddenly distressed, [6] nobly born, liberally brought up, and by some disaster and casualty miserably dejected. For the rest, as they have base fortunes, so have they base minds correspondent, like beetles *è stercore orti*, *è stercore victus*, *in stercore delicium*, as they were obscurely born and bred, so they delight and live in obscenity; they are not so thoroughly touched with it.

[1] Vexat censura columbas. [Juv. ii. 63.] [2] *Deux ace* non possunt, et *six cinque* solvere nolunt: Omnibus est notum *quatre tre* solvere totum. [3] Scandia, Africa, Lithuania. [4] Montaigne, in his Essays, speaks of certain Indians in France, that, being asked how they liked the country, wondered how a few rich men could keep so many poor men in subjection, that they did not cut their throats. [Book i. ch. 30.] [5] Livy, ii. 32.] [6] Angustas animas animoso in pectore versant. [Virg. G. v. 83. quoted memoriter.]

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Angustas animas angusto in pectore versant.[1]

Yea, that which is no small cause of their torments, if once they come to be in distress, they are forsaken of their fellows, most part neglected, and left unto themselves; as poor [2] *Terence* in *Rome* was by *Scipio*, *Lælius*, and *Furius*, his great and noble friends.

Nil Publius Scipio profuit, nil ei Lælius, nil Furius,
Tres per idem tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime,
Eorum ille operâ ne domum quidem habuit conductitiam.[3]

'Tis generally so, *Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris*,[4] he is left cold and comfortless, *nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes*,[5] all flee from him as from a rotten wall, now ready to fall on their heads. *Prov.* 19. 4, *Poverty separates them from their* [6] *neighbours.*

[7] Dum fortuna favet, vultum servatis, amici,
Cùm cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fugâ.

Whilst fortune favour'd, friends, you smiled on me,
But when she fled, a friend I could not see.

Which is worse yet, if he be poor [8] every man contemns him, insults over him, oppresseth him, scoffs at, aggravates his misery.

[9] Quum cæpit quassata domus subsidere, partes
In proclinatas omne recumbit onus.

When once the tottering house begins to shrink,
Thither comes all the weight by an instinct.

Nay, they are odious to their own brethren and dearest friends. *Pro.* 19. 7, *his brethren hate him if he be poor;* [10] *omnes vicini oderunt, his neighbours hate him, Pro.* 14. 20: [11] *omnes me noti ac ignoti deserunt*, as he complained in the Comedy, friends & strangers, all forsake me. Which is most grievous, poverty makes men ridiculous, *Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se, Quam quod ridiculos homines facit*,[12] they must endure [13] jests, taunts, flouts, blows, of their betters, and take all in good part to get a meal's

[1] Virg. G. iv. 83. quoted memoriter. Their narrow souls suit with their narrow breast.] [2] Donatus, vit. ejus. [3] Publius Scipio, Lælius, and Furius, three of the most distinguished noblemen at that day in Rome, were of so little service to him, that he could scarcely procure a lodging through their patronage. Donatus, vit. ejus.] [4] Ovid, Tr. i. ix. 6.] [5] Do. 10.] [6] Prov. xix. 7. Though he be instant, yet they will not. [7] Petronius. [c. 80.] [8] Non est qui doleat vicem; ut Petrus Christum, jurant se hominem non novisse. [9] Ovid, Trist. [ii. 83, 84.] [10] Horat. [Sat. i. i. 84, 85.] [11] Ter. Eunuchus, act. 2. [2. 7.] [12] Juv. iii. 152, 153.] [13] Quid quod materiam præbet causamque jocandi, Si toga sordida sit? Juv. Sat. [3. 147, 149. quoted memoriter.]

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meat: [1] *magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet quidvis & facere & pati.* He must turn parasite, jester, fool, (*cum desipientibus desipere*, saith [2] *Euripides*), slave, villain, drudge, to get a poor living, apply himself to each man's humours, to win and please, &c. and be buffeted, when he hath all done, (as *Ulysses* was by *Melanthius* [3] in *Homer*,) be reviled, baffled, insulted over, for [4] *potentiorum stultitia perferenda est*,[5] and may not so much as mutter against it. He must turn rogue and villain, for, as the saying is, *necessitas cogit ad turpia*, poverty alone makes men thieves, rebels, murderers, traitors, assassinates, (*because of poverty we have sinned, Ecclus.* 27. 1,) swear and forswear, bear false witness, lie, dissemble, any thing, as I say, to advantage themselves, and to relieve their necessities; [6] *culpæ scelerisque magistra est*,[7] when a man is driven to his shifts, what will he not do?

> ——— si miserum fortuna Sinonem
> Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget;[8]
>
> [If cruel fortune has made Simon wretched,
> 'Twill also make him an untruthful liar;]

he will betray his father, Prince, and Country, turn Turk, forsake Religion, abjure God and all; *nulla tam horrenda proditio, quam illi lucri causa* (saith [9] *Leo Afer*) *perpetrare nolint*.[10] [11] *Plato* therefore calls poverty *thievish, sacrilegious, filthy, wicked, & mischievous*, and well he might; for it makes many an upright man otherwise, had he not been in want, to take bribes, to be corrupt, to do against his conscience, to sell his tongue, heart, hand, &c. to be churlish, hard, unmerciful, uncivil, to use indirect means to help his present estate. It makes Princes to exact upon their subjects, Great men tyrannize, Landlords oppress, Justice mercenary, Lawyers vultures, Physicians Harpies, friends importunate, tradesmen liars, honest men thieves, devout assassinates, great men to prostitute their wives, daughters, and themselves, middle sort to repine, commons to mutiny, all to grudge, murmur, and complain. A great temptation to all mischief, it compels some miserable wretches to counterfeit several diseases, to dismember,

[1] Hor. [Odes, iii. 24. 42, 43. Poverty is a great reproach, it bids us do and suffer everything.] [2] In Phœniss. [394.] [3] Odyss. 17. [217-232.] [4] Idem. [238.] [5] The folly of the powerful must be put up with.] [6] Mantuan. [Ecl. i.] [7] It instigates to crime.] [8] Virg. Æn. ii. 79, 80.] [9] De Africa, lib. 1. cap. ult. [10] There is no treason so horrible that they will not commit for gain.] [11] Lib. 5, De legibus. Furacissima paupertas, sacrilega, turpis, flagitiosa, omnium malorum opifex. [p. 744.]

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make themselves blind, lame, to have a more plausible cause to beg, and lose their limbs to recover their present wants. *Jodocus Damhoderius*,[1] a Lawyer of *Bruges*, *praxi rerum criminal. c.* 112, hath some notable examples of such counterfeit cranks, and every village almost will yield abundant testimonies amongst us; we have dummerers, *Abraham* men; &c. And, that which is the extent of misery, it enforceth them, through anguish and wearisomeness of their lives, to make away themselves. They had rather be hanged, drowned, &c. than to live without means.

> [2] In mare cetiferum, ne te premat aspera egestas,
> Desili, et à celsis corrue, Cyrne, jugis.
>
> Much better 'tis to break thy neck,
> Or drown thyself i' th' sea,
> Than suffer irksome poverty:
> Go make thyself away.

A *Sybarite* of old, as I find it registered in [3]*Athenæus*, supping *in Phiditiis* in *Sparta*, & observing their hard fare, said it was no marvel if the *Lacedæmonians* were valiant men; *for his part he would rather run upon a sword point* (*& so would any man in his wits*) *than live with such base diet, or lead so wretched a life.* [4] In *Japan* 'tis a common thing to stifle their children if they be poor, or to make an abort,[5] which *Aristotle* commends.[6] In that civil commonwealth of *China*,[7] the mother strangles her child, if she be not able to bring it up, and had rather lose than sell it, or have it endure such misery as poor men do. *Arnobius*, *lib.* 7. *adversus gentes*, [8]*Lactantius l.* 5. *c.* 9, objects as much to those ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, *they did expose their children to wild beasts, strangle, or knock out their brains against a stone*, in such cases. If we may give credit to [9]*Munster*, amongst us Christians in *Lithuania* they voluntarily mancipate and sell themselves, their wives and children, to rich men, to avoid hunger & beggary; [10] many make away themselves in this extremity. *Apicius* the *Roman*, when he cast up his accounts, and found but 100,000 Crowns left,

[1] A favourite both of Charles V. and Philip II. [2] Theognis. [175, 6.] [3] Deipnosophist. lib. 12. [p. 518 E.] Millies potius moriturum (si quis sibi mente constaret) quam tam vilis et ærumnosi victûs communionem habere. [4] Gasper Vilela Jesuita, epist. Japon. lib. [5] = abortion.] [6] Politics, Lib. vii. cap. xiv.] [7] Mat. Riccius, expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 3. [8] Vos Romani procreatos filios feris et canibus exponitis, nunc strangulatis, vel in saxum eliditis, &c. [9] Cosmog. 4. lib. cap. 22. Vendunt liberos victu carentes tanquam pecora, interdum et se ipsos, ut apud divites saturentur cibis. [10] Vel honorum desperatione vel malorum perpessione fracti et fatigati, plures violentas manus sibi inferunt.

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murdered himself for fear he should be famished to death.[1] *P. Forestus*, in his medicinal observations, hath a memorable example of two brothers of *Louvain*, that, being destitute of means, became both melancholy, and in a discontented humour massacred themselves; another of a merchant, learned, wise otherwise and discreet, but, out of a deep apprehension he had of a loss at seas, would not be persuaded but, as [2]*Ummidius* in the Poet, he should die a beggar. In a word, thus much I may conclude of poor men, that, though they have good [3]parts, they cannot shew or make use of them: [4]*ab inopiâ ad virtutem obsepta est via*, 'tis hard for a poor man to rise, [5]*haud facilè emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat res angusta domi:* [6] *the wisdom of the poor is despised, and his words are not heard*, Eccles. 9. 16: his works are rejected, contemned, for the baseness and obscurity of the author; though laudable and good in themselves, they will not likely take.

> Nulla placere diù, neque vivere, carmina possunt,
> Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus——[7]
>
> [No poems can please long or live that are
> Written by water-drinkers.]

Poor men cannot please, their actions, counsels, consultations, projects, are vilified in the world's esteem, *amittunt consilium cum re*,[8] which *Gnatho* long since observed. [9]*Sapiens crepidas sibi nunquam nec soleas fecit*, a wise man never cobbled shoes, as he said of old, but how doth he prove it? I am sure we find it otherwise in our days, [10]*pruinosis horret facundia pannis*.[11] *Homer* himself must beg if he want means, and, as by report sometimes he did, [12]*go from door to door and sing ballads, with a company of boys about him.* This common misery of theirs must needs distract, make them discontent and melancholy, as ordinarily they are, wayward, peevish, like a weary traveller, (for

> [13] Fames et mora bilem in nares consciunt,)

still murmuring and repining. *Ob inopiam morosi sunt, quibus est*

[1] See Seneca, Cons. ad Helv. 10, §§ 8, 9.] [2] Hor. [Sat. i. i. 95-99. All other editions of Burton have *Ventidius* incorrectly.] [3] Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces: Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus. [4] Terent. [5] Juv. Sat. 3. [164, 5.] [6] They do not easily rise, whose narrow fortunes stand in the way of their virtues.] [7] Hor. Epp. 1. xix. 2, 3.] [8] Ter. Eun. ii. ii. 10.] [9] Paschalius. [10] Petronius. [83]. [11] Eloquence shivers in wretched rags.] [12] Herodotus, vit. ejus. Scaliger in poet. Potentiorum ædes ostiatim adiens, aliquid accipiebat, canens carmina sua, concomitante eum puerorum choro. [13] Erasmi Adagia, p. 553.]

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malè, as *Plutarch*[1] quotes out of *Euripides*, and that comical Poet well seconds,

> [2] Omnes quibus res sunt minùs secundæ, nescio quomodo
> Suspiciosi, ad contumeliam omnia accipiunt magis,
> Propter suam impotentiam se credunt negligi;

if they be in adversity, they are more suspicious and apt to mistake; they think themselves scorned by reason of their misery; and therefore many generous spirits in such cases withdraw themselves from all company, as that Comedian [3]*Terence* is said to have done; when he perceived himself to be forsaken and poor, he voluntarily banished himself to *Stymphalus*, a base town in *Arcadia*, and there miserably died:

> [4] ——— ad summam inopiam redactus,
> Itaque è conspectu omnium abiit Græciæ in terram ultimam.

Neither is it without cause, for we see men commonly respected according to their means, ([5] *an dives sit omnes quærunt, nemo an bonus*), & vilified if they be in bad clothes. [6] *Philopœmen* the Orator was sent to cut wood, because he was so homely attired. [7] *Terentius* was placed at the lower end of *Cæcilius'* table, because of his homely outside. [8] *Dante*, that famous *Italian* Poet, by reason his clothes were but mean, could not be admitted to sit down at a feast. *Gnatho* scorned his old familiar friend because of his apparel, [9] *hominem video pannis annisque obsitum, hîc ego illum contempsi præ me.* King *Perseus*, overcome, sent a letter to [10] *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* General; "*Perseus P. Consuli* S." but he scorned him any answer, *tactitè exprobrans fortunam suam* (saith mine author) [silently] upbraiding him with his present fortune. [11] *Carolus Pugnax*,[12] that great Duke of *Burgundy*, made *H. Holland*, late Duke of *Exeter*, exil'd, run after his horse like a lackey, and would take no notice of him: [13] 'tis the common fashion of the world. So that such men as are poor may justly be discontent, melancholy, and complain of their present misery, and all may

[1 On Contentedness of Mind, § iii.] [2] Hegio, Ter. Adelph. Act. 4. Scen. 3. [14-16 memoriter.] [3] Donat. vita ejus. [4 Reduced to the greatest necessity, he withdrew from the eyes of all men to the most remote part of Greece.] [5] Euripides. [Fragm. from the Bellerophontes, preserved by Seneca, Epistle 115. All ask whether a man is rich, none whether he is good.] [6] Plutarch, vita ejus. [§ 2.] [7] Vita Ter. [8] Gomesius, lib. 3. c. 21. de sale. [9] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 2. Scen. 2. [5, 8.] [10] Liv. [xlv. 4.] [11] Commines. [Bk. iii. ch. iv.] [12 Charles the Bold.] [13] He that hath £5 per annum coming in more than others, scorns him that hath less and is a better man.

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pray with [1] *Solomon, Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor poverty, feed me with food convenient for me.*

SUBSECT. 7.—*An heap of other Accidents causing Melancholy, Death of Friends, Losses, &c.*

IN this Labyrinth of accidental causes, the farther I wander, the more intricate I find the passage, *multæ ambages*, & new causes as so many by-paths offer themselves to be discussed. To search out all were an *Herculean* work, & fitter for *Theseus:* I will follow mine intended thread; and point only at some few of the chiefest.

Amongst which loss and death of friends may challenge a first place. *Multi tristantur*, as [2] *Vives* well observes, *post delicias, convivia, dies festos*, many are melancholy after a feast, holy-day, merry meeting, or some pleasing sport, if they be solitary by chance, left alone to themselves, without employment, sport, or want their ordinary companions; some, at the departure of friends only whom they shall shortly see again, weep and howl, and look after them as a cow lows after her calf, or a child takes on that goes to school after holidays. *Ut me levârat tuus adventus, sic discessus afflixit*, (which [3] *Tully* writ to *Atticus*), thy coming was not so welcome to me as thy departure was harsh. *Montanus, consil.* 132, makes mention of a country-woman that, parting with her friends and native place, became grievously melancholy for many years; and *Trallianus* of another, so caused for the absence of her husband. Which is an ordinary passion amongst our good wives; if their husband tarry out a day longer than his appointed time, or break his hour, they take on presently with sighs and tears, "he is either robbed or dead, some mischance or other is surely befallen him," they cannot eat, drink, sleep, or be quiet in mind, till they see him again. If parting of friends, absence alone, can work such violent effects, what shall death do, when they must eternally be separated, never in this world to meet again? This is so grievous a torment for the time, that it takes away their appetite, desire of life, extinguisheth all delights, it causeth deep sighs and groans, tears, exclamations,

[1] Prov. xxx. 8. [2] De anima, cap. de mœrore. [3] Lib. 12. Epist. [50.]

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O dulce germen matris! ô sanguis meus!
Eheu! tepentes, &c.————ô flos tener!

[O mother's sweet child! O my very blood
O tender flower! alas! and art thou gone?]

howling, roaring, many bitter pangs, ([1]*Lamentis gemituque & fœmineo ululatu Tecta fremunt*), and by frequent meditation extends so far sometimes, [2] *they think they see their dead friends continually in their eyes, observantes imagines*, as *Conciliator* confesseth he saw his mother's ghost presenting herself still before him. *Quod nimis miseri volunt, hoc facilè credunt;*[3] still, still, still, that good father, that good son, that good wife, that dear friend runs in their minds; *totus animus hac unâ cogitatione defixus est*, all the year long, as [4] *Pliny* complains to *Romanus, methinks I see* Virginius, *I hear* Virginius, *I talk with* Virginius, &c.

[5] Te sine, væ misero mihi, lilia nigra videntur,
Pallentesque rosæ, nec dulce rubens hyacinthus;
Nullos nec myrtus, nec laurus spirat odores.

They that are most staid and patient are so furiously carried headlong by the passion of sorrow in this case, that brave discreet men otherwise oftentimes forget themselves, and weep like children many months together, "as [6] if that they to water would," and will not be comforted. They are gone! they are gone!

Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.[7]

What shall I do?

Quis dabit in lacrimas fontem mihi? quis satis altos
Accendet gemitus, et acerbo verba dolori?
Exhaurit pietas oculos, et hiantia frangit
Pectora, nec plenos avido sinit edere questus;
Magna adeò jactura premit, &c.

Fountains of tears who gives? who lends me groans,
Deep sighs, sufficient to express my moans?
Mine eyes are dry, my breast in pieces torn,
My loss so great, I cannot enough mourn.

So *Stroza Filius*, that elegant *Italian* Poet, in his *Epicedium*,[8] bewails his father's death, he could moderate his passions in

[1] Virg. Æn. 4. [667, 8.] [2] Patres mortuos coram astantes et filios, &c. Marcellus Donatus. [3] Seneca, Herc. Fur. 313. What the unhappy eagerly wish, they easily believe.] [4] Epist. lib. 2. [Ep. 1.] Virginium video, audio, defunctum, cogito, alloquor. [5] Calphurnius Siculus. [Without thee, ah! wretched me, the lilies seem black, the roses pale, the hyacinth has lost its ruddy glow; neither the myrtle nor laurel retain their odours.] [6] Chaucer. [Canterbury Tales, line 10,809.] [7] Virg. Æn. vi. 429.] [8] Dirge, Elegy.]

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other matters (as he confesseth) but not in this, he yields wholly to sorrow,

> Nunc fateor do terga malis, mens illa fatiscit,
> Indomitus quondam vigor et constantia mentis.

How doth [1]*Quintilian* complain for the loss of his son, to despair almost! *Cardan* lament his only child in his book *de libris propriis*, & elsewhere in many other of his tracts! [2]*S. Ambrose* his brother's death! (*An ego possum non cogitare de te, aut sine lacrimis cogitare? O amari dies! ô flebiles noctes!*[3] &c.) *Gregory Nazianzen*[4] that noble *Pulcheria*! (*O decorem, &c. flos recens, pullulans, &c.*) *Alexander*, a man of a most invincible courage, after *Hephæstio's* death, as *Curtius* relates,[5] *triduum jacuit ad moriendum obstinatus*, lay three days together upon the ground, obstinate to die with him, and would neither eat, drink, nor sleep. The woman that communed with *Esdras* (l. 2. *c.* 10.), when her son fell down dead, *fled into the field, & would not return into the city, but there resolved to remain, neither to eat nor drink, but mourn & fast until she died* [*v.* 4.]. *Rachel wept for her children, and would not be comforted because they were not, Matt.* 2. 18. So did *Adrian* the Emperor bewail his *Antinous; Hercules, Hylas; Orpheus, Eurydice; David, Absolom;* (O my dear son *Absolom!*) *Austin* his mother *Monica; Niobe* her children, insomuch that the [6]Poets feigned her to be turned into a stone, as being stupefied through the extremity of grief. [7]Ægeus, *signo lugubri filii consternatus, in mare se præcipitem dedit*, impatient of sorrow for his son's death, drowned himself. Our late Physicians are full of such examples. *Montanus, consil.* 242, [8]had a patient troubled with this infirmity, by reason of her husband's death, many years together. *Trincavellius, l.* 1. c. 14, hath such another, almost in despair after his [9]mother's departure, *ut se fermè præcipitem daret*, and ready through distraction to make away himself: and (in his 15th counsel) tells a story of one fifty years of age, *that grew desperate upon his mother's death*, and, cured by *Fallopius*, fell many years after into a relapse by the sudden death of a daughter which he had, and

[1] Præfat. lib. 6. [2] Lib. de obitu Satyri fratris. [3] Can I ever cease to think of thee, or to think of thee without tears? O bitter days! O nights of sorrow! &c.] [4] This should be Gregory of Nyssa. See his works, ed. Migne, vol. iii. p. 865, *sq.*] [5] Lib. 10. cap. 4. memoriter *τι*. This is another of Burton's errors. For *Hephæstio* we should read *Clitus*, Lib. 8. cap. 2.] [6] Ovid. Met. [vi. 306-312.] [7] Plut. vita [Thesei, § 22.] [8] Nobilis matrona melancholica ob mortem mariti. [9] Ex matris obitu in desperationem incidit.

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could never after be recovered. The fury of this passion is so violent sometimes, that it daunts whole kingdoms and cities. *Vespasian's* death was pitifully lamented all over the *Roman* Empire, *totus orbis lugebat*, saith *Aurelius Victor*.[1] *Alexander* commanded the battlements of houses to be pulled down, mules and horses to have their manes shorn off, and many common soldiers to be slain, to accompany his dear *Hephæstio's* death.[2] Which is now practised amongst the *Tartars*, when [3] a great *Cham* dieth, ten or twelve thousand must be slain, men and horses, all they meet; and, among those [4] Pagan *Indians*, their wives and servants voluntarily die with them. *Leo Decimus* was so much bewailed in *Rome* after his departure, that, as *Jovius* gives out, [5] *communis salus, publica hilaritas*, the common safety, all good fellowship, peace, mirth, and plenty died with him, *tamquam eodem sepulchro cum Leone condita lugebantur;* for it was a golden age whilst he lived, [6] but after his decease an iron season succeeded, *barbara vis & fœda vastitas, & dira malorum omnium incommoda*, wars, plagues, vastity, discontent. When *Augustus Cæsar* died, saith *Paterculus*,[7] *orbis ruinam timueramus*, we were all afraid, as if heaven had fallen upon our heads. [8] *Budæus* records how that at *Lewis the* 12th *his death, tam subita mutatio, ut qui priùs digito cœlum attingere videbantur, nunc humi derepentè serpere, sideratos esse diceres*, they that were erst in heaven, upon a sudden, as if they had been planet-strucken, lay grovelling on the ground;

> [9] Concussis cecidere animis, ceu frondibus ingens
> Silva dolet lapsis———

they look't like cropt trees. [10] At *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, when *Claudia Valesia*, *Henry* the Second *French* king's sister, and the Duke's wife deceased, the Temples for forty days were all shut up, no Prayers nor Masses but in that room where she was; the Senators all seen in black, *and for a twelve months' space throughout the city they were forbid to sing or dance.*

[1 De Cæsaribus, cap. x. Titus Flavius Vespasianus is referred to. All the world mourned it.] [2 Plut. Life of Pelopidas. § xxxiv.] [3 Mathias à Michou. Boter. Amphitheat. [4 Lo. Vertoman. M. Polus, Venetus, lib. 1. cap. 54. Perimunt eos quos in via obvios habent, dicentes, Ite, et domino nostro regi servite in alia vita. Nec tam in homines insaniunt, sed in equos, &c. [5 Vita ejus. [6 Lib. 4. vitæ ejus. Auream ætatem condiderat ad humani generis salutem, quum nos, statim ab optimi principis excessu, verè ferream pateremur, famem, pestem, &c. [7 Lib. ii. cap. 124.] [8 Lib. 5, de asse. [9 Maph. [Possibly Maphaeus, who, according to Hallam, added a thirteenth Book to Virgil's *Æneid*.] [10 Ortelius, Itinerario. Ob annum integrum à cantu, tripudiis, et saltationibus, tota civitas abstinere jubetur.

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[1] Non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
Frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla nec amnem
Libavit quadrupes, nec graminis attigit herbam.

How were we affected here in *England* for our *Titus, deliciæ humani generis*,[2] Prince *Henry's* immature death, as if all our dearest friends' lives had exhaled with his! [3] *Scanderbeg's* death was not so much lamented in *Epirus*. In a word, as [4] he saith of *Edward* the First at the news of *Edward* of *Caernarvon* his son's birth, *immortaliter gavisus*, he was immortally glad, may we say on the contrary of friends' deaths, *immortaliter gementes*, we are divers of us, as so many turtles, eternally dejected with it.

There is another sorrow, which ariseth from the loss of temporal goods and fortunes, which equally afflicteth, and may go hand in hand with the precedent. Loss of time, loss of honour, office, of good name, of labour, frustrate hopes will much torment; but, in my judgement, there is no torture like unto it, or that sooner procureth this malady and mischief:

[5] Ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris:

it wrings true tears from our eyes, many sighs, much sorrow from our hearts, and often causeth habitual melancholy itself. *Guianerius, tract.* 15. 5, repeats this for an especial cause. [6] *Loss of friends, and loss of goods, make many men melancholy, as I have often seen by continual meditation of such things.* The same causes *Arnoldus Villanovanus* inculcates, *Breviar, l.* 1. *c.* 18, *ex rerum amissione, damno, amicorum morte, &c.* Want alone will make a man mad, to be *sans argent*[7] will cause a deep and grievous melancholy. Many persons are affected like [8] Irishmen in this behalf, who, if they have a good scimitar, had rather have a blow on their arm than their weapon hurt: they will sooner lose their life than their goods: and the grief that cometh hence continueth long, (saith [9] *Plater*), *and out of many dispositions procureth an habit.* [10] *Montanus* and *Frisemelica* cured a young man of 22

[1] Virg. [Ecl. v. 24-26. None drove the oxen, Daphnis, in those days, When well-fed, to the rivers cool: no beast Drank of the stream or browzed upon the herbage.] [2] Suetonius, Titus, § 1. The delight of the human race.] [3] See Barletius, de vita et ob. Scanderbeg. lib. 13. hist. [See also Gibbon, D. and F. ch. lxvii.] [4] Matth. Paris. [5] Juvenalis. [xiii. 134.] [6] Multi qui res amatas perdiderant, ut filios, opes, non sperantes recuperare, propter assiduam talium considerationem melancholici fiunt, ut ipse vidi. [7] Without money.] [8] Stanihurstus, Hib. Hist. [9] Cap. 3. Melancholia semper venit ob jacturam pecuniæ, victoriæ repulsam mortem liberorum, quibus longo post tempore animus torquetur, et à dispositione sit habitus. [10] Consil. 26.

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years of age, that so became melancholy, *ob amissam pecuniam*, for a sum of money which he had unhappily lost. *Sckenkius* hath such another story of one melancholy, because he overshot himself, and spent his stock in unnecessary building. [1] *Roger*, that rich Bishop of *Salisbury*, *exutus opibus et castris à Rege Stephano*, spoiled of his goods by King *Stephen*, *vi doloris absorptus, atque in amentiam versus, indecentia fecit*, through grief ran mad, spake and did he knew not what. Nothing so familiar as for men in such cases, through anguish of mind, to make away themselves. A poor fellow went to hang himself, (which *Ausonius* hath elegantly expressed in a neat [2] Epigram), but, finding by chance a pot of money, flung away the rope, and went merrily home; but he that hid the gold, when he missed it, hanged himself with that rope which the other man had left, in a discontented humour.

> At qui condiderat, postquam non repperit aurum,
> Aptavit collo quem reperit laqueum.

Such feral accidents can want and penury produce. Be it suretyship, shipwrack, fire, spoil and pillage of soldiers, or what loss soever, it boots not, it will work the like effect, the same desolation in Provinces and Cities, as well as private persons. The *Romans* were miserably dejected after the battle of *Cannæ*, the men amazed for fear, the stupid women tore their hair & cried; the *Hungarians*, when their King *Ladislaus*, & bravest soldiers, were slain by the *Turks; luctus publicus, &c.* the *Venetians*, when their forces were overcome by the French King *Louis*, the French & Spanish Kings, Pope, Emperor, all conspired against them, at *Cambray*, the French Herald denounced open war in the Senate: *Lauredane, Venetorum dux, &c.* and they had lost *Padua, Brixia, Verona, Forum Julii*, their territories in the continent, and had now nothing left but the City of *Venice* itself, *et urbi quoque ipsi* (saith [3] *Bembus*) *timendum putarent*, and the loss of that was likewise to be feared, *tantus repente dolor omnes tenuit, ut nunquam alias, &c.* they were pitifully plunged, never before in such lamentable distress. *An.* 1527, when *Rome* was sacked by *Bourbonius*, the common soldiers made such spoil, that fair [4] Churches were turned to stables, old monuments and books made horse-litter, or burned like straw; reliques, costly pictures,

[1] Nubrigensis. [2] Epig. 22. [3, 4.] [3] Lib. 8. Venet. Hist. [4] Templa ornamentis nudata, spoliata, in stabula equorum et asinorum versa, &c. Infulæ humi conculcatæ pedibus, &c.

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defaced; altars demolished; rich hangings, carpets, &c. trampled in the dirt: [1] their wives and loveliest daughters constuprated by every base cullion, as *Sejanus'* daughter was by the hangman in publick,[2] before their fathers' and husbands' faces; Noblemen's children, and of the wealthiest citizens, reserved for Princes' beds, were prostitute to every common soldier, and kept for concubines; Senators and Cardinals themselves dragg'd along the streets, and put to exquisite torments, to confess where their money was hid; the rest, murdered on heaps, lay stinking in the streets; infants' brains dashed out before their mothers' eyes. A lamentable sight it was to see so goodly a City so suddenly defaced, rich citizens sent a begging to *Venice, Naples, Ancona, &c.* that erst lived in all manner of delights! [3] *Those proud palaces, that even now vaunted their tops up to Heaven, were dejected as low as Hell in an instant.* Whom will not such misery make discontent? *Terence* the Poet drowned himself (some say) for the loss of his Comedies, which suffered shipwrack.[4] When a poor man hath made many hungry meals, got together a small sum, which he loseth in an instant; a Scholar spent many an hour's study to no purpose, his labours lost, &c.; how should it otherwise be? I may conclude with *Gregory*,[5] *temporalium amor quantum afficit, cùm hæret possessio, tantum, quum subtrahitur, urit dolor;* riches do not so much exhilarate us with their possession, as they torment us with their loss.

Next to Sorrow still I may annex such accidents as procure Fear; for, besides those Terrors which I have [6]before touched, and many other fears (which are infinite), there is a superstitious Fear, one of the three great causes of Fear in *Aristotle*,[7] commonly caused by prodigies & dismal accidents, which much trouble many of us. (*Nescio quid animus mihi præsagit mali.*[8]) As if a hare cross the way at our going forth, or a mouse gnaw our clothes: if they bleed three drops at nose, the salt falls towards them, a black spot appear in their nails, &c. with many such, which *Delrio, Tom. 2. l. 3. sect. 4, Austin Niphus*, in his book *de*

[1] In oculis maritorum dilectissimæ conjuges ab Hispanorum lixis constupratæ sunt. Filiæ magnatum toris destinatæ, &c. [2] Tacitus, Annals, v. 9.] [3] Ita fastu ante unum mensem turgida civitas, et cacuminibus cœlum pulsare visa, ad inferos usque paucis diebus dejecta. [4] See Donatus, Vita ejus.] [5] Moralium, Lib. iv. cap. 30.] [6] Sect. 2. Memb. 4. Subs. 3. Fear from ominous accidents, destinies foretold. [7] Ethics, iii. 6.] [8] Terence, Heaut. ii. ii. 7. My mind presages evil of some kind.]

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Auguriis, Polydore Virg. l. 3. *de Prodigiis, Sarisburiensis, Polycrat. l.* 1. *c.* 13, discuss at large. They are so much affected, that, with the very strength of Imagination, Fear, and the Devil's craft, [1]*they pull those misfortunes they suspect upon their own heads, and that which they fear shall come upon them,* as *Solomon* foretelleth, *Prov.* 10. 24, and *Isay* denounceth, 66. 4, which, if [2] *they could neglect and contemn, would not come to pass. Eorum vires nostrâ resident opinione, ut morbi gravitas ægrotantium cogitatione,* they are intended and remitted, as our opinion is fixed, more or less. *N.N. dat pœnas,* saith [3]*Crato* of such a one, *utinam non attraheret!* he is punished, and is the cause of it [4] himself.

[5] *Dum fata fugimus, fata stulti incurrimus,* the thing that I feared, saith *Job* [iii. 25,] is fallen upon me.

As much we may say of them that are troubled with their fortunes, or ill destinies fore-seen; *multos angit præscientia malorum:* the fore-knowledge of what shall come to pass crucifies many men, fore-told by Astrologers, or Wizards, *iratum ob cælum,*[6] be it ill accident, or death itself: which often falls out by God's permission; *quia dæmonem timent,* (saith *Chrysostom*), *Deus ideo permittit accidere.*[7] *Severus, Adrian, Domitian,* can testify as much, of whose fear and suspicion *Suetonius, Herodian,* and the rest of those writers, tell strange stories in this behalf. [8]*Montanus, consil.* 31, hath one example of a young man, exceeding melancholy upon this occasion. Such fears have still tormented mortal men in all ages, by reason of those lying Oracles, and juggling Priests. [9] There was a fountain in *Greece,* near *Ceres'* Temple in *Achaia,* where the event of such diseases was to be known; *a glass let down by a thread, &c.* Amongst those *Cyanean* rocks at the springs of *Lycia,* was the Oracle of *Thyrxean Apollo, where all fortunes were foretold, sickness, health, or what they would besides:* so common people have been always deluded with future events. At this day *metus futurorum maximè torquet Sinas,* this foolish fear mightily crucifies them in *China,* as [10]*Matthew Riccius* the Jesuit informeth

[1] Accersunt sibi malum. [Cf. Plaut. Am. i. i. 171.] [2] Si non observemus, nihil valent. Polydore. [3] Consil. 26. l. 2. [4] Harm watch, harm catch. [5] Geor. Buchanan. [6] The heavens being angry.] [7] Because they fear the evil spirit, God permits it to happen so. *Dæmones non gubernare mundum,* Hom. i.] [8] Juvenis, sollicitus de futuris frustra, factus melancholicus. [9] Pausanias in Achaicis, lib. 7. [ch. 21.] Ubi omnium eventus dignoscuntur. Speculum tenui suspensum funiculo demittunt: et ad Cyaneas petras ad Lyciæ fontes, &c. [10] Expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 3.

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us, in his Commentaries of those countries, of all Nations they are most superstitious, and much tormented in this kind, attributing so much to their Divinators, *ut ipse metus fidem faciat*, that fear itself and conceit cause it to [1]fall out: if he foretell sickness such a day, that very time they will be sick [from fear,] *vi metûs afflicti in ægritudinem cadunt*, and many times die as it is fore-told. A true saying, *timor mortis morte pejor*, the fear of death is worse than death itself, and the memory of that sad hour, to some fortunate and rich men, *is as bitter as gall, Ecclus.* 41. 1. *Inquietam nobis vitam facit mortis metus*,[2] a worse plague cannot happen to a man than to be so troubled in his mind; 'tis *triste divortium*, an heavy separation, to leave their goods, with so much labour got, pleasures of the world, which they have so deliciously enjoyed, friends and companions whom they so dearly loved, all at once. *Axiochus*[3] the Philosopher was bold and courageous all his life, and gave good precepts *de contemnenda morte*,[4] and against the vanity of the world, to others; but, being now ready to die himself, he was mightily dejected; *hâc luce privabor? his orbabor bonis?*[5] he lamented like a child, &c. And though *Socrates* himself was there to comfort him, *ubi pristina virtutum jactatio, O Axioche?*[6] yet he was very timorous & impatient of death, much troubled in his mind, *imbellis pavor & impatientia, &c. O Clotho*, Megapenthes, the Tyrant in *Lucian*, exclaims, now ready to depart, *let me live a while longer.* [7]*I will give thee a thousand talents of gold, and two bowls besides, which I took from* Cleocritus, *worth an hundred talents apiece. Woe's me!*[8] saith another, *what goodly manors shall I leave! what fertile fields! what a fine house! what pretty children! how many servants! Who shall gather my grapes, my corn? Must I now die, so well settled? leave all, so richly and well provided? Woe's me! what shall I do?* [9]*Animula vagula, blandula, quæ nunc abibis in loca?*[10]

To these tortures of *Fear & Sorrow* may well be annexed *Curiosity*, that irksome, that tyrannizing care, *nimia sollicitudo*,[11]

[1] Timendo præoccupat quod vitat ultro, provocatque quod fugit, gaudetque mœrens, et lubens miser fuit. Heinsius Austriaco. [2] The fear of death sadly troubles our life.] [3] See Plato's Axiochus.] [4] About despising death.] [5] Shall I be deprived of this light of day, stripped of these good things I have?] [6] Where is your old boast of virtues, Axiochus?] [7] Cataplous, [or Tyrannus, § 9.] Auri puri mille talenta me hodie tibi daturum promitto, &c. [8] Ibidem. Hei mihi! quæ relinquenda prædia! quam fertiles agri! &c. [§ 20.] [9] Adrian. [Spart. Hadr. 25.] [10] Where wilt thou now be going, my dying, pleasing, soul?] [11] Industria superflua circa res inutiles.

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superfluous industry about unprofitable things and their qualities, as *Thomas* defines it: an itching humour or a kind of longing to see that which is not to be seen, to do that which ought not to be done, to know that [1] secret which should not be known, to eat of the forbidden fruit. We commonly molest and tire ourselves about things unfit & unnecessary, as *Martha* troubled herself to little purpose.[2] Be it in Religion, Humanity, Magick, Philosophy, Policy, any action or study, 'tis a needless trouble, a mere torment. For what else is School Divinity? How many doth it puzzle! what fruitless questions about the Trinity, Resurrection, Election, Predestination, Reprobation, Hell-fire, &c., how many shall be saved, damned! What else is all Superstition, but an endless observation of idle Ceremonies, Traditions? What is most of our Philosophy, but a Labyrinth of opinions, idle questions, propositions, metaphysical terms? *Socrates* therefore held all Philosophers cavillers & mad men, *circa subtilia cavillatores pro insanis habuit, palam eos arguens*, saith [3] *Eusebius*, because they commonly sought after such things *quæ nec percipi à nobis neque comprehendi possent*,[4] or, put case they did understand, yet they were altogether unprofitable. For what matter is it for us to know how high the *Pleiades* are, how far distant *Perseus* and *Cassiopea* from us, how deep the sea, &c.? We are neither wiser, as he follows it, nor modester, nor better, nor richer, nor stronger, for the knowledge of it. *Quod supra nos nihil ad nos.*[5] I may say the same of those Genethliacal studies. What is Astrology, but vain elections, predictions? all Magick, but a troublesome error, a pernicious foppery? Physick, but intricate rules and prescriptions? Philology, but vain criticisms? Logick, [but] needless sophisms? Metaphysicks themselves, but intricate subtilties, & fruitless abstractions? Alchemy, but a bundle of errors? To what end are such great Tomes? why do we spend so many years in their studies? Much better to know nothing at all, as those barbarous *Indians* are wholly ignorant, than, as some of us, to be so sore vexed about unprofitable toys: *stultus labor est ineptiarum*,[6] to build an house without pins, make a rope of sand; to what end? *cui bono?*[7] He studies on, but, as the

[1] Flavæ secreta Minervæ ut viderat Aglauros. Ov. Met. 2. [749.] [2] Luke, x. 41.] [3] Contra Philos. cap. 61. [4] Which could be neither understood nor grasped by us.] [5] "What is above us does not concern us." Said to be originally a saying of Socrates. See Lactantius, lib. 3. cap. 19. Minucius Felix c. xiii.] [6] Martial, ii. 86. 10.] [7] Cic. pro Milone, 12.]

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boy told S. *Austin*, when I have laved the sea dry, thou shalt understand the mystery of the Trinity.[1] He makes observations, keeps times and seasons; and as [2]*Conradus* the Emperor would not touch his new Bride, till an Astrologer had told him a masculine hour; but with what success? He travels into *Europe*, *Africa*, *Asia*, searcheth every creek, sea, city, mountain, gulf; to what end? See one promontory, said *Socrates* of old, one mountain, one sea, one river, & see all. An *Alchemist* spends his fortunes to find out the Philosopher's stone forsooth, cure all diseases, make men long-lived, victorious, fortunate, invisible, and beggars himself, misled by those seducing impostors (which he shall never attain) to make gold; an Antiquary consumes his treasure and time to scrape up a company of old coins, statues, rolls, edicts, manuscripts, &c. he must know what was done of old in *Athens*, *Rome*, what lodging, diet, houses, they had, & have all the present news at first, though never so remote, before all others, what projects, counsels, consultations, &c. *quid Juno in aurem insusurraret Jovi*,[3] what's now decreed in *France*, what in *Italy*: who was he, whence comes he, which way, whither goes he, &c. *Aristotle* must find out the motion of *Euripus; Pliny* must needs see *Vesuvius;* but how sped they? One loseth goods, another his life. *Pyrrhus* will conquer *Africa* first, and then *Asia*, he will be a sole Monarch; a second immortal, a third rich, a fourth commands. [4]*Turbine magno spes sollicitæ urbibus errant;* we run, ride, take indefatigable pains, all up early, down late, striving to get that which we had better be without, (*Ardelio's*[5] busy-bodies as we are); it were much fitter for us to be quiet, sit still, and take our ease. His sole study is for words, that they be

—— Lepide lexeis compôstæ, ut tesserulæ omnes,[6]

not a syllable misplaced, to set out a stramineous[7] subject; as thine is about apparel, to follow the fashion, to be terse and polite, 'tis thy sole business; both with like profit. His only delight is building, he spends himself to get curious pictures, intricate models & plots; another is wholly ceremonious about titles, degrees, inscriptions: a third is over-solicitous about his diet, he must have such and

[1 See Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. i. pp. 297-299.] [2 Matt. Paris. [3 See Plautus, Trinummus, i. ii. 170, 171. memoriter. What Juno whispered in the ear of Jupiter.] [4 Seneca, [Herc. Furens, 162, 163.] [5 See Martial, ii. 7. 8; iv. 78. 10; Phædrus, ii. 5. 1-4.] [6 Cic. De Oratore, iii. 43, 171. They are lines of Lucilius.] [7 Strawy, light.]

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such exquisite sauces, meat so dressed, so far fetched, *peregrini aëris volucres*,[1] so cooked, &c. something to provoke thirst, something anon to quench his thirst. Thus he redeems his appetite with extraordinary charge to his purse, is seldom pleased with any meal, whilst a trivial stomack useth all with delight, and is never offended. Another must have roses in winter, *alieni temporis flores*,[2] snow-water in summer, fruits before they can be or are usually ripe, artificial gardens and fish-ponds on the tops of houses, all things opposite to the vulgar sort, intricate and rare, or else they are nothing worth. So busy, nice, curious wits, make that unsupportable in all vocations, trades, actions, employments, which to duller apprehensions is not offensive, earnestly seeking that which others as scornfully neglect. Thus through our foolish curiosity do we macerate ourselves, tire our souls, and run headlong, through our indiscretion, perverse will, & want of government, into many needless cares and troubles, vain expenses, tedious journeys, painful hours; and, when all is done, *quorsum hæc? cui bono?* to what end?

> [3] Nescire velle quæ Magister maximus
> Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est.
>
> [It is wise ignorance not to wish to know
> What our great Master does not wish to teach us.]

Amongst these passions and irksome accidents, unfortunate marriage may be ranked: a condition of life appointed by God himself in Paradise, an honourable and happy estate, and as great a felicity as can befall a man in this world,[4] if the parties can agree as they ought, and live as [5]*Seneca* lived with his *Paulina*: but if they be unequally matched, or at discord, a greater misery cannot be expected, to have a scold, a slut, an harlot, a fool, a fury, or a fiend, there can be no such plague. *Ecclus.* 26. 7, *He that hath her is as if he held a Scorpion*, and 25. 23, 16, *a wicked wife makes a sorry countenance, and heavy heart; and he had rather dwell with a Lion, than keep house with such a wife.* Her [6] properties *Jovianus Pontanus* hath described at large, *Ant. dial. Tom.* 2, under the name of *Euphorbia*. Or if they be not equal in years, the like mischief happens. *Cæcilius*, in *A. Gellius*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 23, com-

[1] Birds from strange countries.] [2] Flowers out of season. Did Burton, in his "roses in winter," have in eye Shakspere, *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act i. Sc. i. 104-107?] [3] Jos. Scaliger, in Gnomis. [4] A virtuous woman is the crown of her husband. Prov. xii. 4. but she, &c. [5] Lib. 17. Epist. 105. [6] Titionatur, candelabratur, &c.

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plains much of an old wife; *dum ejus morti inhio, egomet mortuus vivo inter vivos*, whilst I gape after her death, I live a dead man amongst the living; or, if they dislike upon any occasion,

> [1] Judge, who that are unfortunately wed,
> What 'tis to come into a loathed bed.

The same inconvenience befalls women.

> [2] At vos, ô duri, miseram lugete, parentes,
> Si ferro aut laqueo læva hac me exsolvere sorte
> Sustineo: ———
>
> Hard-hearted parents, both lament my fate,
> If self I kill or hang, to ease my state.

[3] A young Gentlewoman in *Basil* was married, saith *Felix Plater, Observat. l.* 1, to an ancient man against her will, whom she could not affect; she was continually melancholy, and pined away for grief; and, though her husband did all he could possibly to give her content, in a discontented humour at length she hanged herself. Many other stories he relates in this kind. Thus men are plagued with women, they again with men, when they are of divers humours and conditions; he a spendthrift, she sparing; one honest, the other dishonest, &c. Parents many times disquiet their children, and they their parents. [4]*A foolish son is an heaviness to his mother. Injusta noverca*,[5] a step-mother often vexeth a whole family, is matter of repentance, exercise of patience, fuel of dissension, which made *Cato's* son expostulate with his father, why he should offer to marry his client *Salonius'* daughter, a young wench, *cujus causâ novercam induceret?* what offence had he done, that he should marry again?[6]

Unkind, unnatural friends, evil neighbours, bad servants, debts and debates, &c. 'twas *Chilo's* sentence, *comes æris alieni et litis est miseria*,[7] misery and usury go commonly together; suretyship is the bane of many families, *sponde, præstò noxa est*;[8] *he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger*, Prov. 11. 15, *and he that hateth suretyship is sure.* Contention, brawling, law-suits, falling out o. neighbours & friends, *discordia demens* (*Virg. Æn.* 6. [280,]), are equal to the first, grieve many a man, and vex his soul. *Nihil sanè miserabilius eorum mentibus* (as [9]*Boter* holds), *nothing so miser-*

[1] Daniel, in Rosamund. [Lines 447, 448.] [2] Chalinorus, lib. 9. de repub. Ang., [3] Elegans virgo invita cuidam è nostratibus nupsit, &c. [4] Prov. [x. i.] [5] Virg. Ecl. iii. 33.] [6] Plutarch, Cato Major, cap. 25.] [7] See Erasmi Adagia, pp. 260, 261.] [8] Plut. De Garrulitate, § 17.] [9] De increm. urb. lib. 3. c. 3. Tamquam diro mucrone confossis, his nulla requies, nulla delectatio; sollicitudine, gemitu, furore, desperatione, timore, tamquam ad perpetuam ærumnam infeliciter rapti.

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able as such men, full of cares, griefs, anxieties, as if they were stabbed with a sharp sword; fear, suspicion, desperation, sorrow, are their ordinary companions. Our Welchmen are noted by some of their [1] own writers to consume one another in this kind; but, whosoever they are that use it, these are their common symptoms, especially if they be convict or overcome, [2] cast in a suit. *Arius*, put out of a Bishoprick by *Eustathius*, turned Heretick, and lived after discontented all his life. [3] Every repulse is of like nature; *heu quanta de spe decidi!* [4] Disgrace, infamy, detraction, will almost effect as much, and that a long time after. *Hipponax*, a Satirical Poet, so vilified and lashed two painters in his Iambicks, *ut ambo laqueo se suffocarent*, [5] *Pliny* saith, both hanged themselves. All oppositions, dangers, perplexities, discontents, [6] to live in any suspense, are of the same rank: *potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?* [7] Who can be secure in such cases? Ill bestowed benefits, ingratitude, unthankful friends, much disquiet and molest some. Unkind speeches trouble as many, uncivil carriage or dogged answers, weak women above the rest; if they proceed from their surly husbands, [they] are as bitter as gall, and not to be digested. A glass-man's wife in *Basil* became melancholy, because her husband said he would marry again if she died. *No cut to unkindness*, as the saying is; a frown and hard speech, ill respect, a brow-beating, or bad look, especially to Courtiers, or such as attend upon great persons, is present death:

Ingenium vultu statque caditque suo,[8]

they ebb and flow with their masters' favours. Some persons are at their wits' ends, if by chance they overshoot themselves in their ordinary speeches or actions, which may after turn to their disadvantage or disgrace, or have any secret disclosed. *Ronseus, epist. miscel.* 3, reports of a Gentlewoman 25 years old, that, falling foul with one of her Gossips, was upbraided with a secret infirmity (no matter what) in publick, and so much grieved with it, that she did thereupon *solitudines quærere, omnes ab se ablegare, ac*

[1] Humfredus Lluyd, epist. ad Abrahamum Ortelium. M. Vaughan, in his Golden Fleece. Litibus et controversiis usque ad omnium bonorum consumptionem contendunt. [2] Spretæque injuria formæ. [Virg. Æn. i. 27.] [3] Quæque repulsa gravis. [An Ovid, Heroides, xx, 167, memoriter?] [4] Ter. Heaut. ii. iii. 9. Alas! how have I fallen from great hope! [5] Lib. 36. c. 5. [6] Nihil æque amarum, quam diu pendere: quidam æquiore animo ferunt præcidi spem suam quam trahi. Seneca, cap. 5. lib. 2. De Ben. Virg. Plater. observat. lib. 1. [7] Virg, Æn. iv. 560. Can you sleep in this trouble?] [8] Ovid, Fasti, i. 18.]

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tandem, in gravissimam incidens melancholiam, contabescere, forsake all company, quite moped, and in a melancholy humour pine away. Others are as much tortured to see themselves rejected, contemned, scorned, disabled, diffamed, detracted, undervalued, or [1]*left behind their fellows. Lucian* brings in *Hetœmocles,* a Philosopher, in his *Lapith. convivio,*[2] much discontented that he was not invited amongst the rest, expostulating the matter, in a long Epistle, with *Aristœnetus* their Host. *Prætextatus,* a robed Gentleman in *Plutarch,* would not sit down at a Feast, because he might not sit highest, but went his ways all in a chafe. We see the common quarrellings that are ordinary with us, for taking of the wall, precedency, and the like, which though toys in themselves, and things of no moment, yet they cause many distempers, much heart-burning amongst us. Nothing pierceth deeper than a contempt or disgrace, [3] especially if they be generous spirits; scarce anything affects them more than to be despised or vilified. *Crato, consil.* 16. *l.* 2, exemplifies it, and common experiences confirms it. Of the same nature is oppression, *Eccles.* vii. 7, *surely oppression makes a* [*wise*] *man mad;* loss of liberty, which made *Brutus* venture his life, *Cato* kill himself, & [4]*Tully* complain, *omnem hilaritatem in perpetuum amisi,* mine heart's broken, I shall never look up, or be merry again, [5]*hæc jactura intolerabilis;* to some parties 'tis a most intolerable loss. Banishment is a great misery, as *Tyrtœus* describes it in an Epigram of his,

> Nam miserum est, patriâ amissâ, Laribusque, vagari
> Mendicum, et timidâ voce rogare cibos.
> Omnibus invisus, quocunque accesserit, exul
> Semper erit; semper spretus egensque jacet, &c.
>
> A miserable thing 'tis so to wander,
> And like a beggar for to whine at door.
> Contemn'd of all the world an exile is,
> Hated, rejected, needy still and poor.

Polynices, in his conference with *Jocasta* in [6]*Euripides,* reckons up five miseries of a banished man, the least of which alone were enough to deject some pusillanimous creatures. Oftentimes a too great feeling of our own infirmities or imperfections of body or mind will rivel us up; as, if we be long sick,

[1] Turpe relinqui est, Hor. [A. P. 417.] [2] §§ 21-26.] [3] Scimus enim generosas naturas nulla re citius moveri, aut gravius affici, quàm contemptu ac despicientia. [4] Ad Atticum Epist. lib. 12. [40. 3.] [5] Epist. ad Brutum. [6] In Phœniss. [391 *sq.*]

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O beata sanitas! te præsente amœnum
Ver floret gratiis, absque te nemo beatus:

O blessed health! *thou art above all gold and treasure!* Ecclus. 30. 15, the poor man's riches, the rich man's bliss, without thee there can be no happiness: or visited with some loathsome disease, offensive to others, or troublesome to ourselves, as a stinking breath, deformity of our limbs, crookedness, loss of an eye, leg, hand, paleness, leanness, redness, baldness, or want of hair, &c. *hic ubi fluere cœpit, diros ictus cordi infert,* saith [1] *Synesius,* (he himself troubled not a little *ob comæ defectum,*) the loss of hair alone strikes a cruel stroke to the heart. *Acco,* an old woman, seeing by chance her face in a true glass, (for she used false flattering glasses belike at other times, as most Gentlewomen do), *animi dolore in insaniam delapsa est,* (*Cælius Rhodiginus, l.* 17. *c.* 2,) ran mad. [2] *Broteas,* the son of *Vulcan,* because he was ridiculous for his imperfections, flung himself into the fire. *Lais,* of *Corinth,* now grown old, gave up her glass to *Venus,* for she could not abide to look upon it. [3] *Qualis sum nolo, qualis eram nequeo.* Generally to fair nice pieces old age and foul linen are two most odious things, a torment of torments, they may not abide the thought of it.

[4] ——————ô deorum
Si quis hæc audis, utinam inter errem
Nuda leones!
Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas, teneræque succus
Defluat prædæ, speciosa quæro
Pascere tigres.

[Ye gods, whoever of you hears me, grant
That I may wander naked among lions,
Ere ugly leanness seize my comely cheeks,
And all my beauty leave my tender frame!
I'd rather in my flower be food for tigers.]

To be foul, ugly, and deformed! much better be buried alive! Some are fair but barren, and that galls them. *Hannah wept sore, did not eat, and was troubled in spirit, and all for her barrenness,* 1 *Sam.* 1; and, *Gen.* 30, *Rachel* said *in the anguish of her soul, give me a child, or I shall die:* another hath too many: one was never married, and that's his hell; another is, & that's his plague. Some are troubled in that they are obscure; others by being traduced, slandered, abused, disgraced, vilified, or any way injured: *minimè*

[1] In laudem calvit. [2] Ovid. [Ibis, 517, 518.] [3] E Cret. [All this is in Anthologia Palatina, Cap. vi. Epigr. 1.] [4] Hor. Carm. Lib. 3. Ode 27. [50-56.]

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miror eos (as he said) *qui insanire occipiunt ex injuriâ*, I marvel not at all if offences make men mad. Seventeen particular causes of anger & offence *Aristotle* reckons up, which for brevity's sake I must omit. No tidings troubles one; ill reports, rumours, bad tidings or news, hard hap, ill success, [to be] cast in a suit, vain hopes, or hope deferred, another: [another] expectation, *adeo omnibus in rebus molesta semper est exspectatio*,[1] as *Polybius*[2] observes; one is too eminent, another too base born, and that alone tortures him as much as the rest: one is out of action, company, employment; another overcome & tormented with worldly cares, and onerous business. But what [3] tongue can suffice to speak of all?

Many men catch this malady by eating certain meats, herbs, roots, at unawares; as henbane, nightshade, cicuta, mandrakes, &c. [4] A company of young men at *Agrigentum*, in *Sicily*, came into a Tavern; where after they had freely taken their liquor, whether it were the wine itself, or some thing mixt with it, 'tis not yet known, [5] but upon a sudden they began to be so troubled in their brains, and their phantasy so crazed, that they thought they were in a ship at sea, and now ready to be cast away by reason of a tempest. Wherefore, to avoid shipwrack and present drowning, they flung all the goods in the house out at the window into the street, or into the sea, as they supposed. Thus they continued mad a pretty season, and being brought before the Magistrate to give an account of this their fact, they told him (not yet recovered of their madness) that what was done they did for fear of death, and to avoid eminent[6] danger. The spectators were all amazed at this their stupidity, and gazed on them still, whilst one of the ancientest of the company in a grave tone excused himself to the Magistrate upon his knees, *O viri Tritones, ego in imo jacui*, I beseech your Deities, &c. for I was in the bottom of the ship all the while: another besought them, as so many Sea-Gods, to be good unto them, and, if ever he and his fellows came to land again, [7] he would build

[1 So grievous is expectation always in all things.] [2] Hist. lib. [3. cap. 112.] [3] Non mihi si centum linguæ sint, oraque centum, Omnia causarum percurrere nomina possim. [Virg. Æn. vi. 625, 627, adapted.] [4] Cælius [Rhodiginus,] l. 17. cap. 2. [5] Ita mente exagitati sunt, ut in triremi se constitutos putarent, marique vagabundo tempestate jactatos; proinde naufragium veriti, egestis undique rebus, vasa omnia in viam è fenestris, ceu in mare, præcipitârunt: postridie &c. [6] Perhaps we should read *imminent*, but I am by no means sure that *eminent* is not the right reading. I therefore retain it in the text.] [7] Aram vobis servatoribus Diis erigemus.

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an Altar to their service. The Magistrate could not sufficiently laugh at this their madness, bid them sleep it out, and so went his ways.[1] Many such accidents frequently happen upon these unknown occasions. Some are so caused by philters, wandering in the sun, biting of a mad dog, a blow on the head, stinging with that kind of spider called *tarantula*, an ordinary thing, if we may believe *Skenck. l.* 6. *de Venenis*, in *Calabria* and *Apulia* in *Italy*, *Cardan, subtil. l.* 9, *Scaliger, exercitat.* 185. Their symptoms are merrily described by *Jovianus Pontanus, Ant. dial.* how they dance altogether, and are cured by Musick. [2] *Cardan* speaks of certain stones, if they be carried about one, which will cause melancholy and madness; he calls them unhappy, as an [3] *Adamant, Selenites, &c. which dry up the body, increase cares, diminish sleep. Ctesias*, in *Persicis*, makes mention of a well in those parts, of which if any man drink, [4] *he is mad for* 24 *hours.* Some lose their wits by terrible objects (as elsewhere I have more [5] copiously dilated) and life itself many times, as *Hippolytus* affrighted by *Neptune's* sea-horses, *Athamas* by *Juno's* Furies: but these relations are common in all Writers.

> [6] His alias poteram et pluris subnectere causas,
> Sed jumenta vocant, et sol inclinat, eundum est.
>
> Many such causes, much more could I say,
> But that for provender my cattle stay,
> The sun declines, and I must needs away.

These causes, if they be considered and come alone, I do easily yield, can do little of themselves, seldom, or apart, (an old oak is not felled at a blow), though many times they are all sufficient every one: yet, if they concur, as often they do, *vis unita fortior; Et quæ non obsunt singula, multa nocent;*[7] they may batter a strong constitution; as [8] *Austin* said, *many grains and small sands sink a ship, many small drops make a flood, &c.* often reiterated; many dispositions produce an habit.[9]

[1 This amusing story is also in Athenæus, Book ii. chap. ii.] [2] Lib. de gemmis. [3] Quæ gestatæ infelicem et tristem reddunt, curas augent, corpus siccant, somnum minuunt. [4] Ad unum diem mente alienatus. [5] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Subsect. 3. [6] Juven. Sat. 3. [315, 316.] [7 Ovid, Remed. Am. 420, adapted.] [8] Intus bestiæ minutæ multæ necant. Numquid minutissima sunt grana arenæ? sed si arena amplius in navem mittatur, mergit illam. Quam minutæ guttæ pluviæ! et tamen implent flumina, domus ejiciunt; timenda ergo ruina multitudinis, si non magnitudinis. [9 Aristotle's favourite teaching.]

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MEMB. V.

SUBSECT. I.—*Continent, inward, antecedent, next Causes, and how the Body works on the Mind.*

As a purly hunter, I have hitherto beaten about the circuit of the forest of this microcosm, and followed only those outward adventious causes. I will now break into the inner rooms, and rip up the antecedent immediate causes which are there to be found. For as the distraction of the mind, amongst other outward causes & perturbations, alters the temperature of the body, so the distraction and distemper of the body will cause a distemperature of the soul; & 'tis hard to decide which of these two do more harm to the other. *Plato, Cyprian,* & some others, as I have formerly said, lay the greatest fault upon the soul, excusing the body; others again, accusing the body, excuse the soul, as a principal agent. Their reasons are, because [1] *the manners do follow the temperature of the body,* as *Galen* proves in his book of that subject, *Prosper Calenius, de Atra Bile, Jason Pratensis, c. de Mania, Lemnius, l. 4. c.* 16, and many others. And that which *Gualter* hath commented, *hom.* 10 *in epist. Johannis,* is most true; concupiscence and original sin, inclinations, and bad humours, are [2] radical in every one of us, causing these perturbations, affections, and several distempers, offering many times violence unto the soul. *Every man is tempted by his own concupiscence (James* 1. 14.); *the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, and rebelleth against the spirit,* as our [3] *Apostle* teacheth us: that methinks the soul hath the better plea against the body, which so forcibly inclines us, that we cannot resist; *Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum Sufficimus.*[4] How the body, being material, worketh upon the immaterial soul, by mediation of humours & spirits which participate of both, and ill disposed organs, *Cornelius Agrippa* hath discoursed, *lib.* 1. *de occult. Philos. cap.* 63, 64, 65, *Levinus Lemnius, lib.* 1. *de occult. nat. mir. cap.* 12. & 16. & 21. *institut. ad opt. vit. Perkins, lib.* 1. *Cases of Cons. cap.* 12, *T. Bright, cap.* 10, 11, 12. *in his Treatise of Melancholy.* For as [5] anger, fear, sorrow, obtrectation, emulation, &c. *si mentis*

[1] Mores sequuntur temperaturam corporis. [2] Scintillæ latent in corporibus. [3] Gal. 5. [17.] [4] Virg. Æn. v. 21, 22.] [5] Sicut ex animi affectionibus corpus languescit, sic ex corporis vitiis et morborum plerisque cruciatibus animum videmus hebetari. Galenus.

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intimos recessus occuparint, saith [1]*Lemnius, corpori quoque infesta sunt, & illi teterrimos morbos inferunt*, cause grievous diseases in the body, so bodily diseases affect the soul by consent. Now the chiefest causes proceed from the [2] heart, humours, spirits: as they are purer, or impurer, so is the mind, & equally suffers, as a lute out of tune; if one string or one organ be distempered, all the rest miscarry; [3]*Corpus onustum Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una*.[4] The body is *domicilium animæ*,[5] her house, abode, and stay; and as a torch gives a better light, a sweeter smell, according to the matter it is made of, so doth our soul perform all her actions better or worse, as her organs are disposed; or as wine savours of the cask wherein it is kept,[6] the soul receives a tincture from the body through which it works. We see this in old men, children, *Europeans*, *Asians*, hot and cold climes. Sanguine are merry, Melancholy sad, Phlegmatick dull, by reason of abundance of those humours, and they cannot resist such passions which are inflicted by them. For in this infirmity of human nature, as *Melancthon* declares, the understanding is so tied to & captivated by his inferior senses, that without their help he cannot exercise his functions, and the will, being weakened, hath but a small power to restrain those outward parts, but suffers herself to be overruled by them; that I must needs conclude with *Lemnius*, *spiritus & humores maximum nocumentum obtinent*, spirits aud humours do most harm in [7] troubling the soul. How should a man choose but be cholerick and angry, that hath his body so clogged with abundance of gross humours? or melancholy, that is so inwardly disposed? That thence comes then this malady, Madness, Apoplexies, Lethargies, &c. it may not be denied.

Now this body of ours is most part distempered by some precedent diseases, which molest his inward organs & instruments, & so *per consequens* [8] cause melancholy, according to the consent of the most approved Physicians. [9]*This humour* (as *Avicenna, l.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract* 4. *c.* 18, *Arnoldus, breviar. l.* 1. *c.* 18, *Jacchinus, comment.*

[1] Lib. 1. c. 16. [2] Corporis itidem morbi animam per consensum, a lege consortii, afficiunt; et quanquam objecta multos motus turbulentos in homine concitent, præcipua tamen causa in corde et humoribus spiritibusque consistit, &c. [3] Hor. [Sat. ii. ii. 77, 78.] [4] The body full of yesterday's vices loads down the soul too.] [5] The domicile of the soul.] [6] Cf. Hor. Epp. i. ii. 54.] [7] Humores pravi mentem obnubilant. [8] Consequently.] [9] Hic humor vel à partis intemperie generatur, vel relinquitur post inflammationes, vel crassior in venis conclusus vel torpidus malignam qualitatem contrahit.

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in 9. *Rhasis. c.* 15, *Montaltus, c.* 10, *Nicholas Piso, c. de Melan. &c.* suppose) *is begotten by the distemperature of some inward part, innate, or left after some inflammation, or else included in the blood after an* [1]*ague, or some other malignant disease.* This opinion of theirs concurs with that of *Galen, l.* 3. *c.* 6. *de locis affect. Guianerius* gives an instance in one so caused by a quartan ague; & *Montanus, consil.* 32, in a young man of 28 years of age, so distempered after a quartan, which had molested him 5 years together; *Hildesheim, spicil.* 2. *de Manià*, relates of a Dutch Baron, grievously tormented with melancholy after a long [2] ague. *Galen, l. de atra bile c.* 4, puts the plague a cause; *Botaldus*, in his book *de lue vener. c.* 2, the French Pox for a cause; others Phrensy, Epilepsy, Apoplexy, because those diseases do often degenerate into this. Of suppression of Hæmrods, Hæmorrhagia, or bleeding at nose, menstruous retentions, (although they deserve a larger explication, as being the sole cause of a proper kind of melancholy in more ancient maids, nuns, and widows, handled apart by *Rodericus à Castro*, and *Mercatus*, as I have elsewhere signified,) or any other evacuation stopped, I have already spoken. Only this I will add, that this melancholy, which shall be caused by such infirmities, deserves to be pitied of all men, and to be respected with a more tender compassion, according to *Laurentius*, as coming from a more inevitable cause.

SUBSECT. 2.—*Distemperature of particular Parts, Causes.*

THERE is almost no part of the Body, which, being distempered, doth not cause this malady, as the Brain and his parts, Heart, Liver, Spleen, Stomack, Matrix or Womb, Pylorus, Myrach, Mesentery, Hypochondries, Meseraick veins; and in a word, saith [3] *Arculanus, there is no part which causeth not Melancholy, either because it is adust, or doth not expel the superfluity of the nutriment. Savanarola, Pract. major. rubric.* 11. *Tract.* 6. *cap* 1, is of the same opinion, that Melancholy is engendered in each particular part,

[1] Sæpe constat in febre hominem melancholicum vel post febrem reddi, aut alium morbum. Calida intemperies innata, vel à febre contracta. [2] Raro quis diuturno morbo laborat, qui non fit melancholicus. Mercurialis, de affect. capitis, lib. 1. cap. 10. de Melanc. [3] Ad nonum lib. Rhasis ad Almansor, c. 16. Universaliter à quacunque parte potest fieri melancholicus; vel quia aduriter, vel quia non expellit superfluitatem excrementi.

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and [1]*Crato in consil.* 17. *lib.* 2. *Gordonius*, who is *instar omnium*,[2] *lib. med. partic.* 2. *cap.* 19, confirms as much, putting the [3]*matter of Melancholy sometimes in the Stomack, Liver, Heart, Brain, Spleen, Myrach, Hypochondries, when as the melancholy humour resides there, or the Liver is not well cleansed from melancholy blood.*

The Brain is a familiar and frequent cause, too hot, or too cold, [4]*through adust blood so caused*, as *Mercurialis* will have it, *within or without the head*, the brain itself being distempered. Those are most apt to this disease, [5]*that have a hot heart and moist brain*, which *Montaltus*, *cap.* 11. *de Melanch.* approves out of *Halyabbas*, *Rhasis*, and *Avicenna*. *Mercurialis*, *consil.* 11, assigns the coldness of the brain a cause, and *Sallustius Salvianus*, *med. lect. l.* 2. *c.* 1, [6]will have it *arise from a cold and dry distemperature of the brain. Piso*, *Benedictus*, *Victorius Faventinus*, will have it proceed from a [7]*hot distemperature of the brain;* and [8]*Montaltus*, *cap.* 10, from the brain's heat, scorching the blood. The brain is still distempered by himself, or by consent: by himself or his proper affection, as *Faventinus* calls it, [9]*or by vapours which arise from the other parts, and fume up into the head, altering the animal faculties.*

Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2. *de Mania*, thinks it may be caused from a [10]*distemperature of the heart, sometimes hot, sometimes cold.* A hot Liver & a cold Stomack are put for usual causes of Melancholy. *Mercurialis*, *consil.* 11. *& consil.* 6. *consil.* 86, assigns a hot Liver and cold Stomack for ordinary causes. [11]*Monavius*, in an Epistle of his to *Crato*, in *Scoltzius*, is of opinion that Hypochondriacal Melancholy may proceed from a cold Liver. The question is there discussed. Most agree that a hot Liver is in fault. [12]*The Liver is the shop of humours, & especially causeth Melancholy by his hot & dry distemperature.* [13]*The Stomack and Meseraick veins do often concur, by reason of their obstructions, & thence their*

[1] A liene, jecinore, utero, et aliis partibus, oritur. [[2] Cic. Brut, 51, 191. = worth them all.] [3] Materia melancholiæ aliquando in corde, in stomacho, hepate, ab hypocondriis, myrache, splene, cum ibi remanet humor melancholicus. [4] Ex sanguine adusto, intra vel extra caput. [5] Qui calidum cor habent, cerebrum humidum, facile melancholici. [6] Sequitur melancholia malam intemperiem frigidam et siccam ipsius cerebri. [7] Sæpe fit ex calidiore cerebro, aut corpore colligente melancholiam. Piso. [8] Vel per propriam affectionem, vel per consensum, cum vapores exhalant in cerebrum. Montalt. cap. 14. [9] Aut ibi gignitur melancholicus fumus, aut aliunde vehitur, alterando animales facultates. [10] Ab intemperie cordis, modo calidiore, modo frigidiore. [11] Epist. 209. Scoltzii. [12] Officina humorum hepar concurrit, &c. [13] Ventriculus et venæ meseraicæ concurrunt, quod hæ partes obstructæ sunt, &c.

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heat cannot be avoided, & many times the matter is so adust & inflamed in those parts, that it degenerates into Hypochondriacal Melancholy. Guianerius, c. 2. Tract. 15, holds the Meseraick veins to be a sufficient [1]cause alone. The spleen concurs to this malady, (by all their consents,) & suppression of Hæmrods, *dum non expurgat altera causa lien,* saith *Montaltus,* if it be [2]*too cold and dry, and do not purge the other parts as it ought, Consil.* 23. *Montanus* puts the [3]*spleen stopped* for a great cause. [4] *Christophorus à Vega* reports, of his knowledge, that he hath known Melancholy caused from putrefied blood in those seed-veins and womb: [5]*Arculanus, from that menstruous blood turned into melancholy, and seed too long detained* (as I have already declared) *by putrefaction or adustion.*

The *Mesenterium,* or Midriff, *Diaphragma,* which the [6]*Greeks* called φρένες, is a cause, because by his inflammation the mind is much troubled with convulsions and dotage. All these, most part, offend by inflammation, corrupting humours and spirits, in this non-natural melancholy: for from these are engendered fuliginous & black spirits. And for that reason [7]*Montaltus, cap.* 10. *de causis melan.* will have *the efficient cause of Melancholy to be hot and dry, not a cold and dry distemperature, as some hold, from the heat of the Brain, roasting the blood, immoderate heat of the Liver and Bowels, and inflammation of the Pylorus: and so much the rather, because that,* as *Galen* holds, *all spices inflame the blood, solitariness, waking, agues, study, meditation, all which heat: and therefore he concludes that this distemperature, causing adventitious Melancholy, is not cold and dry, but hot and dry.* But of this I have sufficiently treated in the matter of Melancholy, and hold that this may be true in non-natural Melancholy, which produceth madness, but not in that natural, which is more cold, and, being immoderate, produceth a gentle dotage. [8] Which opinion *Geraldus de Solo* maintains in his comment upon *Rhasis.*

[1] Per se sanguinem adurentes. [2] Lien frigidus et siccus, cap. 13. [3] Splen obstructus. [4] De arte med. lib. 3. cap. 24. [5] A sanguinis putredine in vasis seminariis et utero, et quandoque à spermate diu retento, vel sanguine menstruo in melancholiam verso per putrefactionem, vel adustionem. [6] Magirus. [7] Ergo efficiens causa melancholiæ est calida et sicca intemperies, non frigida et sicca, quod multi opinati sunt; oritur enim à calore cerebri assante sanguinem, &c., tum quod aromata sanguinem incendunt, solitudo, vigiliæ, febris præcedens, meditatio, studium, et hæc omnia calefaciunt, ergo ratum sit, &c. [8] Lib. 1, cap. 13. de Melanch.

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SUBSECT. 3.—*Causes of Head-Melancholy.*

AFTER a tedious discourse of the general causes of Melancholy, I am now returned at last to treat in brief of the three particular species, and such causes as properly appertain unto them. Although these causes promiscuously concur to each and every particular kind, and commonly produce their effects in that part which is most weak, ill disposed, and least able to resist, and so cause all three species, yet many of them are proper to some one kind, & seldom found in the rest. As, for example, Head-Melancholy is commonly caused by a cold or hot distemperature of the Brain, according to *Laurentius, c.* 5. *de melan.* but, as [1]*Hercules de Saxoniâ* contends, from that agitation or distemperature of the animal spirits alone: *Sallust. Salvianus,* before mentioned, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. *de re med.* will have it proceed from cold: but that I take of natural melancholy, such as are fools and dote; for, as *Galen* writes, *lib.* 4. *de puls.* 8, and *Avicenna,* [2]*a cold and moist Brain is an inseparable companion of folly.* But this adventitious melancholy, which is here meant, is caused of an hot and dry distemperature, as [3]*Damascen* the *Arabian, lib.* 3. *c.* 22, thinks, and most writers; *Altomarus* and *Piso* call it [4]*an innate burning untemperatenesse, turning blood and choler into melancholy.* Both these opinions may stand good, as *Bruel* maintains, and *Capivaccius, si cerebrum sit calidius,* [5]*if the brain be hot, the animal spirits will be hot, & thence comes madness: if cold, folly. David Crusius, Theat. morb. Hermet. lib.* 2. *cap.* 6. *de atra bile,* grants melancholy to be a disease of an inflamed brain, but cold notwithstanding of itself: *calida per accidens, frigida per se,* hot by accident only. I am of *Capivaccius'* mind for my part. Now this humour, according to *Salvianus,* is sometimes in the substance of the Brain, sometimes contained in the Membranes and Tunicles that cover the Brain, sometimes in the passages of the Ventricles of the Brain, or veins of those Ventricles. It follows many times [6]*Phrensy, long diseases, agues, long abode in hot places, or under the Sun, a blow on the head,* as *Rhasis* informeth us: *Piso* adds solitariness, waking, inflammations

[1] Lib. 3. Tract. posthum. de melan. [2] A fatuitate inseparabilis cerebri frigiditas. [3] Ab interno calore assatur. [4] Intemperies innata exurens, flavam bilem ac sanguinem in melancholiam convertens. [5] Si cerebrum sit calidius, fiet spiritus animalis calidior, et delirium maniacum; si frigidior, fiet fatuitas. [6] Melancholia capitis accedit post phrenesim aut longam moram sub sole, aut percussionem in capite. cap. 13. lib. 1.

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of the head, proceeding most part [1] from much use of spices, hot wines, hot meats; all which *Montanus* reckons up, *consil.* 22, for a melancholy Jew; and *Heurnius* repeats, *cap.* 12. *de Mania:* hot baths, garlic, onions, saith *Guianerius*, bad, corrupt air, much [2] waking, &c. retention of seed or abundance, stopping of *hæmorrhagia*, the Midriff misaffected; and, according to *Trallianus*, *l.* 1. 16, immoderate cares, troubles, griefs, discontent, study, meditation, and, in a word, the abuse of all those six non-natural things. *Hercules de Saxonia*, *c.* 16, *l.* 1, will have it caused from a [3] cautery, or boil dried up, or any issue. *Amatus Lusitanus*, *cent.* 2. *cura* 67, gives instance in a fellow that had a boil in his arm, [4] *after that was healed, ran mad, and when the wound was open, he was cured again. Trincavellius*, *consil.* 13. *lib.* 1, hath an example of a melancholy man, so caused by overmuch continuance in the Sun, frequent use of Venery, and immoderate exercise: and, in his *cons.* 49. *lib.* 3, from an [5] headpiece over-heated, which caused head-melancholy. *Prosper Calenus* brings in Cardinal *Cæsius* for a pattern of such as are so melancholy by long study: but examples are infinite.

SUBSECT. 4.—*Causes of Hypochondriacal, or Windy Melancholy.*

IN repeating of these causes, I must *crambem bis coctam apponere*,[6] say that again which I have formerly said, in applying them to their proper species. *Hypochondriacal* or flatuous Melancholy is that which the *Arabians* call *Myrachial*, and is, in my judgement, the most grievous and frequent, though *Bruel* and *Laurentius* make it least dangerous, and not so hard to be known or cured. His causes are inward or outward. Inward from divers parts or organs, as Midriff, Spleen, Stomack, Liver, Pylorus, Womb, Diaphragma, Meseraick veins, stopping of issues, &c. *Montaltus*, *cap.* 15. out of *Galen*, recites [7] *heat and obstruction of those Meseraick veins, as an immediate cause, by which means the passage of the Chylus to the Liver is detained, stopped, or corrupted, and turned into rumbling and wind. Montanus*, *consil.* 233, hath an evident demonstration, *Trin-*

[1] Qui bibunt vina potentia, et sæpè sunt sub sole. [2] Curæ validæ, largiores vini et aromatum usus. [3] A cauterio aut ulcere exsiccato. [4] Ab ulcere curato incidit in insaniam; aperto vulnere curatur. [5] A galea nimis calefacta. [6] An adaptation of Juv. vii. 154.] [7] Exuritur sanguis et venæ obstruuntur, quibus obstructis prohibetur transitus chyli ad jecur, corrumpitur, et in rugitus et flatus vertitur.

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cavellius another, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 12, and *Plater* a third, *observat. lib.* 1, for a Doctor of the Law visited with this infirmity, from the said obstruction and heat of these Meseraick veins, and bowels: *quoniam inter ventriculum & jecur venæ effervescunt*, the veins are inflamed about the Liver and Stomack. Sometimes those other parts are together misaffected, and concur to the production of this malady: a hot liver and cold stomack or cold belly. Look for instances in *Hollerius*, *Victor*, *Trincavellius*, *cons.* 35. *l.* 3, *Hildesheim*, *Spicil.* 2. *fol.* 132, *Solenander*, *consil.* 9, *pro cive Lugdunensi*, *Montanus*, *consil.* 229, for the Earl of *Montfort in Germany*, 1549, & *Frisimelica* in the 233rd consultation of the said *Montanus*. *J. Cæsar Claudinus* gives instance of a cold stomack & over-hot liver, almost in every consultation, *con.* 89, for a certain Count; & *con.* 106. for a *Polonian Baron;* by reason of heat the blood is inflamed, and gross vapours sent to the heart and brain. *Mercurialis* subscribes to them, *cons.* 89, [1] *the Stomack being misaffected*, which he calls the King of the Belly, because, if he be distempered, all the rest suffer with him, as being deprived of their nutriment, or fed with bad nourishment, by means of which come crudities, obstructions, wind, rumbling, griping, &c. *Hercules de Saxonia*, besides heat, will have the weakness of the liver and his obstruction a cause, *facultatem debilem jecinoris*, which he calls the mineral of melancholy. *Laurentius* assigns this reason, because the liver over-hot draws the meat undigested out of the stomack, and burneth the humours. *Montanus*, *cons.* 244, proves that sometimes a cold liver may be a cause. *Laurentius*, *c.* 12, *Trincavellius*, *lib.* 12. *consil.* and *Gualter Bruel*, seem to lay the greatest fault upon the Spleen, that doth not his duty in purging the Liver as he ought, being too great, or too little, in drawing too much blood sometimes to it, and not expelling it, as *P. Cnemiandrus* in a [2] consultation of his noted; *tumorem lienis*, he names it, and the fountain of melancholy. *Diocles* supposed the ground of this kind of Melancholy to proceed from the inflammation of the *Pylorus*, which is the nether mouth of the *Ventricle*. Others assign the Mesenterium or Midriff distempered by heat, the womb misaffected, stopping of Hæmrods, with many such. All which *Laurentius*, *c.* 12, reduceth to three, Mesentery, Liver, and Spleen, from whence he denominates Hepatick, Splenetick,

[1] Stomacho læso robur corporis imminuitur; et reliqua membra alimento orbata, &c. [2] Hildesheim.

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and Meseraick Melancholy. Outward causes are bad diet, care, griefs, discontents, and, in a word, all those six non-natural things, as *Montanus* found by his experience, *cons.* 244. *Solenander, cons.* 9, for a Citizen of *Lyons* in *France*, gives his reader to understand, that he knew this mischief procured by a medicine of Cantharides, which an unskilful Physician ministered his patient to drink, *ad venerem excitandam.*[1] But most commonly fear, grief, and some sudden commotion or perturbation of the mind, begin it, in such bodies especially as are ill-disposed. *Melancthon, tract.* 14. *cap.* 2. *de animâ*, will have it as common to men, as the mother to women, upon some grievous trouble, dislike, passion, or discontent. For, as *Camerarius* records in his life, *Melancthon* himself was much troubled with it, and therefore could speak out of experience. *Montanus, consil.* 22, *pro delirante Judæo,*[2] confirms it, [3] grievous symptoms of the mind brought him to it, *Randolotius* relates of himself, that, being one day very intent to write out a Physician's notes, molested by an occasion, he fell into an hypochondriacal fit, to avoid which he drank the decoction of wormwood, and was freed. [4] *Melancthon* (*being the disease is so troublesome and frequent*) *holds it a most necessary and profitable study for every man to know the accidents of it, and a dangerous thing to be ignorant*, and would therefore have all men in some sort to understand the causes, symptoms, and cures of it.

SUBSECT. 5.—*Causes of Melancholy from the whole Body.*

As before, the cause of this kind of Melancholy is inward or outward. Inward [5] *when the liver is apt to engender such an humour, or the spleen weak by nature, and not able to discharge his office.* A melancholy temperature, retention of hæmrods, monthly issues, bleeding at nose, long diseases, agues, and all those six non-natural things, increase it: but especially [6] bad diet, as *Piso* thinks, pulse, salt meat, shell-fish, cheese, black wine, &c. *Mercurialis*, out of *Averroes* and *Avicenna*, condemns all herbs: *Galen, lib.* 3.

[1] To excite his erotic propensities.] [2] For a mad Jew.] [3] Habuit sæva animi symptomata quæ impediunt concoctionem, &c. [4] Usitatissimus morbus cum sit, utile est hujus visceris accidentia considerare, nec leve periculum hujus causas morbi ignorantibus. [5] Jecur aptum ad generandum talem humorem, splen natura imbecillior. Pisò, Altomarus, Guianerius. [6] Melancholiam, quæ fit à redundantia humoris in toto corpore, victus imprimis generat, qui eum humorem parit.

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de loc affect. cap. 7, especially cabbage. So likewise fear, sorrow, discontents, &c. but of these before. And thus in brief you have had the general and particular causes of Melancholy.

Now go and brag of thy present happiness, whosoever thou art, brag of thy temperature, of thy good parts, insult, triumph, & boast; thou seest in what a brittle state thou art, how soon thou mayest be dejected, how many several ways, by bad diet, bad air, a small loss, a little sorrow or discontent, an ague, &c. how many sudden accidents may procure thy ruin, what a small tenure of happiness thou hast in this life, how weak and silly a creature thou art. *Humble thyself therefore under the mighty hand of God*, 1 *Pet.* 5. 6, know thyself, acknowledge thy present misery, and make right use of it. *Qui stat videat ne cadat.*[1] Thou dost now flourish, and hast *bona animi, corporis, & fortunæ*, goods of body, mind, and fortune, *nescis quid serus secum vesper ferat*,[2] thou knowest not what storms and tempests the late evening may bring with it. Be not secure then, *be sober and watch*,[3] *fortunam reverenter habe*,[4] if fortunate and rich; if sick and poor, moderate thyself. I have said.

SECT. III.—MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. 1.—*Symptoms, or Signs of Melancholy in the Body.*

PARRHASIUS, a painter of *Athens*, amongst those *Olynthian* captives *Philip* of *Macedon* brought home to sell, [5] bought one very old man; and. when he had him at *Athens*, put him to extreme torture and torment, the better by his example to express the pains and passions of his *Prometheus*, whom he was then about to paint. I need not be so barbarous, inhumane, curious, or cruel, for this purpose to torture any poor melancholy man; their symptoms are plain, obvious and familiar, there needs no such accurate observation or far-fetcht object, they delineate themselves, they voluntarily bewray themselves, they are too frequent in all places, I meet them still as I go, they cannot conceal it, their grievances are too well known, I need not seek far to describe them.

[1 1 Cor. x. 12.] [2 A reminiscence of Virg. Georg. i. 461.] [3 1 Pet. v. 8.]
4 Ausonius. [viii. 7. Be not arrogant.] 5 Seneca, cont. lib. v. cont. 34.

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Symptoms therefore are either [1] universal or particular, saith *Gordonius, lib. med. c.* 19. *part.* 2, to persons, to species. *Some signs are secret, some manifest, some in the body, some in the mind; and diversely vary, according to the inward or outward causes, Capivaccius:* or from stars, according to *Jovianus Pontanus, de reb. cælest. l.* 10. *c.* 13, and celestial influences, or from the humours diversely mixt, *Ficinus l.* 1. *c.* 4. *de sanit. tuendâ.* As they are hot, cold, natural, unnatural, intended, or remitted, so will *Aëtius* have *melancholica deliria multiformia*, diversity of melancholy signs. *Laurentius* ascribes them to their several temperatures, delights, natures, inclinations, continuance of time, as they are simple or mixt with other diseases; as the causes are divers, so must the signs be almost infinite, *Altomarus c.* 7. *art. med.* And as wine produceth divers effects, or that herb *Tortocolla* in [2] *Laurentius, which makes some laugh, some weep, some sleep, some dance, some sing, some howl, some drink, &c.* so doth this our melancholy humour work several signs in several parties.

But to confine them, these general symptoms may be reduced to those of the *Body* or the *Mind.* Those usual signs, appearing in the *bodies* of such as are melancholy, be these, cold and dry, or they are hot and dry, as the humour is more or less adust. From [3] these first qualities arise many other second, as that of [4] colour, black, swarthy, pale, ruddy, &c., some are *impense rubri*, as *Montaltus, c.* 16, observes out of *Galen, l.* 3. *de locis affectis*, very red and high coloured. *Hippocrates*, in his book [5] *de insania & melan.* reckons up these signs, that they are [6] *lean, withered, hollow-eyed, look old, wrinkled, harsh, much troubled with wind, and a griping in their bellies, or belly-ache, belch often, dry bellies and hard, dejected looks, flaggy beards, singing of the ears, vertigo, lightheaded, little or no sleep, & that interrupt, terrible & fearful dreams,* [7] *Anna soror, quæ me suspensam insomnia terrent!* The same symptoms are repeated by *Melanelius* (in his Book of Melancholy,

[1] Quædam universalia, particularia quædam; manifesta quædam in corpore, quædam in cogitatione et animo: quædam à stellis, quædam ab humoribus, quæ, ut vinum corpus variè disponit, &c. Diversa phantasmata pro varietate causæ externæ, internæ. [2] Lib. 1. de risu. fol. 17. Ad ejus esum alii sudant, alii vomunt, flent, bibunt, saltant, alii rident, tremunt, dormiunt, &c. [3] T. Bright, cap. 20. [4] Nigrescit hic humor aliquando supercalefactus, aliquando superfrigefactus. Melanel. è Gal. [5] Interprete F. Calvo. [6] Oculi his excavantur, venti gignuntur circum præcordia, et acidi ructus, sicci ferè ventres, vertigo, tinnitus aurium, somni pusilli, somnia terribilia et interrupta. [7] Virg. Æn. [iv. 9. Sister, what awful dreams do terrify me!]

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collected out of *Galen*, *Ruffus*, *Aëtius*,) by *Rhasis*, *Gordonius*, & all the Juniors, [1]*continual*, *sharp*, *& stinking belchings*, *as if their meat in their stomack were putrefied*, *or that they had eaten fish*, *dry bellies*, *absurd & interrupt dreams*, *& many phantastical visions about their eyes*, *vertiginous*, *apt to tremble*, *& prone to Venery*. [2]Some add palpitation of the heart, cold sweat, as usual symptoms, and a leaping in many parts of the body, *saltum in multis corporis partibus*, a kind of itching, saith *Laurentius*, on the superfices of the skin, like a flea-biting sometimes. [3]*Montaltus*, *c.* 21, puts fixed eyes and much twinkling of their eyes for a sign; & so doth *Avicenna*, *oculos habentes palpitantes*, *trauli*, *vehementer rubicundi*, &c. *l.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *c.* 18; they stut[4] most part, which he took out of *Hippocrates' Aphorisms*. [5]*Rhasis* makes *head-ache and a binding heaviness* for a principal token, *much leaping of wind about the skin*, *as well as stutting*,[6] *or tripping in speech*, *&c. hollow eyes*, *gross veins*, *& broad lips*. To some too, if they be far gone, mimical gestures are too familiar, laughing, grinning, fleering, murmuring, talking to themselves, with strange mouths and faces, inarticulate voices, exclamations, &c. And although they be commonly lean, hirsute, uncheerful in countenance, withered, and not so pleasant to behold, by reason of those continual fears, griefs, and vexations, dull, heavy, lazy, restless, unapt to go about any business: yet their memories are most part good, they have happy wits, and excellent apprehensions. Their hot and dry brains make them they cannot sleep, *ingentes habent & crebras vigilias* (*Aretæus*), [they have] mighty and often watchings, sometimes waking for a month, a year, together. [7]*Hercules de Saxoniâ* faithfully averreth, that he hath heard his mother swear, she slept not for seven months together: *Trincavellius*, *Tom.* 2. *cons.* 16, speaks of one that waked 50 days, and *Skenkius* hath examples of two years, and all without offence. In natural actions their appetite is greater than their concoction, *multa appetunt*, *pauca digerunt*, as *Rhasis* hath it, they covet to eat, but cannot digest.

[1] Assiduæ eæque acidæ ructationes, quæ cibum virulentum pisculentumque nidorem, etsi nil tale ingestum sit, referant, ob cruditatem. Ventres hisce aridi, somnus plerumque parcus et interruptus, somnia absurdissima, turbulenta, corporis tremor, capitis gravedo, strepitus circa aures, et visiones ante oculos, ad venerem prodigi. [2] Altomarus, Bruel, Piso, Montaltus. [3] Frequentes habent oculorum nictationes, aliqui tamen fixis oculis plerumque sunt. [4] = Stutter.]. [5] Cent. lib. i. Tract. 9. Signa hujus morbi sunt plurimus saltus, sonitus aurium, capitis gravedo; lingua titubat, oculi excavantur, &c. [6] = Stuttering.] [7] In Pantheon, cap. de Melancholia.

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And although they[1] *do eat much, yet they are lean, ill liking*, saith *Aretæus, withered & hard, much troubled with costiveness*, crudities, oppilations, spitting, belching, &c. Their pulse is rare & slow, except it be of the [2]*carotides*, which is very strong; but that varies according to their intended passions or perturbations, as *Struthius* hath proved at large, *Sphygmaticæ artis, l. 4. c. 13.* To say truth, in such chronick diseases the pulse is not much to be respected, there being so much superstition in it, as [3]*Crato* notes, and so many differences in *Galen*, that he dares say they may not be observed, or understood, of any man.

Their urine is most part pale, & low coloured, *urina pauca, acris, biliosa, (Aretæus)*, not much in quantity; but this, in my judgement, is all out as uncertain as the other, varying so often according to several persons, habits, & other occasions, not to be respected in chronick diseases. [4]*Their melancholy excrements, in some very much, in others little, as the spleen plays his part;* and thence proceeds wind, palpitation of the heart, short breath, plenty of humidity in the stomack, heaviness of heart & heart-ache, & intolerable stupidity and dulness of spirits; their excrements or stool hard, black to some, & little. If the heart, brain, liver, spleen, be misaffected, as usually they are, many inconveniences proceed from them, many diseases accompany, as Incubus,[5] [6]Apoplexy, Epilepsy, Vertigo, those frequent wakings and terrible dreams, [7]intempestive laughing, weeping, sighing, sobbing, bashfulness, blushing, trembling, sweating, swooning, &c. [8]All their senses are troubled, they think they see, hear, smell, and touch, that which they do not, as shall be proved in the following discourse.

SUBSECT. 2.—*Symptoms or Signs in the Mind.*

ARCULANUS, *in 9 Rhasis ad Almansor. cap. 16*, will have these symptoms to be infinite, as indeed they are, varying according to the parties, *for scarce is there one of a thousand that dotes alike,*

1 Alvus arida nihil dejiciens; cibi capaces, nihilominus tamen extenuati sunt. 2 Nic. Piso. Inflatio carotidum, &c. 3 Andreas Dudith Rahamo. ep. lib. 3. Crat. epist. Multa in pulsibus superstitio; ausim etiam dicere tot differentias, quæ describuntur à Galeno, neque intelligi à quoquam nec observari posse. 4 T. Bright, cap. 20. [5 = nightmare.] 6 Post 40 ætat. annum, saith Jacchinus in 15. 9 Rhasis. Idem Mercurialis, consil. 86. Trincavellius, Tom. 2. cons. 17. 7 Gordonius. Modò rident, modò flent, silent, &c. 8 Fernelius, consil. 43 et 45. Montanus, consil. 230. Galen, de locis affectis, lib. 3. cap. 6.

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[1] *Laurentius, c.* 16. Some few of greater note I will point at; and, amongst the rest, *Fear* and *Sorrow*, which, as they are frequent causes, so, if they persevere long, according to *Hippocrates'* and *Galen's* [2] Aphorisms, they are most assured signs, inseparable companions, and characters of melancholy; of present melancholy, and habituated, saith *Montaltus, c.* 11, and common to them all, as the said *Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna*, and all Neotericks, hold. But as hounds many times run away with a false cry, never perceiving themselves to be at a fault, so do they. For *Diocles* of old, (whom *Galen* confutes), and, amongst the *Juniors*, [3] *Hercules de Saxoniâ*, with *Lod. Mercatus, c.* 17. *l.* 1. *de melan.* take just exceptions at this Aphorism of *Hippocrates*, 'tis not always true, or so generally to be understood. *Fear* and *Sorrow* are no common symptoms to all melancholy; *upon more serious consideration, I find some* (saith he) *that are not so at all. Some indeed are sad, and not fearful; some fearful, and not sad; some neither fearful nor sad; some both.* Four kinds he excepts, fanatical persons, such as were *Cassandra, Manto, Nicostrata, Mopsus, Proteus*, the *Sibyls*, whom [4] *Aristotle* confesseth to have been deeply melancholy. *Baptista Porta* seconds him, *Physiog. lib.* 1. *c.* 8, they were *atrâ bile perciti.* Demoniacal persons, & such as speak strange languages, are of this rank; some Poets; such as laugh always, and think themselves Kings, Cardinals, &c. sanguine they are, pleasantly disposed most part, and so continue. [5] *Baptista Porta* confines fear and sorrow to them that are cold; but lovers, Sibyls, enthusiasts, he wholly excludes. So that I think I may truly conclude, they are not always sad and fearful, but usually so, and that [6] *without a cause, timent de non timendis*, (*Gordonius,*) *quæque momenti non sunt; although not all alike*, (saith *Altomarus*), [7] *yet all likely fear*, [8] *some with an extraordinary and a mighty fear, Aretæus.* [9] *Many fear death, and yet, in a contrary humour, make away themselves, Galen, lib.* 3. *de loc. affect. cap.* 7. Some are afraid that heaven will fall on their heads: some [afraid] they are damned, or shall be.

[1] Aphorism. et lib. de Melan. [2] Lib. 3. cap. 6. De locis affect. Timor et mæstitia, si diutius perseverent, &c. [3] Tract. posthumo de Melan. edit. Venetiis 1620, per Bolzettam Bibliop. Mihi diligentius hanc rem consideranti, patet quosdam esse, qui non laborant mœrore et timore. [4] Prob. lib. 3. [Sect. xxx. § 1.] [5] Physiog. lib. i. c. 8. Quibus multa frigida bilis atra, stolidi et timidi; at qui calidi, ingeniosi, amasii, divinosi, spiritu instigati, &c. [6] Omnes exercent metus et tristitia, et sine causa. [7] Omnes timent, licet non omnibus idem timendi modus. Aëtius, Tetrab. lib. 2. sect. c. 9. [8] Ingenti pavore trepidant. [9] Multi mortem timent, et tamen sibi ipsis mortem consciscunt; alii cœli ruinam timent.

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[1] *They are troubled with scruples of Conscience, distrusting God's mercies, think they shall go certainly to Hell, the Devil will have them, & make great lamentation, Jason Pratensis.* Fear of Devils, death, that they shall be sick of some such or such disease, ready to tremble at every object, they shall die themselves forthwith, or that some of their dear friends or near allies are certainly dead; imminent danger, loss, disgrace, still torment others, &c. that they are all glass, and therefore [they] will suffer no man to come near them; that they are all cork, as light as feathers; others as heavy as lead; some are afraid their heads will fall off their shoulders, that they have frogs in their bellies, &c. [2] *Montanus, consil.* 23, speaks of one *that durst not walk alone from home, for fear he should swoon, or die.* A second [3] *fears every man he meets will rob him, quarrel with him, or kill him.* A third dares not venture to walk alone, for fear he should meet the Devil, a thief, be sick, fears all old women as witches, and every black dog or cat he sees he suspecteth to be a Devil, every person, every creature, comes near him is maleficiated,[4] all intend to hurt him, seek his ruin. Another dares not go over a bridge, come near a pool, rock, steep hill, lie in a chamber where cross beams are, for fear he be tempted to hang, drown, or precipitate himself. If he be in a silent auditory, as at a sermon, he is afraid he shall speak aloud at unawares, some thing undecent, unfit to be said. If he be locked in a close room, he is afraid of being stifled for want of air, and still carries biscuit, Aquavitæ, or some strong waters about him, for fear of *deliquiums*,[5] or being sick; or if he be in a throng, middle of a Church, multitude, where he may not well get out, though he sit at ease, he is so misaffected. He will freely promise, undertake any business beforehand, but, when it comes to be performed, he dare not adventure, but fears an infinite number of dangers, disasters, &c. Some are [6] *afraid to be burned, or that the* [7] *ground will sink under them, or* [8] *swallow them quick, or that the King will call them in question for some fact they never did,* (*Rhasis, cont.*) *& that they shall surely be executed.* The terror of such a death troubles them, and they fear as much, & are equally tormented in

[1] Affligit eos plena scrupulis conscientia; divinæ misericordiæ diffidentes, Orco se destinant, fœda lamentatione deplorantes. [2] Non ausus egredi domo, ne deficeret. [3] Multi dæmones timent, latrones, insidias. Avicenna. [4] = Bewitched.] [5] = Fainting.] [6] Alii comburi, alii de Rege. Rhasis. [7] Ne terra absorbeantur. Forestus. [8] Ne terra dehiscat. Gordon.

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mind, [1] *as they that have committed a murder, and are pensive without a cause, as if they were now presently to be put to death, Plater, c. 3. de mentis alienat.* They are afraid of some loss, danger, that they shall surely lose their lives, goods, and all they have, but why they know not. *Trincavellius, consil. 13. lib. 1,* had a patient that would needs make away himself, for fear of being hanged, and could not be persuaded, for three years together, but that he had killed a man. *Plater, observat. lib. 1,* hath two other examples of such as feared to be executed without a cause. If they come in a place where a robbery, theft, or any such offence, hath been done, they presently fear they are suspected, & many times betray themselves without a cause. *Louis* XI., the French King, suspected every man a traitor that came about him, durst trust no officer. *Alii formidolosi omnium, alii quorumdam,* (*Fracastorius, l. 2. de Intellect.*) [2] *some fear all alike, some certain men,* and cannot endure their companies, are sick in them, or if they be from home. Some suspect [3] treason still, others *are afraid of their* [4] *dearest and nearest friends,* (*Melanelius è Galeno, Ruffo, Aëtio,*) & dare not be alone in the dark, for fear of Hobgoblins and Devils: he suspects every thing he hears or sees to be a Devil, or enchanted; and imagineth a thousand chimæras and visions, which to his thinking he certainly sees, bugbears, talks with black men, ghosts, goblins, &c.

> [5] Nunc omnes terrent auræ, sonus excitat omnis.
>
> [The very breezes fright him, every sound
> Excites him.]

Another through bashfulness, suspicion, & timorousness, will not be seen abroad, [6] *loves darkness as life, & cannot endure the light,* or to sit in lightsome places; his hat still in his eyes, he will neither see nor be seen by his good will, *Hippocrates, lib. de Insania & Melancholia.* He dare not come in company for fear he should be misused, disgraced, overshoot himself in gesture or speeches, or be sick; he thinks every man observes him, aims at him, derides him, owes him malice. Most part [7] *they are afraid they*

[1] Alii timore mortis tenentur; et mala gratia principum putant se aliquid commisisse, et ad supplicium requiri. [2] Alius domesticos timet, alius omnes. Aëtius. [3] Alii timent insidias. Aurel. lib. i. de morb. chron. cap. 6. [4] Ille carissimos, hic omnes homines citra discrimen timet. [5] Virgil, [Æn. ii. 728.] [6] Hic in lucem prodire timet, tenebrasque quærit; contra ille caliginosa fugit. [7] Quidam larvas et malos spiritus ab inimicis veneficiis et incantationibus sibi putant objectari. Hippocrates. Potionem se veneficam sumpsisse putat, et de hac ructare sibi crebrò videtur. Idem Montaltus, cap. 21, Aëtius, lib. 2. et alii, Trallianus, l. 1. cap. 16.

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are bewitched, possessed, or poisoned by their enemies, and sometimes they suspect their nearest friends: *he thinks something speaks or talks within him, or to him, & he belcheth of the poison. Christophorus à Vega, lib. 2. cap.* 1, had a patient so troubled, that by no persuasion or physick could he be reclaimed. Some are afraid that they shall have every fearful disease they see others have, hear or read of, and dare not therefore hear or read of any such subject, no not of melancholy itself, lest, by applying to themselves that which they hear or read, they should aggravate and increase it. If they see one possessed, bewitched, an epileptick paroxysm, a man shaking with the palsy, or giddy headed, reeling, or standing in a dangerous place, &c. for many days after it runs in their minds, they are afraid they shall be so too, they are in like danger, as *Perkins, c.* 12. *sect.* 2. well observes in his *Cases of Conscience*, and many times by violence of imagination they produce it. They cannot endure to see any terrible object, as a Monster, a man executed, a carcase, hear the Devil named, or any tragical relation seen, but they quake for fear, *Hecatas somniare sibi videntur*, (*Lucian*[1]), they dream of Hobgoblins, and may not get it out of their minds a long time after: they apply (as I have said) all they hear, see, read, to themselves; as [2] *Felix Plater* notes of some young Physicians, that study to cure diseases, [that they] catch them themselves, will be sick, and appropriate all symptoms they find related of others to their own persons. And therefore (*quod iterum moneo, licet nauseam paret lectori, malo decem potius verba, decies repetita licet, abundare, quam unum desiderari*[3]) I would advise him, that is actually melancholy, not to read this tract of symptoms, lest he disquiet or make himself for a time worse, and more melancholy than he was before. Generally of them all take this, *de inanibus semper conqueruntur, & timent*, saith *Aretæus*; they complain of toys, & fear [4] without a cause, and still think their melancholy to be most grievous, none so bad as they are, though it be nothing in respect, yet never any man sure was so troubled, or in this sort: as really tormented and perplexed, in as great an agony for toys & trifles, (such things as they will after laugh at themselves), as if they were most material & essential matters indeed, worthy

[1 Philopseudes, § 39.] [2 Observat. l. 1. Quando iis nil nocet, nisi quod mulieribus melancholicis. [3 As I again advise, even though I may inspire disgust in the reader, for I had rather repeat words ten times than omit anything.] [4 Timeo tamen metuoque causæ nescius, causa est metus. Heinsius Austriaco.

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to be feared, & will not be satisfied. Pacify them for one, they are instantly troubled with some other fear; always afraid of something, which they foolishly imagine or conceive to themselves, which never peradventure was, never can be, never likely will be; troubled in mind upon every small occasion, unquiet, still complaining, grieving, vexing, suspecting, grudging, discontent, and cannot be freed so long as [their] melancholy continues. Or if their minds be more quiet for the present, and they free from foreign fears, outward accidents, yet their bodies are out of tune, they suspect some part or other to be amiss, now their head aches, heart, stomack, spleen, &c. is misaffected, they shall surely have this or that disease; still troubled in body, mind, or both, & through wind, corrupt phantasy, some accidental distemper, continually molested. Yet for all this, as [1] *Jacchinus* notes, *in all other things they are wise, staid, discreet, & do nothing unbeseeming their dignity, person, or place, this foolish, ridiculous, and childish fear excepted*, which so much, so continually, tortures and crucifies their souls; like a barking dog that alwayes bawls, but seldom bites, this fear ever molesteth, and, so long as [their] melancholy lasteth, cannot be avoided.

Sorrow is that other character, & inseparable companion, as individual as Saint *Cosmo* and *Damian*,[2] *fidus Achates*,[3] as all writers witness, a common symptom, a continual; and still, without any evident cause, [4] *mœrent omnes, et, si roges eos reddere causam, non possunt:* grieving still, but why they cannot tell: *agelasti, mœsti, cogitabundi*,[5] they look as if they had newly come forth of *Trophonius'* den.[6] And though they laugh many times, & seem to be extraordinary merry (as they will by fits) yet extreme lumpish again in an instant, dull, & heavy, *semel & simul*, [simultaneously] merry & sad, but most part sad: [7] *Si qua placent, abeunt; inimica tenacius hærent:* sorrow sticks by them still continually, gnawing as the vulture did [8] *Tityus'* bowels, & they cannot avoid it. No sooner are their eyes open but, after terrible and troublesome

[1] Cap. 15. in 9 Rhasis. In multis vidi, præter rationem semper aliquid timent, in cæteris tamen optimè se gerunt, neque aliquid præter dignitatem committunt. [2] On Saints Cosmo and Damian, who were two brothers, and both eminent Physicians, who suffered martyrdom about A.D. 303, see Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, vol. ii. pp. 41-48, and Digby's Broad Stone of Honour, vol. v. p. 260.] [3] Virg. Æn. i. 188. et alibi. a faithful attendant.] [4] Altomarus, cap. 7. Aretæus. Tristes sunt. [5] Never laughing, sad, thoughtful.] [See Pausanias, ix. 39.] [7] Mant. Ecl. x. [8] Ovid. Met. 4. [457, 458.]

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dreams, their heavy hearts begin to sigh: they are still fretting, chafing, sighing, grieving, complaining, finding faults, repining, grudging, weeping, *Heautontimorumenoi*,[1] vexing themselves, [2] disquieted in mind, with restless, unquiet thoughts, discontent, either for their own, other men's, or publick affairs, such as concern them not, things past, present, or to come; the remembrance of some disgrace, loss, injury, abuse, &c. troubles them now, being idle, afresh, as if it were new done; they are afflicted otherwise for some danger, loss, want, shame, misery, that will certainly come, as they suspect and mistrust. *Lugubris Ate*[3] frowns upon them, insomuch that *Aretæus* well calls it *angorem animi*, a vexation of the mind, a perpetual agony. They can hardly be pleased, or eased, though in other men's opinion most happy. Go, tarry, run, ride,

[4] —— post equitem sedet atra cura:

they cannot avoid this feral plague; let them come in what company they will, [5]*hæret leteri letalis arundo;*[6] as to a deer that is struck, whether he run, go, rest, with the herd, or alone, this grief remains: irresolution, inconstancy, vanity of mind, their fear, torture, care, jealousy, suspicion, &c. continues, and they cannot be relieved. So [7] he complained in the Poet,

> Domum revortor mœstus, atque animo ferè
> Perturbato atque incerto præ ægritudine.
> Adsido: accurrunt servi, soccos detrahunt:
> Inde alii festinare, lectos sternere,
> Cœnam adparare: pro se quisque sedulo
> Faciebant, quò illam mihi lenirent miseriam.

He came home sorrowful, and troubled in his mind; his servants did all they possibly could to please him; one pulled off his socks, another made ready his bed, a third his supper, all did their utmost endeavours to ease his grief, and exhilarate his person, he was profoundly melancholy, he had lost his son, *illud angebat*, that was his *cordolium*,[8] his pain, his agony, which could not be removed. Hence it proceeds many times that they are weary of their lives, and feral thoughts to offer violence to their own persons

[1 An allusion to the title and subject of one of Terence's Plays.] [2 Inquies animus.] [3 Mournful Ate. See Homer, Il. xix. 91, 92.] [4 Hor. l. 3. Od. 1. 40.] [5 Virg. [Æn. iv. 73.] [6 The deadly arrow sticks in their side.] [7 Menedemus, Heautontim. Act. 1. sc. 1. 70-75.] [8 Heart-sorrow.]

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come into their minds ; *tædium vitæ*[1] is a common symptom, *tarda fluunt, ingrataque tempora*,[2] they are soon tired with all things ; they will now tarry, now be gone ; now in bed they will rise, now up, then go to bed ; now pleased, then again displeased ; now they like, by and by dislike all, weary of all ; *sequitur nunc vivendi, nunc moriendi cupido*,[3] saith *Aurelianus, lib.* 1. *c.* 6 ; but most part [4]*vitam damnant ;* discontent, disquieted, perplexed, upon every light or no occasion, object : often tempted, I say, to make away themselves : [5]*vivere nolunt, mori nesciunt :* they cannot die, they will not live : they complain, weep, lament, and think they lead a most miserable life ; never was any man so bad, or so before, every poor man they see is most fortunate in respect of them, every beggar that comes to the door is happier than they are, they could be contented to change lives with them, especially if they be alone, idle, & parted from their ordinary company, molested, displeased, or provoked : [if] grief, fear, agony, discontent, wearisomeness, laziness, suspicion, or some such passion, forcibly seizeth on them. Yet by and by, when they come in company again which they like, or be pleased, *suam sententiam rursus damnant, et vitæ solatio delectantur*, as *Octavius Horatianus* observes, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 5, they condemn their former mislike, and are well pleased to live. And so they continue, till with some fresh discontent they be molested again, and then they are weary of their lives, weary of all, they will die, and shew rather a necessity to live than a desire. *Claudius* the Emperor, as [6]*Suetonius* describes him, had a spice of this disease, for, when he was tormented with the pain of his stomack, he had a conceit to make away himself. *Jul. Cæsar Claudinus, consil.* 84, had a *Polonian* to his patient so affected, that through [7]fear and sorrow, with which he was still disquieted, hated his own life, wished for death every moment, and to be freed of his misery ; *Mercurialis* another, and another that was often minded to despatch himself, and so continued for many years.

Suspicion and *jealousy* are general symptoms : they are commonly distrustful, timorous, apt to mistake, and amplify, *facilè irascibiles*,

[1 Being tired of life.] [2 Hor. Epp. i. i. 23. Their days pass slowly and unpleasantly.] [3 Now they desire to live, and now to die.] [4 Altomarus. They hate life.] [5 Seneca. [Epist. 4.] [6 Cap. 31. [Valetudine sicut olim gravi, ita princeps prospera usus est, excepto] stomachi dolore, quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitâsse dixit. [7 Luget et semper tristatur, solitudinem amat, mortem sibi precatur, vitam propriam odio habet.

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[1] testy, pettish, peevish, and ready to snarl upon every [2] small occasion, *cum amicissimis*,[3] and without a cause, *datum vel non datum*, it will be *scandalum acceptum*.[4] If they speak in jest, he takes it in good earnest. If they be not saluted, invited, consulted with, called to counsel, &c. or that any respect, small compliment, or ceremony be omitted, they think themselves neglected and contemned: for a time that tortures them. If two talk together, discourse, whisper, jest, or tell a tale in general, he thinks presently they mean him, applies all to himself, *de se putat omnia dici*. Or if they talk with him, he is ready to misconstrue every word they speak, and interpret it to the worst; he cannot endure any man to look steadily on him, speak to him almost, laugh, jest, or be familiar, or hem, or point, cough, or spit, or make a noise sometimes, &c. [5] He thinks they laugh or point at him, or do it in disgrace of him, circumvent him, contemn him; every man looks at him, he is pale, red, sweats for fear and anger, lest some body should observe him. He works upon it, and long after this false conceit of an abuse troubles him. *Montanus, consil.* 22, gives instance in a melancholy Jew, that was *iracundior Adria*,[6] so waspish and suspicious, *tam facilè iratus*,[7] that no man could tell how to carry himself in his company.

Inconstant they are in all their actions, vertiginous, restless, unapt to resolve of any business, they will and will not, persuaded to and fro upon every small occasion, or word spoken; and yet, if once they be resolved, obstinate, hard to be reconciled; if they abhor, dislike, or distaste, once settled, though to the better, by no odds counsel or persuasion to be removed; yet in most things wavering, irresolute, unable to deliberate, through fear. *Faciunt, & mox facti pœnitet* (*Aretæus*); *avari, et paulo post prodigi:* now prodigal, and then covetous, they do, and by-and-by repent them of that which they have done, so that both ways they are troubled, whether they do or do not, want or have, hit or miss, disquieted of all hands, soon weary, and still seeking change, restless, I say, fickle, fugitive, they may not abide to tarry in one place long,

[1] Facilé in iram incidunt. Aret. [2] Ira sine causa, velocitas iræ. Savanarola, pract. major. Velocitas iræ signum. Avicenna, l. 3. Fen. 1. Tract. 4. cap. 18. [3] With their greatest friends.] [4] Given or not given, offence will be taken.] [5] Suspicio, diffidentia, symptomata. Crato, Ep. Julio Alexandrino, cons. 185. Scoltzii. [6] Hor. Odes. iii. ix. 23. More stormy than the Adriatic Sea.] [7] So easily angry.]

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[1] Romæ rus optans, absentem rusticus urbem
Tollit ad astra———

no company long, or to persevere in any action or business:

[2] Et similis regum pueris, pappare minutum
Poscit, et iratus mammæ lallare recusat;

eftsoons pleased, and anon displeased; as a man that's bitten with fleas, or that cannot sleep, turns to and fro in his bed, their restless minds are tossed & vary, they have no patience to read out a book, to play out a game or two, walk a mile, sit an hour, &c. erected and dejected in an instant; animated to undertake, and upon a word spoken again discouraged.

Extreme passionate, *quicquid volunt valdè volunt;*[3] and what they desire, they do most furiously seek: anxious ever & very solicitous, distrustful and timorous, envious, malicious, profuse one while, sparing another, but most part covetous, muttering, repining, discontent, and still complaining, grudging, peevish, *injuriarum tenaces*, prone to revenge, soon troubled, and most violent in all their imaginations, not affable in speech, or apt to vulgar compliment, but surly, dull, sad, austere, *cogitabundi* still, very intent, and, as [4]*Albertus Durer* paints Melancholy, like a sad woman leaning on her arm with fixed looks, neglect habit, &c. held therefore by some proud, sqft, sottish, or half-mad, as the *Abderites* esteemed of *Democritus:* and yet of a deep reach, excellent apprehension, judicious, wise, & witty: for I am of that [5]Nobleman's mind, *Melancholy advanceth men's conceits more than any humour whatsoever*, improves their meditations more than any strong drink or sack. They are of profound judgement in some things, although in others *non rectè judicant inquieti*,[6] saith *Fracastorius, lib. 2. de Intell.* And, as *Arculanus, c.* 16. *in* 9 *Rhasis*, terms it, *judicium plerumque perversum, corruptum, cum judicant honesta inhonesta, et amicitiam habent pro inimicitia*: [their judgement is generally perverse, and corrupt, since] they count honesty dishonesty, friends as enemies, they will abuse their best friends, and dare not offend their enemies. Cowards most part, *et ad inferendam injuriam timidissimi*, saith *Cardan*, (*l.* 8. *cap.* 4, *de rerum varietate*): loth to offend; and if they chance to over-

[1] Hor. [Sat. ii. vii. 28, 29. At Rome he wishes for the country, in the country he extols the city to the skies.] [2] Pers. Sat. 3. [17, 18. And, like the children of great men, he demands his food chewed for him, and pettishly refuses the nurse to lull him to sleep.] [3] See Cic. ad Attic. 14. 1. 2.] [4] In his Dutch-work Picture. [5] Howard, cap. 7. differ. [6] They judge not well from their restlessness.]

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shoot themselves in word or deed, or any small business or circumstance be omitted, forgotten, they are miserably tormented, and frame a thousand dangers & inconveniences to themselves, *ex musca elephantem*,[1] if once they conceit it: overjoyed with every good rumour, tale, or prosperous event, transported beyond themselves: with every small cross again, bad news, misconceived injury, loss, danger, afflicted beyond measure, in great agony, perplexed, dejected, astonished, impatient, utterly undone: fearful, suspicious of all: yet again, many of them desperate harebrains, rash, careless, fit to be assassinates, as being void of all fear and sorrow, according to [2] *Hercules de Saxoniâ, most audacious, and such as dare walk alone in the night through deserts and dangerous places, fearing none.*

They are prone to love, and [3] easy to be taken: *propensi ad amorem et excandescentiam*, (*Montaltus, cap.* 21.) quickly enamoured, and dote upon all, love one dearly, till they see another, and then dote on her, *et hanc, & hanc, & illam, & omnes;* the present moves most, and the last commonly they love best. Yet some again *anterotes*,[4] cannot endure the sight of a woman, abhor the sex, as that same melancholy [5] Duke of *Muscovy*, that was instantly sick if he came but in sight of them: and that [6] Anchorite, that fell into a cold palsy, when a woman was brought before him.

Humorous they are beyond all measure, sometimes profusely laughing, extraordinary merry, and then again weeping without a cause, (which is familiar with many Gentlewomen), groaning, sighing, pensive, sad, almost distracted; *multa absurda fingunt, et à ratione aliena*, (saith [7] *Frambesarius*), they feign many absurdities, vain, void of reason: one supposeth himself to be a dog, cock, bear, horse, glass, butter, &c. He is a Giant, a Dwarf, as strong as an hundred men, a Lord, Duke, Prince, &c. And if he be told he hath a stinking breath, a great nose, that he is sick, or inclined to such or such a disease, he believes it eftsoons, and peradventure, by force of imagination, will work it out. Many of them are immoveable, and fixed in their conceits; others vary upon every object, heard or seen. If they see a stage-play, they run upon that a week after; if they hear music, or see dancing,

[1] See Erasmi Adagia, p. 359. Make an elephant of a fly.] [2] Tract. de mel. cap. 2. Noctu ambulant per silvas, et loca periculosa; neminem timent. [3] Facilè amant. Altom. [4] Misogynists.] [5] Bodine. [6] Jo. Major, vitis patrum, fol. 202. Paulus Abbas Eremita tanta solitudine perseverat, ut nec vestem nec vultum mulieris ferre possit, &c. [7] Consult. lib. 1, 17. Cons.

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they have naught but bag-pipes in their brain; if they see a combat, they are all for arms; [1]if abused, an abuse troubles them long after; if crossed, that cross, &c. Restless in their thoughts and actions, continually meditating, *velut ægri somnia, vanæ Finguntur species*,[2] more like dreams than men awake, they feign a company of antick, phantastical conceits, they have most frivolous thoughts, impossible to be effected; and sometimes think verily they hear and see present before their eyes such phantasms or goblins, they fear, suspect, or conceive, they still talk with, and follow them. In fine, *cogitationes somniantibus similes, id vigilant, quod alii somniant cogitabundi;* still, saith *Avicenna*, they wake as others dream, and such for the most part are their imaginations and conceits, [3]absurd, vain, foolish toys, yet they are [4]most curious and solicitous; continually *et supra modum, Rhasis, cont. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9, *præmeditantur de aliqua re;* as serious in a toy, as if it were a most necessary business, of great moment, importance, and still, still, still, thinking of it, *sæviunt in se*, macerating themselves. Though they do talk with you, and seem to be otherwise employed, and to your thinking very intent and busy, still that toy runs in their mind, that fear, that suspicion, that abuse, that jealousy, that agony, that vexation, that cross, that castle in the air, that crochet, that whimsy, that fiction, that pleasant waking dream, whatsoever it is. *Nec interrogant* (saith [5]*Fracastorius*) *nec interrogati rectè respondent;* they do not much heed what you say, their mind is on another matter; ask what you will, they do not attend, or much intend that business they are about, but forget themselves what they are saying, doing, or should otherwise say or do, whither they are going, distracted with their own melancholy thoughts. One laughs upon a sudden, another smiles to himself, a third frowns, calls, his lips go still, he acts with his hand, as he walks, &c. 'Tis proper to all melancholy men, saith [6]*Mercurialis, con.* 11, *what conceit they have once entertained, to be most intent, violent, and continually about it. Invitis occurrit*, do what they may, they cannot be rid of it, against their wills they must think of it a thousand times over, *perpetuò moles-*

[1] Generally as they are pleased or displeased, so are their continual cogitations pleasing or displeasing. [2] Hor. A. P. 6, 7.] [3] Omnes exercent vanæ intensæque animi cogitationes, (N. Piso, Bruel,) et assiduæ. [4] Curiosi de rebus minimis. Aretæus. [5] Lib. 2. de Intell. [6] Hoc melancholicis omnibus proprium, ut quas semel imaginationes valdè receperint, non facilè rejiciant, sed hæ etiam vel invitis semper occurrant.

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tantur, nec oblivisci possunt, they are continually troubled with it, in company, out of company; at meat, at exercise, at all times and places, [1] *non desinunt ea, quæ minime volunt, cogitare;* if it be offensive especially, they cannot forget it, they may not rest or sleep for it, but, still tormenting themselves, *Sisyphi saxum volvunt sibi ipsis*,[2] as [3] *Brunner* observes; *perpetua calamitas, et miserabile flagellum.* [It is a perpetual calamity, and terrible scourge.]

[4] *Crato*, [5] *Laurentius*, & *Fernelius*, put bashfulness for an ordinary symptom; *subrusticus pudor*,[6] or *vitiosus pudor*, [*mauvaise honte*], is a thing which much haunts & torments them. If they have been misused, derided, disgraced, chidden, &c. or by any perturbation of mind misaffected, it so far troubles them, that they become quite moped many times, and so disheartened, dejected, they dare not come abroad, into strange companies especially, or manage their ordinary affairs, so childish, timorous, and bashful, they can look no man in the face; some are more disquieted in this kind, some less, longer some, others shorter, by fits, &c. though some on the other side, (according to [7] *Fracastorius*), be *inverecundi & pertinaces*, impudent and peevish. But most part they are very shamefac'd, and that makes them with *Pet. Blesensis*, *Christopher Urswick*, & many such, to refuse Honours, Offices, and Preferments, which sometimes fall into their mouths, they cannot speak, or put forth themselves, as others can, *timor hos, pudor impedit illos*,[8] timorousness & bashfulness hinder their proceedings, they are contented with their present estate, unwilling to undertake any office, & therefore never likely to rise. For that cause they seldom visit their friends, except some familiars: *pauciloqui*, of few words, and oftentimes wholly silent. [9] *Frambesarius*, a Frenchman, had two such patients, *omnino taciturnos*, their friends could not get them to speak: *Rodericus à Fonseca, consult. Tom.* 2. 85. *consil.* gives instance in a young man, of 27 years of age, that was frequently silent, bashful, moped, solitary, that would not eat his meat, or sleep, and yet again by fits apt to be angry, &c.

Most part they are, as *Plater* notes, *desides, taciturni*, [slothful, and taciturn;] *ægrè impulsi, nec nisi coacti procedunt, &c.* they will scarce be compelled to do that which concerns them, though it

[1] Tullius, de Sen. [They do not cease to think about what they least wish to think about.] [2] They roll upon themselves the stone of Sisyphus. See Hom. Odyss. xi. 593-600.] [3] Consil. med. pro Hypochondriaco. [4] Consil. 43. [5] Cap. 5. [6] Cic. ad Fam. 5. 12. 1.] [7] Lib. 2. de Intell. [8] Ovid, Met. iii. 205, memoriter.] [9] Consult. 15. et 16. lib. 1.

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be for their good, so diffident, so dull, of small or no compliment, unsociable, hard to be acquainted with, especially of strangers; they had rather write their minds than speak, & above all things love *solitariness. Ob voluptatem, an ob timorem soli sunt?* Are they so solitary for pleasure (one asks) or pain? for both: yet I rather think for fear and sorrow, &c.

> [1] Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent, fugiuntque, nec auras
> Respiciunt, clausi tenebris, et carcere cæco.
>
> Hence 'tis they grieve and fear, avoiding light,
> And shut themselves in prison dark from sight.

As *Bellerophon* in [2] *Homer*,

> Qui miser in silvis mœrens errabat opacis,
> Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans:
>
> That wandered in the woods sad all alone,
> Forsaking men's society, making great moan;

they delight in floods & waters, desert places, to walk alone in orchards, gardens, private walks, back-lanes, averse from company, as *Diogenes* in his tub, or *Timon Misanthropus*, [3] they abhor all companions at last, even their nearest acquaintance, & most familiar friends, for they have a conceit (I say) every man observes them, will deride, laugh to scorn, or misuse them; confining themselves therefore wholly to their private houses or chambers, *fugiunt homines sine causa* (saith *Rhasis*) *et odio habent, cont. l.* 1. *c.* 9, they will diet themselves, feed, and live alone. It was one of the chiefest reasons why the Citizens of Abdera suspected *Democritus* to be melancholy and mad, because that, as *Hippocrates* related in his Epistle to *Philopœmen*, [4] *he forsook the City, lived in groves & hollow trees, upon a green bank by a brook side, or confluence of waters, all day long, & all night. Quæ quidem* (saith he) *plurimum atra bile vexatis & melancholicis eveniunt, deserta frequentant, hominumque congressum aversantur;* [5] which is an ordinary thing with melancholy men. The *Egyptians* therefore in their *Hieroglyphicks* expressed a melancholy man by an hare sitting in her form, as being a most timorous and solitary creature, *Pierius, Hieroglyph. l.* 12. But this and all precedent symptoms are more or less apparent, as the humour is intended or remitted, hardly perceived in some, or not

[1] Virg. Æn. 6. [733, 4. memoriter.] [2] Iliad, 6. [201, 202.] [3] Si malum exasperetur, homines odio habent, et solitaria petunt. [4] Democritus solet noctes et dies apud se degere, plerumque autem in speluncis, sub amœnis arborum umbris vel in tenebris, et mollibus herbis, vel ad aquarum crebra et quieta fluenta, &c. [5] Gaudet tenebris, [Martial, xi. 104. 5.] aliturque dolor. Ps. cii. Vigilavi, et factus sum velut nycticorax in domicilio, passer solitarius in templo.

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at all, most manifest in others; childish in some, terrible in others; to be derided in one, pitied or admired in another; to him by fits, to a second continuate: and, howsoever these symptoms be common and incident to all persons, yet they are the more remarkable, frequent, furious, and violent, in melancholy men. To speak in a word, there is nothing so vain, absurd, ridiculous, extravagant, impossible, incredible, so monstrous a chimæra, so prodigious and strange,[1] such as Painters and Poets durst not attempt, which they will not really fear, feign, suspect, & imagine unto themselves: and that which [2] *Lod. Viv.* said in jest of a silly country fellow, that killed his ass for drinking up the Moon, *ut lunam mundo redderet*,[3] you may truly say of them in earnest; they will act, conceive all extremes, contrarieties, and contradictions, & that in infinite varieties; *melancholici plane incredibilia sibi persuadent, ut vix omnibus sæculis duo reperti sint, qui idem imaginati sint* (*Erastus, de Lamiis*); scarce two of 2000 that concur in the same symptoms. The Tower of *Babel* never yielded such confusion of tongues, as this Chaos of Melancholy doth variety of symptoms. There is in all melancholy *similitudo dissimilis*, like men's faces, a disagreeing likeness still; and as, in a river, we swim in the same place, though not in the same numerical water; as the same instrument affords several lessons, so the same disease yields diversity of symptoms; which howsoever they be diverse, intricate, and hard to be confined, I will adventure yet, in such a vast confusion and generality, to bring them into some order; and so descend to particulars.

SUBSECT. 3.—*Particular Symptoms from the influence of Stars, parts of the body, and humours.*

SOME men have peculiar symptoms, according to their temperament and *crisis*,[4] which they had from the Stars and those Celestial influences, variety of wits and dispositions, as *Anthony Zara* contends, *Anat. ingen. sect.* 1. *memb.* 11, 12, 13, 14, *plurimum irritant influentiæ cœlestes, unde cientur animi ægritudines & morbi corporum.* [5] One saith diverse diseases of the body and mind proceed from their influences, [6] as I have already proved out of *Ptolemy, Pontanus, Lemnius, Cardan*, and others, as they are

[1] Et quæ vix audet fabula, monstra parit. [2] In cap. 18. l. 10. de civ. dei. Lunam ab asino epotam videns. [3] That he might restore the moon to the world.] [4] I half suspect *crasis* to be the right word here. Still I hardly venture to tamper with the text.] [5] Velc. l. 4. c. 5. [6] Sect. 2. Memb. 1. Subs. 4.

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principal significators of manners, diseases, mutually irradiated, or Lords of the geniture, &c. *Ptolemæus* in his Centiloquy,[1] *Hermes*, or whosoever else the author of that Tract, attributes all these symptoms, which are in melancholy men, to celestial influences: which opinion *Mercurialis*, *de affect. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10, rejects; but, as I say, [2] *Jovianus Pontanus* & others stiffly defend. That some are solitary, dull, heavy, churlish; some again blithe, buxom, light, and merry, they ascribe wholly to the Stars. As if *Saturn* be predominant in his Nativity, and cause Melancholy in his temperature, then [3] he shall be very austere, sullen, churlish, black of colour, profound in his cogitations, full of cares, miseries, and discontents, sad and fearful, always silent, solitary, still delighting in husbandry, in Woods, Orchards, Gardens, Rivers, Ponds, Pools, dark Walks and close: *cogitationes sunt velle ædificare, velle arbores plantare, agros colere, &c.* [their ideas are wishing to build, wishing to plant, to till the fields, etc.] to catch Birds, Fishes, &c. still contriving and musing of such matters. If *Jupiter* domineers, they are more ambitious, still meditating of Kingdoms, Magistracies, Offices, Honours, or that they are Princes, Potentates, and how they would carry themselves, &c. If *Mars*, they are all for wars, brave combats, monomachies, testy, cholerick, harebrain, rash, furious, and violent in their actions. They will feign themselves Victors, Commanders, are passionate and satirical in their speeches, great braggers, ruddy of colour. And though they be poor in shew, vile and base, yet, like *Telephus* and *Peleus* in the [4] Poet,

Ampullas jactant et sesquipedalia verba,

their mouths are full of myriads, and Tetrarchs at their tongues' end. If the *Sun*, they will be Lords, Emperors, in conceit at least, and Monarchs, give Offices, Honours, &c. If *Venus*, they are still courting of their mistresses, and most apt to love, amorously given; they seem to hear music, plays, see fine pictures, dancers, merriments, and the like; ever in love, and dote on all they see. *Mercurialists* are solitary, much in contemplation, subtile, Poets, Philosophers, and musing most part about such matters. If the *Moon* have a hand, they are all for peregrinations,

[1] Ptolemy's Centiloquy, otherwise called *Fructus Librorum Suorum*, was so called from its containing 100 Aphorisms. This work has been sometimes attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, but he wrote a different Centiloquy of his own. This explains Burton's reference.] [2] De reb. cœlest. lib. 10. c. 13. [3] J. de Indagine Goclenius. [4] Hor. de Art. Poet. [97.]

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sea-voyages, much affected with travels, to discourse, read, meditate of such things; wandering in their thoughts divers, much delighting in waters, to fish, fowl, &c.

But the most immediate symptoms proceed from the Temperature itself, and the Organical parts, as Head, Liver, Spleen, Meseraick veins, Heart, Womb, Stomack, &c. and most especially from distemperature of spirits (which, as [1]*Hercules de Saxoniâ* contends, are wholly immaterial), or from the four humours in those seats, whether they be hot or cold, natural, unnatural, innate or adventitious, intended or remitted, simple or mixt, their diverse mixtures, and several adustions, combinations, which may be as diversely varied as those [2]four first qualities in [3] *Clavius*, and produce as many several symptoms and monstrous fictions as wine doth effects, which, as *Andreas Bachius* observes, *lib.* 3. *de vino, cap.* 20, are infinite. Of greater note be these.

If it be natural Melancholy, as *Lod. Mercatus, lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. *de melan. T. Bright, c.* 16, hath largely described, either of the Spleen, or of the veins, faulty by excess of quantity, or thickness of substance, it is a cold and dry humour, as *Montanus* affirms, *consil.* 26, the parties are sad, timorous, & fearful. *Prosper Calenus*, in his book *de atra bile*, will have them to be more stupid than ordinary, cold, heavy, dull, solitary, sluggish, *si multam atram bilem & frigidam habent.*[4] *Hercules de Saxoniâ, c.* 19. *l.* 7,[5] *holds these that are naturally melancholy to be of a leaden colour or black*, and so doth *Guianerius, c.* 3. *tract.* 15, and such as think themselves dead many times, or that they see, talk with, black men, dead men, Spirits and Goblins frequently, if it be in excess. These symptoms vary according to the mixture of those four humours adust, which is unnatural melancholy. For, as *Trallianus* hath written, *cap.* 16. *l.* 7, [6] *there is not one cause of this melancholy, nor one humour which begets it, but divers diversely intermixt, from whence proceeds this variety of symptoms:* and those varying again as they are hot or cold. [7] *Cold melancholy* (saith *Benedic. Vittorius Faventinus, pract. mag.*) *is a cause of dotage, & more mild symptoms; if hot or more adust, of more violent passions and juries. Fracastorius, l.* 2.

[1] Tract. 7. de Melan. [2] Humidum, calidum, frigidum, siccum. [3] Com. in 1. c. Johannis de Sacrobosco. [4] If they have much black and cold bile.] [5] Si resident melancholia naturalis, tales plumbei coloris aut nigri, stupidi, solitarii. [6] Non una melancholiæ causa est, nec unus humor vitii parens, sed plures, et alius aliter mutatus; unde non omnes eadem sentiunt symptomata. [7] Humor frigidus delirii causa. humor calidus furoris.

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de Intellect. will have us to consider well of it, [1] *with what kind of Melancholy every one is troubled, for it much avails to know it; one is enraged by fervent heat, another is possessed by sad and cold; one is fearful, shamefast, the other impudent and bold,* as *Ajax, Arma rapit superosque furens in prælia poscit:* quite mad or tending to madness: *nunc hos, nunc impetit illos. Bellerophon,* on the other side, *solis errat malè sanus in agris,* [2] wanders alone in the woods; one despairs, weeps, and is weary of his life, another laughs, &c. All which variety is produced from the several degrees of heat and cold, which [3] *Hercules de Saxoniâ* will have wholly proceed from the distemperature of spirits alone, animal especially, and those immaterial, the next and immediate causes of Melancholy, as they are hot, cold, dry, moist, and from their agitation proceeds that diversity of symptoms, which he reckons up in the [4] 13th chap. of his Tract of Melancholy, and that largely through every part. Others will have them come from the diverse adustion of the four humours, which, in this unnatural melancholy, by corruption of blood, adust choler, or melancholy natural, [5] *by excessive distemper of heat turned, in comparison of the natural, into a sharp lye by force of adustion, cause, according to the diversity of their matter, diverse and strange symptoms,* which *T. Bright* reckons up in his following chapter. So doth [6] *Arculanus,* according to the four principal humours adust, and many others.

For example, if it proceed from phlegm, (which is seldom and not so frequent as the rest), [7] it stirs up dull symptoms, and a kind of stupidity, or impassionate hurt: they are sleepy, saith [8] *Savanarola,* dull, slow, cold, blockish, ass-like, *asininam melancholiam,* [ass-like melancholy], [9] *Melancthon* calls it, *they are much given to weeping, and delight in waters, ponds, pools, rivers, fishing, fowling, &c.* (*Arnoldus, breviar.* 1. *cap.* 18:) they are [10] pale of colour, slothful, apt to sleep, heavy; [11] *much troubled with head-ache,* continual meditation, and muttering to themselves; they dream of waters, [12] that they are in danger of drowning, and fear such

[1] Multum refert qua quisque melancholiâ teneatur; hunc fervens et accensa agitat, illum tristis et frigens occupat: hi timidi, illi inverecundi, intrepidi, &c. [2] Hom. Il. vi. 201, 202.] [3] Cap. 7. et 8. Tract. de Mel. [4] Signa melancholiæ ex intemperie et agitatione spirituum sine materia. [5] T. Bright, cap. 16. Tract. de Mel. [6] Cap. 16. in 9. Rhasis. [7] Bright, c. 16. [8] Pract. major. Somnians, piger, frigidus. [9] De Anima, cap. de humor. Si à Phlegmate, semper in aquis fere sunt, et circa fluvios plorant multum, etc. [10] Pigra nascitur ex colore pallido et albo, Herc. de Saxon. [11] Savanarola. [12] Muros cadere in se, aut submergi timent, cum torpore et segnitie, et fluvios amant tales, Alexand. c. 16. lib. 7.

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things, *Rhasis.* They are fatter than others that are melancholy, of a muddy complexion, apter to spit, [1]sleep, more troubled with rheum than the rest, and have their eyes still fixed on the ground. Such a patient had *Hercules de Saxoniâ*, a widow in *Venice*, that was fat and very sleepy still; *Christophorus à Vega* another affected in the same sort. If it be inveterate or violent, the symptoms are more evident, they plainly dote, and are ridiculous to others, in all their gestures, actions, speeches: imagining impossibilities, as he in *Christophorus à Vega*, that thought he was a Tun of Wine, [2]and that *Siennois*, that resolved with himself not to piss, for fear he should drown all the town.

If it proceed from blood adust, or that there be a mixture of blood in it, [3]*such are commonly ruddy of complexion, & high-coloured*, according to *Sallust. Salvianus*, and *Hercules de Saxoniâ*; and, as *Savanarola*, *Vittorius Faventinus Empir.* farther add, [4]*the veins of their eyes be red, as well as their faces.* They are much inclined to laughter, witty and merry, conceited in discourse, pleasant, if they be not far gone, much given to musick, dancing, and to be in women's company. They meditate wholly on such things, and think [5]*they see or hear plays, dancing, and such like sports* (free from all fear and sorrow, as [6]*Hercules de Saxoniâ* supposeth,) if they be more strongly possessed with this kind of melancholy, *Arnoldus* adds, *Breviar. lib.* 1. *cap.* 18, like him of *Argos* in the Poet,[7] that sat laughing all day long, as if he had been at a Theatre. Such another is mentioned by [8]*Aristotle*, living at *Abydos*, a town of *Asia Minor*, that would sit after the same fashion, as if he had been upon a Stage, and sometimes act himself; now clap his hands, and laugh, as if he had been well pleased with the sight. *Wolfius* relates of a country fellow called *Brunsellius*, subject to this humour, [9]*that, being by chance at a sermon, saw a woman fall off from a form half asleep, at which object most of the company laughed, but he, for his part, was so much moved, that for three whole days after he did nothing but laugh, by which means he was much*

[1] Semper ferè dormit somnolenta. c. 16. l. 7. [2] Laurentius. [3] Cap. 6. de mel. Si à sanguine, venit rubedo oculorum et faciei, plurimus risus. [4] Venæ oculorum sunt rubræ; vide an præcesserit vini et aromatum usus, et frequens balneum, Trallian. lib. 1. 16. an præcesserit mora sub sole. [5] Ridet patiens, si à sanguine; putat se videre choreas, musicam audire, ludos, &c. [6] Cap. 2. Tract. de Melan. [7] Hor. Ep. lib. 2. [2. 128. *sq.*] Quidam haud ignobilis Argis, &c. [8] Lib. de reb. mir. [cap. 31.] [9] Cum inter concionandum mulier dormiens è subsellio caderet, et omnes reliqui qui id viderent riderent, tribus post diebus, &c.

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weakened, & worse a long time following. Such a one was old *Sophocles*, and *Democritus* himself had *hilare delirium*, [a merry kind of madness], much in this vein *Laurentius, cap.* 3. *de melan.* thinks this kind of melancholy, which is a little adust with some mixture of blood, to be that which *Aristotle* meant, when he said melancholy men of all others are most witty,[1] which causeth many times divine ravishment, and a kind of *enthusiasmus*, [divine inspiration], which stirreth them up to be excellent Philosophers, Poets, Prophets, &c. *Mercurialis, consil.* 110, gives instance in a young man his patient, sanguine melancholy, [2]*of a great wit, and excellently learned.*

If it arise from choler adust, they are bold and impudent, and of a more harebrain disposition, apt to quarrel and think of such things, battles, combats, and their manhood; furious, impatient in discourse, stiff, irrefragable, and prodigious in their tenents; and, if they be moved, most violent, outrageous, [3]ready to disgrace, provoke any, to kill themselves & others; *Arnoldus* adds, stark mad by fits, [4]*they sleep little, their urine is subtile and fiery; (Guianerius) in their fits you shall hear them speak all manner of languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, that never were taught or knew them before. Apponensis, in com. in Pro. sec.* 30, speaks of a mad woman that spake excellent good Latin; and *Rhasis* knew another, that could prophesy in her fit, and foretell things truly to come. [5]*Guianerius* had a patient could make Latin verses when the Moon was combust, otherwise illiterate. *Avicenna* and some of his adherents will have these symptoms, when they happen, to proceed from the Devil, and that they are rather *dæmoniaci*, possessed, than mad or melancholy, or both together, as *Jason Pratensis* thinks, *immiscent se mali genii*, &c. but most ascribe it to the humour; which opinion *Montaltus, cap.* 21, stiffly maintains, confuting *Avicenna* and the rest, referring it wholly to the quality and disposition of the humour & subject. *Cardan, de rerum var. lib.* 8. *cap.* 10, holds these men of all others fit to be assassinates, bold, hardy, fierce, and adventurous, to undertake any thing by reason of their choler adust. [6]*This humour*, saith he, *prepares*

[1 Problem. Sect. xxx. Initium.] [2] Juvenis, et non vulgaris eruditionis. [3] Si à cholera, furibundi interficiunt se et alios, putant se videre pugnas. [4] Urina subtilis et ignea; parum dormiunt. [5] Tract. 15. c. 4. [6] Ad hæc perpetranda furore rapti ducuntur; cruciatus quosvis tolerant, et mortem; et furore exacerbato audent, et ad supplicia plus irritantur; mirum est quantam habeant in tormentis patientiam.

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them to endure death itself, and all manner of torments, with invincible courage, and 'tis a wonder to see with what alacrity they will undergo such tortures, ut supra naturam res videatur:[1] he ascribes this generosity, fury, or rather stupidity, to this adustion of choler and melancholy: but I take these rather to be mad or desperate, than properly melancholy: for commonly this humour, so adust and hot, degenerates into madness.

If it come from melancholy itself adust, those men, saith *Avicenna,* [2]*are usually sad and solitary, and that continually, and in excess, more than ordinary suspicious, more fearful, and have long, sore, and most corrupt imaginations;* cold and black, bashful, and so solitary, that, as [3]*Arnoldus* writes, *they will endure no company, they dream of graves still, and dead men, and think themselves bewitched or dead:* if it be extreme, they think they hear hideous noises, see and talk [4]*with black men, and converse familiarly with Devils, and such strange chimaeras and visions,* (*Gordonius*), or that they are possessed by them, that somebody talks to them, or within them. *Tales melancholici plerumque dæmoniaci,*[5] *Montaltus, consil* 26, *ex Avicenna. Valescus de Taranta* had such a woman in cure, *that* [6]*thought she had to do with the Devil:* and *Gentilis Fulgosus, quæst.* 55, writes that he had a melancholy friend, that [7]*had a black man in the likeness of a soldier,* still following him wheresoever he was. *Laurentius, cap.* 7, hath many stories of such as have thought themselves bewitched by their enemies; and some that would eat no meat as being dead. [8]*An.* 1550, an Advocate of *Paris* fell into such a melancholy fit, that he believed verily he was dead; he could not be persuaded otherwise, or to eat or drink, till a kinsman of his, a Scholar of *Bourges,* did eat before him, dressed like a corse. The story, saith *Serres,* was acted in a Comedy before *Charles* the Ninth. Some think they are beasts, wolves, hogs, and cry like dogs, foxes, bray like asses, and low like kine, as King *Prætus'* daughters.[9] *Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de manid,* hath an example of a Dutch Baron so affected, and *Trincavellius, lib. 1. consil* 11, another

[1 That it seems preternatural.] [2 Tales plus cæteris timent, et continue tristantur; valde suspiciosi, solitudinem diligunt; corruptissimas habent imaginationes, &c. [3 Si à melancholia adusta, tristes, de sepulchris somniant, timent ne fascinentur, putant se mortuos, aspici nolunt. [4 Videntur sibi videre monachos nigros et dæmones, et suspensos et mortuos. [5 Such melancholy people are generally possessed.] [6 Quavis nocte se cum dæmone coire putavit. [7 Semper fere vidisse militem nigrum præsentem. [8 Anthony de Verdeur. [9 Virg. Æn. vi. 48; Ovid, Met. xv. 326.] Quidam mugitus boum æmulantur, et pecora se putant, ut Prœti filiæ.

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of a nobleman in his country, [1]*that thought he was certainly a beast, and would imitate most of their voices*, with many such symptoms, which may properly be reduced to this kind.

If it proceed from the severall combinations of these four humours, or spirits, (*Herc. de Saxon.* adds hot, cold, dry, moist, dark, confused, settled, constringed, as it participates of matter, or is without matter), the symptoms are likewise mixt. One thinks himself a Giant, another a Dwarf; one is heavy as lead, another is as light as a feather. *Marcellus Donatus, l. 2. cap.* 41, makes mention out of *Seneca*, of one *Senecio*, a rich man, [2]*that thought himself and every thing else he had great, great wife, great horses; could not abide little things, but would have great pots to drink in, great hose, and great shoes bigger than his feet.* Like her in [3]*Trallianus, that supposed she could shake all the world with her finger*, and was afraid to clench her hand together, lest she should crush the world like an apple in pieces: or him in *Galen*, that thought he was [4]*Atlas*, and sustained heaven with his shoulders. Another thinks himself so little, that he can creep into a mousehole: one fears heaven will fall on his head; a second is a cock; and such a one [5]*Guianerius* saith he saw at *Padua*, that would clap his hands together and crow. [6]Another thinks he is a nightingale, and therefore sings all the night long: another he is all glass, a pitcher, and will therefore let nobody come near him, and such a one [7]*Laurentius* gives out, upon his credit, that he knew in *France*. *Christophorus à Vega, cap.* 3. *lib.* 14, *Skenkius*, and *Marcellus Donatus, l. 2. cap.* 1, have many such examples, and one amongst the rest of a Baker in *Ferrara*, that thought he was composed of butter, & durst not sit in the sun, or come near the fire, for fear of being melted: of another that thought he was a case of leather, stuffed with wind. Some laugh, weep; some are mad, some dejected, moped, in much agony, some by fits, others continuate, &c. Some have a corrupt ear, (they think they hear musick, or some hideous noise as their phantasy conceives,) [some] corrupt eyes, some smelling, some one sense, some another. [8]*Louis* XI. had a conceit every

[1] Baro quidam mugitus boum, et rugitus asinorum, et aliorum animalium voces, effingit. [2] Omnia magna putabat, uxorem magnam, grandes equos; abhorruit omnia parva; magna pocula, et calceamenta pedibus majora. [3] Lib. 1. cap. 16. Putavit se uno digito posse totum mundum conterere. [4] Sustinet humeris cœlum cum Atlante. [Cf. Euripides, *Ion*, 1, 2.] Alii cœli ruinam timent. [5] Cap. 1. Tract. 15. Alius se gallum putat, alius lusciniam. [6] Trallianus. [7] Cap. 7. de mel. [8] Anthony de Verdeur.

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thing did stink about him; all the odoriferous perfumes they could get would not ease him, but still he smelled a filthy stink. A melancholy *French* Poet in [1]*Laurentius*, being sick of a fever, and troubled with waking, was by his Physicians appointed to use *unguentum populeum*[2] to anoint his temples; but he so distasted the smell of it, that, for many years after, he imagined all that came near him to scent of it, and would let no man talk with him but aloof off, or wear any new clothes, because he thought still they smelled of it; in all other things wise and discreet, he would talk sensibly save only in this. A Gentleman in *Limousin*, saith *Anthony de Verdeur*, was persuaded he had but one leg, affrighted by a wild boar, that by chance stroke him on the leg: he could not be satisfied his leg was sound (in all other things well) untill two *Franciscans*, by chance coming that way, fully removed him from the conceit. *Sed abundè fabularum audivimus.* [But we have heard enough tales.]

SUBSECT. 4.—*Symptoms from Education, Custom, Continuance of Time, our Condition, mixt with other Diseases, by Fits, Inclination, &c.*

ANOTHER great occasion of the variety of these symptoms proceeds from custom, discipline, education, and several inclinations. [3]*This humour will imprint in melancholy men the objects most answerable to their condition of life, and ordinary actions, and dispose men according to their several studies and callings.* If an ambitious man become melancholy, he forthwith thinks he is a King, an Emperor, a Monarch, and walks alone, pleasing himself with a vain hope of some future preferment, or present as he supposeth, and withal acts a Lord's part, takes upon him to be some Statesman or Magnifico, makes congies,[4] gives entertainment, looks big, &c. *Francisco Sansovino* records of a melancholy man in *Cremona*, that [he] would not be induced to believe but that he was *Pope*, gave pardons, made Cardinals, &c. [5]*Christophorus à Vega* makes mention of another of his acquaintance, that thought he was a King driven from his Kingdom, and was very anxious to recover his estate. A covetous person is still conversant about purchasing of lands and tenements, plotting in his mind how to compass such and such Manors, as if he were already Lord of, and able to go

[1] Cap. 7 de mel. [2] An ointment made of poplar.] [3] Laurentius, cap. 6. [4] French *congés.*] [5] Lib. 3. cap. 14. Qui se regem putavit regno expulsum.

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through with it; all he sees is his *re* or *spe*, he hath devoured it in hope, or else in conceit esteems it his own; like him in [1]*Athenæus*, that thought all the ships in the haven to be his own. A lascivious *inamorato* plots all the day long to please his mistress, acts and struts, and carries himself, as if she were in presence, still dreaming of her, as *Pamphilus* of his *Glycerium*,[2] or as some do in their morning sleep. [3]*Marcellus Donatus* knew such a Gentlewoman in *Mantua*, called *Elionora Meliorina*, that constantly believed she was married to a King, and [4]*would kneel down and talk with him, sa if he had been there present with his associates; and if she had found by chance a piece of glass in a muck-hill, or in the street, she would say that it was a jewel sent from her Lord and husband.* If devout and religious, he is all for fasting, prayer, ceremonies, alms, interpretations, visions, prophecies, revelations, [5]he is inspired by the Holy Ghost, full of the spirit: one while he is saved, another while damned, or still troubled in mind for his sins, the Devil will surely have him, &c. More of these in the third Partition, of Love-Melancholy. [6]A Scholar's mind is busied about his studies, he applauds himself for that he hath done, or hopes to do, one while fearing to be out in his next exercise, another while contemning all censures; envies one, emulates another; or else with indefatigable pains and meditation consumes himself. So of the rest, all which vary according to the more remiss or violent impression of the object, or as the humour itself is intended or remitted. For some are so gently melancholy, that in all their carriage, and to the outward apprehension of others, it can hardly be discerned, yet to them an intolerable burden, and not to be endured. [7]*Quædam occulta, quædam manifesta*, some signs are manifest and obvious to all at all times, some to few, or seldom, or hardly perceived; let them keep their own counsel, none will take notice or suspect them. *They do not express in outward shew their depraved imaginations, as* [8]Hercules de Saxoniâ *observes, but conceal them wholly to themselves*,

[1] Deipnosophist. lib. [xii. 81.] Thrasylaus putavit omnes naves in Piræum portum appellentes suas esse. [2] Terence's Andria, v. vi. 7, 8.] [3] De hist. med. mirab. lib. 2. cap. 1. [4] Genibus flexis loqui cum illo voluit, et adstare jam tum putavit, &c. [5] Gordonius. Quod sit propheta, et inflatus à Spiritu Sancto. [6] Qui forensibus causis insudat, nil nisi arresta cogitat et supplices libellos; alius non nisi versus facit. P. Forestus. [7] Gordonius. [8] Verbo non exprimunt, nec opere, sed alta mente recondunt; et sunt viri prudentissimi, quos ego sæpe novi; cum multi sint sine timore, ut qui se reges et mortuos putant; plura signa quidam habent, pauciora, majora, minora.

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and are very wise men, as I have often seen: some fear, some do not fear at all, as such as think themselves kings or dead; some have more signs, some fewer, some great, some less; some vex, fret, still fear, grieve, lament, suspect, laugh, sing, weep, chafe, &c. by fits (as I have said), or more during and permanent. Some dote in one thing, are most childish, and ridiculous, and to be wondered at, in that, and yet for all other matters most discreet and wise. To some it is in disposition, to another in habit; and, as they write of heat and cold, we may say of this humour, one is *melancholicus ad octo*, [melancholy eight degrees], a second two degrees less, a third half-way. 'Tis super-particular, *sesquialtera, sesquitertia, & superbipartiens tertias, quintas Melancholiæ, &c.* all those geometrical proportions are too little to express it. [1] *It comes to many by fits, & goes; to others it is continuate:* many (saith [2] *Faventinus*) *in Spring & Fall only are molested*, some once a year, as that *Roman* [3] *Galen* speaks of: [4] one at the conjunction of the *Moon* alone, or some unfortunate aspects, at such and such set hours & times, like the sea-tides; to some women when they be with child, as [5] *Plater* notes, never otherwise: to others 'tis settled and fixed: to one, led about and variable still by that *ignis fatuus* of phantasy, like an *arthritis* or running gout, 'tis here and there, and in every joint, always molesting some part or other; or if the body be free, in a myriad of forms exercising the mind. A second, once peradventure in his life, hath a most grievous fit, once in seven years, once in five years, even to the extremity of madness, death, or dotage, and that upon some feral accident or perturbation, terrible object, and that for a time, never perhaps so before, never after. A third is moved upon all such troublesome objects, cross fortune, disaster, and violent passions, otherwise free, once troubled in three or four years. A fourth, if things be to his mind, or he in action, well pleased, in good company, is most jocund, and of a good complexion: if idle, or alone, *à la mort*, or carried away wholly with pleasant dreams and phantasies, but if once crossed and displeased,

Pectore concipiet nil nisi triste suo; [6]

his countenance is altered on a sudden, his heart heavy, irksome thoughts crucify his soul, and in an instant he is moped, or weary

[1] Trallianus, lib. 1. 16. Alii intervalla quædam habent, ut etiam consueta administrent; alii in continuo delirio sunt, &c. [2] Prac. mag. Vere tantum et Autumno. [3] Lib. de humoribus. [4] Guianerius. [5] De mentis alienat. cap. 3. [6] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. vii. 16.]

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of his life, he will kill himself. A fifth complains in his youth, a sixth in his middle age, the last in his old age.

Generally thus much we may conclude of melancholy: that it is [1] most pleasant at first, I say, *mentis gratissimus error*,[2] a most delightsome humour, to be alone, dwell alone, walk alone, meditate, lie in bed whole days, dreaming awake as it were, and frame a thousand phantastical imaginations unto themselves. They are never better pleased than when they are so doing, they are in Paradise for the time, and cannot well endure to be interrupt; with him in the Poet,

[3]—— pol! me occidistis, amici,
Non servâstis, ait: ——

you have undone him, he complains, if you trouble him: tell him what inconvenience will follow, what will be the event, all is one, *canis ad vomitum*,[4] [5] tis so pleasant, he cannot refrain. He may thus continue peradventure many years by reason of a strong temperature, or some mixture of business, which may divert his cogitations: but at the last *læsa imaginatio*, his phantasy is crazed, &, now habituated to such toys, cannot but work still like a fate; the Scene alters upon a sudden, Fear and Sorrow supplant those pleasing thoughts, suspicion, discontent, and perpetual anxiety succeed in their places; so by little and little, by that shoeing-horn of idleness, and voluntary solitariness, Melancholy, this feral fiend, is drawn on, [6] *& quantum vertice ad auras Æthereas, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*, it was not so delicious at first, as now it is bitter and harsh: a cankered soul macerated with cares and discontents, *tædium vitæ* [a being tired of life], impatience, agony, inconstancy, irresolution, precipitate them unto unspeakable miseries. They cannot endure company, light, or life itself, some; unfit for action, and the like. [7] Their bodies are lean and dried up, withered, ugly, their looks harsh, very dull, and their souls tormented, as they are more or less intangled, as the humour hath been intended, or according to the continuance of time they have been troubled.

To discern all which symptoms the better, [8] *Rhasis* the *Arabian* makes three degrees of them. The first is *falsa cogitatio*, false conceits and idle thoughts: to misconstrue and amplify, aggravat-

[1] Levinus Lemnius, Jason Pratensis. Blanda ab initio. [2] Hor. Epp. ii. ii. 140.] [3] Hor. [Epp. ii. ii. 138, 139.] [4] ii. Pet. ii. 22.] [5] Facilis descensus Averni. [Virg. Æn. vi. 126.] [6] Virg. [Georgic. ii. 291, 292.] [7] Corpus cadaverosum. Psa. lxviii. Cariosa est facies mea præ ægritudine animæ. [8] Lib. 9. ad Almansorem.

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ing every thing they conceive or fear: the second is *falsò cogitata loqui*, to talk to themselves, or to use inarticulate, incondite voices, speeches, obsolete gestures, and plainly to utter their minds and conceits of their hearts by their words and actions, as to laugh, weep, to be silent, not to sleep, eat their meat, &c. the third is to put in practice that which they [1] think or speak. *Savanarola, Rub.* 11. *tract.* 8. *cap.* 1. *de ægritudine*, confirms as much: [2] *when he begins to express that in words which he conceives in his heart, or talks idly, or goes from one thing to another*, which [3] *Gordonius* calls *nec caput habentia nec caudam*, [having neither head nor tail], he is in the middle way: [4] *but when he begins to act it likewise, and to put his fopperies in execution, he is then in the extent of melancholy or madness itself.* This progress of melancholy you shall easily observe in them that have been so affected, they go smiling to themselves at first, at length they laugh out; at first solitary, at last they can endure no company: or, if they do, they are now dizzards, past sense and shame, quite moped, they care not what they say or do, all their actions, words, gestures, are furious or ridiculous. At first his mind is troubled, he doth not attend what is said, if you tell him a tale, he cries at last, what said you? but in the end he mutters to himself, as old women do many times, or old men when they sit alone, upon a sudden they laugh, whoop, halloo, or run away, and swear they see or hear Players, [5] Devils, Hobgoblins, Ghosts, strike, or strut, &c. grow humorous in the end: like him in the Poet, *sæpe ducentos, sæpe decem servos*,[6] [he often keeps two hundred slaves, often only ten], he will dress himself, and undress, careless at last, grows insensible, stupid, or mad. [7] He howls like a wolf, barks like a dog, and raves like *Ajax* and *Orestes*, hears Musick and outcries which no man else hears. As [8] he did whom *Amatus Lusitanus* mentioneth, *cent.* 3. *cura* 55, or that woman in [9] *Springer*, that spake many languages, and said she was possessed: that farmer in [10] *Prosper Calenus*, that disputed and discoursed learnedly in Philosophy and Astronomy

[1] Practica majore. [2] Quum ore loquitur quæ corde concepit, quum subito de una re ad aliud transit, neque rationem de aliquo reddit, tunc est in medio: at quum incipit operari quæ loquitur, in summo gradu est. [3] Cap. 19. Partic. 2. Loquitur secum, et ad alios, ac si vere præsentes. Aug. cap. 11. lib. de cura pro mortuis gerenda. Rhasis. [4] Quum res ad hoc devenit, ut ea quæ cogitare cœperit ore promat, atque acta permisceat, tum perfecta melancholia est. [5] Melancholicus se videre et audire putat dæmones. Lavater, de spectris, part. 3. cap. 2. [6] Hor. Sat. i. iii. 11, 12.] [7] Wierus, lib. 3. cap. 31. [8] Michael, a musician. [9] Malleo malef. [10] Lib. de atra bile.

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with *Alexander Achilles*, his master, at *Bologna* in *Italy*. But of these I have already spoken.

Who can sufficiently speak of these symptoms, or prescribe rules to comprehend them? As *Echo* to the Painter in *Ausonius*,[1] *vane, quid affectas, &c.* foolish fellow, what wilt? if you must needs paint me, paint a voice, *et si vis similem pingere, pinge sonum;* if you will describe melancholy, describe a phantastical conceit, a corrupt imagination, vain thoughts and different; which who can do? The four and twenty letters make no more variety of words in divers languages, than melancholy conceits produce diversity of symptoms in several persons. They are irregular, obscure, various, so infinite, *Proteus*[2] himself is not so diverse; you may as well make the *Moon* a new coat, as a true character of a melancholy man; as soon find the motion of a bird in the air, as the heart of man a melancholy man. They are so confused, I say, diverse, intermixt with other diseases. As the species be confounded (which [3]I have shewed) so are the symptoms; sometimes with headache, *cachexia*, dropsy, stone, (as you may perceive by those several examples and illustrations, collected by *Hildesheim*,[4] *spicil.* 2, *Mercurialis, consil.* 118. *cap.* 6. *et* 11,) with headache, epilepsy, *priapismus*, (*Trincavellius, consil.* 12. *lib.* 1. *consil.* 49,) with gout, *caninus appetitus*, (*Montanus, consil.* 26. *&c.* 23, 234, 249,) with falling-sickness, headache, *vertigo, lycanthropia, &c.* (*J. Cæsar Claudinus, consult.* 4. *consult.* 89 *et* 116,) with gout, agues, hæmrods, stone, &c. Who can distinguish these melancholy symptoms so intermixt with others, or apply them to their several kinds, confine them into method? 'Tis hard, I confess; yet I have disposed of them as I could, and will descend to particularize them according to their species. For hitherto I have expatiated in more general lists or terms, speaking promiscuously of such ordinary signs, which occur amongst writers. Not that they are all to be found in one man, for that were to paint a Monster or Chimæra,[5] not a man; but some in one, some in another, and that successively or at several times.

Which I have been the more curious to express and report, not to upbraid any miserable man, or by way of derision (I rather pity them), but the better to discern, to apply remedies unto them;

[1 See Ausonius, xi.] [2 See Virg, Georg. iv. 387-414.] [3 Part. 1. Subs. 2. Memb. 2. [4 De delirio, melancholia, et mania. [5 See Homer, Iliad, vi. 179-183.]

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and to shew that the best and soundest of us all is in great danger, how much we ought to fear our own fickle estates, remember our miseries and vanities, examine and humiliate ourselves, seek to God, and call to him for mercy, that needs not look for any rods to scourge ourselves, since we carry them in our bowels, and that our souls are in a miserable captivity, if the light of grace and heavenly truth doth not shine continually upon us: and by our discretion to moderate ourselves, to be more circumspect and wary in the midst of these dangers.

MEMB. II.

SUBSECT. I.—*Symptoms of Head-Melancholy.*

IF [1] *no symptoms appear about the stomack, nor the blood be misaffected, and fear and sorrow continue, it is to be thought the brain itself is troubled, by reason of a melancholy juice bred in it, or otherways conveyed into it, and that evil juice is from the distemperature of the part, or left after some inflammation.* Thus far *Piso.* But this is not always true, for blood and hypochondries both are often affected even in head-melancholy. [2]*Hercules de Saxoniâ* differs here from the common current of Writers, putting peculiar signs of head-melancholy from the sole distemperature of spirits in the brain, as they are hot, cold, dry, moist, *all without matter, from the motion alone and tenebrosity* [3] *of spirits.* Of melancholy which proceeds from humours by adustion he treats apart, with their several symptoms and cures. The common signs, if it be by essence in the head, *are ruddiness of face, high sanguine complexion, most part rubore saturato,* [with a flushed red colour], [4] one calls it bluish, and sometimes full of pimples, with red eyes. *Avicenna, l. 3. Fen. 2. Tract. 4. c. 18, Duretus* and others out of *Galen, de affect. l. 3. c. 6.* [5] *Hercules de Saxoniâ* to this of redness of face adds *heaviness of the head, fixed and hollow eyes.* [6] *If it proceed from dryness of the brain, then their heads will be light,*

[1] Nicholas Piso. Si signa circa ventriculum non apparent, nec sanguis male affectus, et adsunt timor et mœstitia, cerebrum ipsum existimandum est, &c. [2] Tract. de mel. cap. 13. &c. Ex intemperie spirituum, et cerebri motu et tenebrositate. [3 = gloom.] [4] Facie sunt rubente et livescente, quibus etiam aliquando adsunt pustulæ. [5] Jo. Pantheon, cap. de mel. Si cerebrum primario afficiatur, adsunt capitis gravitas, fixi oculi, &c. [6] Laurent. cap. 5. Si à cerebro ex siccitate, tum capitis erit levitas, sitis, vigilia, paucitas superfluitatum in oculis et naribus.

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vertiginous, and they most apt to wake, & to continue whole months together without sleep. Few excrements in their eyes and nostrils, & often bald by reason of excess of dryness, Montaltus adds, *c.* 17. If it proceed from moisture, dullness, drowsiness, headache follows; and, as *Sallust. Salvianus, c.* 1. *l.* 2, out of his own experience found, [they are] epileptical, with a multitude of humours in the head. They are very bashful if ruddy, apt to blush, and to be red upon all occasions, *præsertim si metus accesserit*, [especially if any fear troubles them]. But the chiefest symptoms to discern this species, as I have said, is this, that there be no notable signs in the stomack, hypochondries, or elsewhere, *digna*, as [1]*Montaltus* terms them, or of greater note, because oftentimes the passions of the stomack concur with them. Wind is common to all three species, and is not excluded, only that of the *hypochondries is* [2] *more windy* than the rest, saith *Hollerius. Aëtius, tetrab. l.* 2. *sc.* 2. *c.* 9. & 10, maintains the same, [3] if there be more signs, and more evident in the head than elsewhere, the brain is primarily affected, and prescribes head-melancholy to be cured by meats (amongst the rest) void of wind, and good juice, not excluding wind, or corrupt blood, even in head-melancholy itself: but these species are often confounded, and so are their symptoms, as I have already proved. The symptoms of the mind are superfluous and continual cogitations: [4] *for, when the head is heated, it scorcheth the blood, and from thence proceed melancholy fumes, which trouble the mind, Avicenna.* They are very cholerick, and soon hot, solitary, sad, often silent, watchful, discontent, *Montaltus, cap.* 24. If any thing trouble them, they cannot sleep, but fret themselves still, till another object mitigate, or time wear it out. They have grievous passions, and immoderate perturbations of the mind, fear, sorrow, &c. yet not so continuate but that they are sometimes merry, apt to profuse laughter, which is more to be wondered at, and that by the authority of [5] *Galen* himself, by reason of mixture of blood, *prærubri jocosis delectantur, et irrisores plerumque sunt*, if they be ruddy, they are delighted in jests, and oftentimes scoffers them-

[1] Si nulla digna læsio ventriculo, quoniam in hac melancholia capitis exigua nonnunquam ventriculi pathemata coëunt, duo enim hæc membra sibi invicem affectionem transmittunt. [2] Postrema magis flatuosa. [3] Si minus molestiæ circa ventriculum aut ventrem, in iis cerebrum primario afficitur, et curare oportet hunc affectum per cibos flatûs exsortes et bonæ concoctionis, &c. raro cerebrum afficitur sine ventriculo. [4] Sanguinem adurit caput calidius, et inde fumi melancholici adusti animum exagitant. [5] Lib. de loc. affect. cap. 6.

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selves, conceited, and, as *Rodericus à Vega* comments on that place of *Galen*, merry, witty, of a pleasant disposition, and yet grievously melancholy anon after. *Omnia discunt sine doctore*, saith *Aretæus*, they learn [everything] without a teacher: and, as [1]*Laurentius* supposeth, those feral passions and symptoms of such as think themselves glass, pitchers, feathers, &c. speak strange languages, proceed *à calore cerebri* (if it be in excess), from the brain's distempered heat.

SUBSECT. 2.—*Symptoms of Windy Hypochondriacal Melancholy.*

IN *this hypochondriacal or flatuous melancholy the symptoms are so ambiguous*, saith [2]*Crato* in a counsel of his for a Noblewoman, *that the most exquisite physicians cannot determine of the part affected. Matthew Flaccius*, consulted about a Noble matron, confessed as much, that in this malady he with *Hollerius, Fracastorius, Fallopius*, and others, being to give their sentence of a party labouring of hypochondriacal melancholy, could not find out by the symptoms which part was most especially affected; some said the womb, some heart, some stomack, &c. and therefore *Crato, consil.* 24. *lib.* 1, boldly avers that, in this diversity of symptoms which commonly accompany this disease, [3]*no physician can truly say what part is affected. Galen, l.* 3 *de loc. affect.* reckons up these ordinary symptoms, which all the Neotericks repeat, [out] of *Diocles*; only this fault he finds with him, that he puts not *fear* and *sorrow* amongst the other signs. *Trincavellius* excuseth *Diocles, lib.* 3. *consil.* 35, because that oftentimes in a strong head and constitution, a generous spirit, and a valiant, these symptoms appear not, by reason of his valour and courage. [4]*Hercules de Saxoniâ* (to whom I subscribe) is of the same mind (which I have before touched) that *fear* and *sorrow* are not general symptoms; some fear and are not sad; some be sad and fear not; some neither fear nor grieve. The rest are these, beside fear and sorrow, [5]*sharp belchings, fulsome crudities, heat in the bowels, wind and*

[1] Cap. 6. [2] Hildesheim, spicil. l. de mel. In hypochondriaca melancholia adeo ambigua sunt symptomata, ut etiam exercitatissimi medici de loco affecto statuere non possint. [3] Medici de loco affecto nequeunt statuere. [4] Tract. posthumo de mel. Patavii edit. 1620. per Bozettum Bibliop. cap. 2. [5] Acidi ructus, cruditates, æstus in præcordiis, flatus, interdum ventriculi dolores vehementes, sumptoque cibo concoctu difficili, sputum humidum idque multum sequetur, &c. Hip. lib. de mel. Galenus, Melanelius è Ruffo et Aëtio, Altomarus, Piso, Montaltus, Bruel, Wecker, &c.

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rumbling in the guts, vehement gripings, pain in the belly and stomack sometimes, after meat that is hard of concoction, much watering of the stomack, and moist spittle, cold sweat, importunus sudor, *unseasonable sweat all over the body,* as Octavius Horatianus, lib. 2. cap. 5, calls it: *cold joints, indigestion,* [1] *they cannot endure their own fulsome belchings, continual wind about their hypochondries, heat & griping in their bowels,* præcordia sursum convelluntur, *midriff and bowels are pulled up, the veins about their eyes look red, and swell from vapours & wind.* Their ears sing now & then, *vertigo* & giddiness come by fits, turbulent dreams, dryness, leanness; apt they are to sweat upon all occasions, of all colours and complexions. Many of them are high-coloured, especially after meals, which symptom Cardinal *Cæsius* was much troubled with, & of which he complained to *Prosper Calenus* his Physician, he could not eat, or drink a cup of wine, but he was as red in the face as if he had been at a Mayor's Feast. That symptom alone vexeth many. [2] Some again are black, pale, ruddy, sometimes their shoulders and shoulder-blades ache, there is a leaping all over their bodies, sudden trembling, a palpitation of the heart, and that *cardiaca passio,* grief in the mouth of the stomack, which maketh the patient think his heart itself acheth, and sometimes suffocation, *difficultas anhelitus,* short breath, hard wind, strong pulse, swooning. *Montanus, consil.* 55, *Trincavellius, l.* 3. *consil.* 36. & 37, *Fernelius, cons.* 43, *Frambesarius, consult. l.* 1. *cons.* 17, *Hildesheim, Claudinus, &c.* give instance of every particular. The peculiar symptoms, which properly belong to each part, be these. If it proceed from the stomack, saith [3] *Savanarola,* 'tis full of pain, wind. *Guianerius* adds *vertigo, nausea,* much spitting, &c. If from the myrach, a swelling and wind in the hypochondries, a loathing, and appetite to vomit, pulling upward. If from the heart, aching and trembling of it, much heaviness. If from the liver, there is usually a pain in the right hypochondry. If from the spleen, hardness and grief in the left hypochondry, a rumbling, much appetite and small digestion, *Avicenna.* If from the meseraick veins and liver on the other side, little or no appetite, *Herc.*

[1] Circa præcordia de assidua inflatione queruntur, et, cum sudore totius corporis importuno, frigidos articulos sæpe patiuntur, indigestione laborant, ructus suos insuaves perhorrescunt, viscerum dolores habent. [2] Montaltus, c. 13. Wecker, Fuchsius c. 13. Altomarus, c. 7. Laurentius, c. 73. Bruel, Gordon. [3] Pract. major. Dolor in eo et ventositas, nausea.

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de Saxoniâ. If from the hypochondries, a rumbling inflation, concoction is hindered, often belching, &c. And from these crudities windy vapours ascend up to the brain, which trouble the imagination, and cause fear, sorrow, dullness, heaviness, many terrible conceits and chimæras, as *Lemnius* well observes, *l.* 1. *c.* 16; *as* [1]*a black and thick Cloud covers the Sun, and intercepts his beams and light, so doth this melancholy vapour obnubilate the mind, enforce it to many absurd thoughts and imaginations*, and compel good, wise, honest, discreet men (arising to the brain from the lower parts, [2]*as smoke out of a chimney*) to dote, speak and do that which becomes not them, their persons, callings, wisdoms. One, by reason of those ascending vapours and gripings rumbling beneath, will not be persuaded but that he hath a serpent in his guts, a viper; another frogs. *Trallianus* relates a story of a woman, that imagined she had swallowed an eel or a serpent; and *Felix Platerus, observat. l.* 1, hath a most memorable example of a countryman of his, that, by chance falling into a pit where frogs and frogs' spawn was, and a little of that water swallowed, began to suspect that he had likewise swallowed frogs' spawn, and with that conceit and fear his phantasy wrought so far, that he verily thought he had young live frogs in his belly, *qui vivebant ex alimento suo*, that lived by his nourishment, and was so certainly persuaded of it, that for many years following he could not be rectified in his conceit: he studied Physick seven years together to cure himself, travelled into *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, to confer with the best Physicians about it, and, A° [3] 1609, asked his counsel amongst the rest; he told him it was wind, his conceit, &c. but *mordicus contradicere, & ore & scriptis probare nitebatur*, [he pertinaciously contradicted, and strove to prove his case by words and writings]: no saying would serve: it was no wind, but real frogs: *and do you not hear them croak? Platerus* would have deceived him by putting live frogs into his excrements: but he, being a Physician himself, would not be deceived, *vir prudens aliàs & doctus*, a wise and learned man otherwise, a Doctor of Physick, and after seven years' dotage in this kind, *à phantasia liberatus est*, he was cured [of his phantasy]. *Laurentius* and *Goulart* have many such examples, if you be desirous to read them. One commodity, above the rest which are melancholy, these windy flatuous have, *lucida intervalla*,

[1] Ut atra densaque nubes, soli effusa, radios et lumen ejus intercipit et offuscat; sic, &c. [2] Ut fumus e camino. [3] = Anno, in full Anno Domini.]

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[lucid intervals], their symptoms and pains are not usually so continuate as the rest, but come by fits, fear and sorrow and the rest: yet in another they exceed all others; and that is, [1] they are luxurious, incontinent, and prone to Venery, by reason of wind, *& facilè amant, & quamlibet ferè amant,*[2] (*Jason Pratensis*). [3] *Rhasis* is of opinion, that *Venus* doth many of them much good; the other symptoms of the mind be common with the rest.

SUBSECT. 3.—*Symptoms of Melancholy abounding in the whole Body.*

THEIR bodies, that are affected with this universal melancholy, are most part black, [4] *the melancholy juice is redundant all over*, hirsute they are, and lean, they have broad veins, their blood is gross and thick. [5] *Their spleen is weak*, and liver apt to engender the humour; they have kept bad diet, or have had some evacuation stopped, as hæmrods, or months in women, which [6] *Trallianus*, in the cure, would have carefully to be inquired, and withal to observe of what complexion the party is of, black or red. For, as *Forestus* and *Hollerius* contend, if [7] they be black, it proceeds from abundance of natural melancholy; if it proceeds from cares, agony, discontents, diet, exercise, &c. they may be as well of any other colour, red, yellow, pale, as black, & yet their whole body corrupt: *prærubri colore sæpe sunt tales, sæpe flavi*, (saith [8] *Montaltus, cap.* 22.) The best way to discern this species is to let them bleed; if the blood be corrupt, thick and black, and they withal free from those hypochondriacal symptoms, & not so grievously troubled with them or those of the head, it argues they are melancholy *à toto corpore*, [from the whole body]. The fumes which arise from this corrupt blood disturb the mind, and make them fearful and sorrowful, heavy-hearted, as the rest, rejected, discontented, solitary, silent, weary of their lives, dull and heavy, or merry, &c. and, if far gone, that which *Apuleius* wished to his enemy, by

[1] Hypochondriaci maxime affectant coire, et multiplicatur coitus in ipsis, eò quod ventositates multiplicantur in hypochondriis, et coitus sæpe allevat has ventositates. [2] They easily fall in love, and are generally not very particular who the woman is.] [3] Cont. lib. 1. tract. 9. [4] Wecker. Melancholicus succus toto corpore redundans. [5] Splen natura imbecillior. Montaltus, cap. 22. [6] Lib. 1. cap. 16. Interrogare convenit, an aliqua evacuationis retentio obvenerit, viri in hæmorrhoid. mulierum in menstruis; et vide faciem similiter, an sit rubicunda. [7] Naturales nigri acquisiti à toto corpore, sæpe rubicundi. [8] Montaltus, cap. 22. Piso. Ex colore sanguinis si minuas venam, si fluat niger, &c.

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way of imprecation, is true in them; [1] *dead men's bones, hobgoblins, ghosts, are ever in their minds, and meet them still in every turn: all the bugbears of the night and terrors, fairybabes of tombs and graves are before their eyes and in their thoughts, as to women and children, if they be in the dark alone.* If they hear, or read, or see, any tragical object, it sticks by them; they are afraid of death, and yet weary of their lives; in their discontented humours they quarrel with all the world, bitterly inveigh, tax satirically, and because they cannot otherwise vent their passions, or redress what is amiss, as they mean, they will by violent death at last be revenged on themselves.

SUBSECT. 4.—*Symptoms of Maids', Nuns', and Widows' Melancholy.*

BECAUSE *Lodovicus Mercatus*, in his second book *de mulier. affect. cap.* 4, and *Rodericus à Castro, de morb. mulier. cap.* 3. *l.* 2, two famous Physicians in *Spain*, *Daniel Sennertus* of *Wittenberg*, *lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 13, with others, have vouchsafed, in their works not long since published, to write two just treatises *de Melancholiâ Virginum, Monialium, et Viduarum*, [on the Melancholy of Maids, Nuns, and Widows], as a peculiar species of Melancholy (which I have already specified) distinct from the rest, ([2] for it much differs from that which commonly befalls men and other women, as having only one cause proper to women alone), I may not omit, in this general survey of melancholy symptoms, to set down the particular signs of such parties so misaffected.

The causes are assigned out of *Hippocrates*, *Cleopatra*, *Moschion*, and those old *gynæciorum scriptores*, [writers about women], of this feral malady, in more ancient Maids, Widows, and barren Women, *ob septum transversum violatum*, saith *Mercatus*, by reason of the midriff or *diaphragma*, heart and brain offended with those vicious vapours which come from menstruous blood; *inflammationem arteriæ circa dorsum*, *Rodericus* adds an inflammation of the back, which with the rest is offended by [3] that fuliginous exhalation of

[1] Apuleius, [Apology, 508.] Semper obviæ species mortuorum; quicquid umbrarum est uspiam, quicquid lemurum et larvarum oculis suis aggerunt; sibi fingunt omnia noctium occursacula, omnia bustorum formidamina, omnia sepulchrorum terriculamenta. [2] Differt enim ab ea quæ viris et reliquis feminis communiter contingit, propriam habens causam. [3] Ex menstrui sanguinis tetra ad cor et cerebrum exhalatione, vitiatum semen mentem perturbat, &c. non per essentiam, sed per consensum. Animus mœrens et anxius inde malum trahit, et spiritus cerebrum obfuscantur, quæ cuncta augentur, &c.

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corrupt seed, troubling the brain, heart, and mind; the brain I say, not in essence, but by consent; *universa enim hujus affectus causa ab utero pendet, et à sanguinis menstrui malitia*, for, in a word, the whole malady proceeds from that inflammation, putridity, black smoky vapours, &c. from thence comes care, sorrow, and anxiety, obfuscation of spirits, agony, desperation, and the like, which are intended or remitted, *si amatorius accesserit ardor*, [from any amatory propensity], or any other violent object or perturbation of mind. This melancholy may happen to Widows, with much care and sorrow, as frequently it doth, by reason of a sudden alteration of their accustomed course of life, &c. To such as lie in childbed, *ob suppressam purgationem;* but to Nuns and more ancient Maids, and some barren women, for the causes abovesaid, 'tis more familiar, *crebrius his quam reliquis accidit*, [it happens to these more frequently than to the rest], *inquit* [saith] *Rodericus*, the rest are not altogether excluded.

Out of these causes *Rodericus* defines it, with *Aretæus*, to be *angorem animi*, a vexation of the mind, a sudden sorrow from a small, light, or no occasion, [1] with a kind of still dotage and grief of some part or other, head, heart, breasts, sides, back, belly, &c. with much solitariness, weeping, distraction, &c. from which they are sometimes suddenly delivered, because it comes and goes by fits, and is not so permanent as other melancholy.

But, to leave this brief discription, the most ordinary symptoms be these, *pulsatio juxta dorsum*, a beating about the back, which is almost perpetual, the skin is many times rough, squalid, especially, as *Aretæus* observes, about the arms, knees, and knuckles. The midriff and heartstrings do burn and beat fearfully, and when this vapour or fume is stirred, flieth upward, the heart itself beats, is sore grieved, & faints, *fauces siccitate præcluduntur, ut difficulter possit ab uteri strangulatione discerni*, like fits of the mother; *alvus plerisque nil reddit, aliis exiguum, acre, biliosum, lotium flavum.* They complain many times, saith *Mercatus*, of a great pain in their heads, about their hearts, and hypochondries, and so likewise in their breasts, which are often sore; sometimes ready to swoon, their faces are inflamed, and red, they are dry,

[1] Cum tacito delirio ac dolore alicujus partis internæ, dorsi, hypochondrii, cordis regionem et universam mammam interdum occupantis, &c. Cutis aliquando squalida, aspera, rugosa, præcipue cubitis, genibus, et digitorum articulis; præcordia ingenti sæpe terrore æstuant et pulsant; cumque vapor excitatus sursum evolat, cor palpitat aut premitur, animus deficit, &c.

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thirsty, suddenly hot, much troubled with wind, cannot sleep, &c. And from hence proceed *ferina deliramenta*, a brutish kind of dotage, troublesome sleep, terrible dreams in the night, *subrusticus pudor*,[1] *et verecundia ignava*, a foolish kind of bashfulness to some, perverse conceits and opinions, [2] dejection of mind, much discontent, preposterous judgement. They are apt to loath, dislike, disdain, to be weary of every object, &c. each thing almost is tedious to them, they pine away, void of counsel, apt to weep and tremble, timorous, fearful, sad, and out of all hope of better fortunes. They take delight in nothing for the time, but love to be alone and solitary, though that do[3] them more harm. And thus they are affected so long as this vapour lasteth; but by and by as pleasant and merry as ever they were in their lives, they sing, discourse, and laugh, in any good company, upon all occasions; and so by fits it takes them now and then, except the malady be inveterate, and then 'tis more frequent, vehement, and continuate. Many of them cannot tell how to express themselves in words, or how it holds them, what ails them, you cannot understand them, or well tell what to make of their sayings; so far gone sometimes, so stupified and distracted, they think themselves bewitched, they are in despair, *aptæ ad fletum, desperationem, dolores mammis et hypochondriis*. *Mercatus* therefore adds, now their breasts, now their hypochondries, belly and sides, then their heart and head aches; now heat, then wind, now this, now that offends, they are weary of all; [4] and yet will not, cannot again tell how, where, or what offends them, though they be in great pain, agony, and frequently complain, grieving, sighing, weeping and discontented still, *sine causa manifesta*, [without any manifest cause], most part; yet, I say, they will complain, grudge, lament, and not be persuaded but that they are troubled with an evil spirit, which is frequent in *Germany*, saith *Rodericus*, amongst the common sort, and to such as are most grievously affected; (for he makes three degrees of this disease in women); they are in despair, surely forespoken or

[1 Cic. ad Fam. 5. 12. 1.] [2] Animi dejectio, perversa rerum existimatio, præposterum judicium. Fastidiosæ, languentes, tædiosæ, consilii inopes, lacrimosæ, timentes, mœstæ, cum summa rerum meliorum desperatione, nulla re delectantur, solitudinem amant, &c. [3 *Qu.* doth.] [4] Nolunt aperire molestiam quam patiuntur, sed conqueruntur tamen de capite, corde, mammis, &c. In puteos fere maniaci prosilire, ac strangulari cupiunt, nulla orationis suavitate ad spem salutis recuperandam erigi, &c. Familiares non curant, non loquuntur, non respondent, &c., et hæc graviora, si, &c.

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bewitched, and in extremity of their dotage, weary of their lives, some of them will attempt to make away themselves. Some think they see visions, confer with spirits and devils, they shall surely be damned, are afraid of some treachery, imminent danger, & the like, they will not speak, make answer to any question, but are almost distracted, mad, or stupid for the time, and by fits: and thus it holds them, as they are more or less affected, and as the inner humour is intended or remitted, or by outward objects and perturbations aggravated, solitariness, idleness, &c.

Many other maladies there are incident to young women, out of that one and only cause above specified, many feral diseases. I will not so much as mention their names, melancholy alone is the subject of my present discourse, from which I will not swerve. The several cures of this infirmity, concerning diet, which must be very sparing, phlebotomy, physick, internal, external remedies, are at large in great variety in [1]*Rodericus à Castro*, *Sennertus*, and *Mercatus*, which whoso will, as occasion serves, may make use of. But the best and surest remedy of all is to see them well placed, & married to good husbands in due time; *hinc illæ lachrymæ*,[2] that's the primary cause, and this the ready cure, to give them content to their desires. I write not this to patronize any wanton, idle flirt, lascivious or light housewives, which are too forward many times, unruly, and apt to cast away themselves on him that comes next, without all care, counsel, circumspection, and judgement. If religion, good discipline, honest education, wholesome exhortation, fair promises, fame, and loss of good name, cannot inhibit and deter such, (which to chaste and sober maids cannot choose but avail much), labour and exercise, strict diet, rigour, and threats, may more opportunely be used, and are able of themselves to qualify & divert an ill-disposed temperament. For seldom shall you see an hired servant, a poor handmaid, though ancient, that is kept hard to her work and bodily labour, a coarse country wench, troubled in this kind, but Noble Virgins, nice Gentlewomen, such as are solitary and idle, live at ease, lead a life out of action and employment, that fare well, in great houses and jovial companies, ill-disposed peradventure of themselves, and not willing to make any resistence, discontented otherwise, of weak judgement, able bodies, and subject to passions, (*grandiores virgines*, saith *Mercatus*,

[1] Clysteres et helleborismum Matthioli summè laudat. [2] Hor. Epp. i. xix. 41.]

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steriles, et viduæ, plerumque melancholicæ), [tall maidens, barren women, and widows, are generally melancholy], such for the most part are misaffected, & prone to this disease. I do not so much pity them that may otherwise be eased, but those alone that out of a strong temperament, innate constitution, are violently carried away with this torrent of inward humours, and though very modest of themselves, sober, religious, virtuous, and well given, (as many so distressed maids are), yet cannot make resistance; these grievances will appear, this malady will take place, and now manifestly shews itself, and may not otherwise be helped. But where am I? Into what subject have I rushed? What have I to do with Nuns, Maids, Virgins, Widows? I am a Bachelor myself, and lead a Monastick life in a College, *næ ego sane ineptus qui hæc dixerim*, [I am truly a very unfit person to talk about these subjects], I confess tis an *indecorum*. and as *Pallas*, a Virgin, blushed, when *Jupiter* by chance spake of Love matters in her presence, and turn'd away her face, *me reprimam*, [I will check myself]; though my subject necessarily require it, I will say no more.

And yet I must and will say something more, add a word or two *in gratiam Virginam & Viduarum*, [on behalf of Maids and Widows], in favour of all such distressed parties, in commiseration of their present estate. And as I cannot choose but condole their mishap that labour of this infirmity, and are destitute of help in this case, so must I needs inveigh against them that are in fault, more than manifest causes, and as bitterly tax those tyrannizing pseudo-politicians' superstitious orders, rash vows, hard-hearted parents, guardians, unnatural friends, allies, (call them how you will), those careless and stupid overseers, that, out of worldly respects, covetousness, supine negligence, their own private ends, (*cum sibi sit interim bene*), can so severely reject, stubbornly neglect, and impiously contemn, without all remorse and pity, the tears, sighs, groans, and grievous miseries, of such poor souls committed to their charge. How odious and abominable are those superstitious and rash vows of Popish Monasteries, so to bind and enforce men and women to vow virginity, to lead a single life against the laws of nature, opposite to religion, policy, and humanity, so to starve, to offer violence [to,] to suppress the vigour of youth! by rigorous statutes, severe laws, vain persuasions, to debar them of that to which by their innate temperature they are so furiously inclined, urgently carried, and sometimes precipitated,

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even irresistably led, to the prejudice of their souls' health, and good estate of body and mind! and all for base and private respects, to maintain their gross superstition, to enrich themselves and their territories, as they falsely suppose, by hindering some marriages, that the world be not full of beggars, and their parishes pestered with orphans! Stupid politicians! *hæccine fieri flagitia?* ought these things so to be carried? Better marry than burn, saith the Apostle,[1] but they are otherwise persuaded. They will by all means quench their neighbour's house, if it be on fire, but that fire of lust, which breaks out into such lamentable flames, they will not take notice of, their own bowels oftentimes, flesh and blood, shall so rage and burn, and they will not see it: *miserum est*, saith Austin, *seipsum non miserescere*, and they are miserable in the mean time, that cannot pity themselves, the common good of all, and *per consequens*[2] their own estates. For let them but consider what fearful maladies, feral diseases, gross inconveniences, come to both sexes by this enforced temperance. It troubles me to think of, much more to relate, those frequent aborts & murdering of infants in their Nunneries, (read [3]*Kemnitius* and others), their notorious fornications, those *Spintrias*, *Tribadas*, *Ambubaias*, &c. those rapes, incests, adulteries, mastuprations, sodomies, buggeries, of Monks and Friars. See *Bale's* Visitation of Abbies, [4]*Mercurialis*, *Rodericus à Castro*, *Peter Forestus*, and divers physicians. I know their ordinary apologies and excuses for these things, *sed viderint Politici*, *Medici*, *Theologi*:[5] I shall more opportunely meet with them elsewhere.[6]

> Illius viduæ, aut patronum virginis hujus,
> Ne me forte putes, verbum non amplius addam.[7]
>
> [Lest you should haply think that I am pleading
> For some particular maid or widow, I'll
> Not add another word.]

[1 1 Cor. vii. 9.] [2 Consequently.] [3 Examen Conc. Trident. de cælibatu sacerd. [4 Cap. de Satyr. et Priapis. [5 But let the Politicians, the Medical men, and the Theologians, look out.] [6 Part. 3. sect. 2. Memb. 5. Sub. 5. [7 An adaptation of Hor. Sat. i. i. 120, 121.]

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MEMB. III.

Immediate Cause of these precedent Symptoms.

To give some satisfaction to melancholy men that are troubled with these symptoms, a better means in my judgement cannot be taken than to shew them the causes whence they proceed; not from Devils, as they suppose, or that they are bewitched or forsaken of God, hear or see, &c. as many of them think, but from natural and inward causes; that so, knowing them, they may better avoid the effects, or at least endure them with more patience. The most grievous and common symptoms are fear and sorrow, and that without a cause, to the wisest and discreetest men, in this malady not to be avoided. The reason why they are so *Aëtius* discusseth at large, *Tetrabib.* 2. 2, in his first problem out of *Galen, lib.* 2. *de causis, sympt.* 1. For *Galen* imputeth all to the cold that is black, and thinks that, the spirits being darkened, and the substance of the brain cloudy and dark, all the objects thereof appear terrible, and the [1] *mind* itself, by those dark, obscure, gross fumes, ascending from black humours, is in continual darkness, fear, and sorrow; divers terrible monstrous fictions in a thousand shapes & apparitions occur, with violent passions, by which the brain and phantasy are troubled and eclipsed. [2] *Fracastorius, lib.* 2. *de intellect. will have cold to be the cause of fear & sorrow; for such as are cold are indisposed to mirth, dull and heavy, by nature solitary, silent; & not for any inward darkness* (*as Physicians think*), *for many melancholy men dare boldly be, continue, and walk in the dark, and delight in it: solùm frigidi timidi,* [only the cold are timid:] if they be hot, they are merry, and the more hot, the more furious, and void of fear, as we see in madmen: but this reason holds not, for then no melancholy, proceeding from choler adust, should fear. *Averroes* scoffs at *Galen* for his reasons, and brings five arguments to refell them: so doth *Herc. de Saxonia, Tract. de melanch. cap.* 3, assigning other causes, which are copiously censured and confuted by *Ælianus Montaltus, cap.*

[1] Vapores crassi et nigri à ventriculo in cerebrum exhalant. Fel. Platerus. [2] Calidi hilares, frigidi indispositi ad lætitiam, et ideo solitarii, taciturni, non ob tenebras internas, ut medici volunt, sed ob frigus: multi melancholici nocte ambulant intrepidi. Vapores melancholici, spiritibus mixti, tenebrarum causæ sunt. cap. 1.

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5. & 6, *Lod. Mercatus, de inter. morb. cur. l.* 1. *c.* 17, *Altomarus, cap.* 7. *de mel. Guianerius, tract.* 15. *c.* 1, *Bright, c.* 17, *Laurentius, cap.* 5, *Valesius, med. cont. l.* 5. *con.* 1. [1] *Distemperature*, they conclude, *makes black juice, blackness obscures the spirits, the spirits obscured cause fear and sorrow. Laurentius, cap.* 13, supposeth these black fumes offend especially the *diaphragma* or midriff, and so *per consequens* [2] the mind, which is obscured as [3] the Sun by a cloud. To this opinion of *Galen* almost all the *Greeks* and *Arabians* subscribe, the *Latins* new and old, *internæ tenebræ obfuscant animum, ut externæ nocent pueris*, as children are affrighted in the dark, so are melancholy men at all times, [4] as having the inward cause with them, & still carrying it about. Which black vapours, whether they proceed from the black blood about the heart, as *T. W. Jes.* thinks, in his Treatise of the passions of the mind, or stomack, spleen, midriff, or all the misaffected parts together, it boots not; they keep the mind in a perpetual dungeon, and oppress it with continual fears, anxieties, sorrows, &c. It is an ordinary thing for such as are sound to laugh at this dejected pusillanimity, and those other symptoms of melancholy, to make themselves merry with them, and to wonder at such, as toys and trifles, which may be resisted and withstood, if they will themselves: but let him that so wonders consider with himself that, if a man should tell him on a sudden some of his especial friends were dead, could he choose but grieve? or set him upon a steep rock, where he should be in danger to be precipitated, could he be secure? his heart would tremble for fear, and his head be giddy. *P. Byarus, Tract. de Pest.* gives instance (as I have said) [5] *and put case* (saith he) *in one that walks upon a plank; if it lie on the ground, he can safely do it, but if the same plank be laid over some deep water, instead of a bridge, he is vehemently moved, & 'tis nothing but his imagination*, forma cadendi impressa, [the idea of falling being impressed upon him,] *to which his other members and faculties obey.* Yea, but you infer that such men have a just

[1] Intemperies facit succum nigrum, nigrities obscurat spiritum, obscuratio spiritûs facit metum et tristitiam. [2] Consequently.] [3] Ut nubecula Solem obfuscat. Constantinus, lib. de melanch. [4] Altomarus, c. 7. Causam timoris circumfert. Ater humor passionis materia, et atri spiritus perpetuam animæ domicilio offundunt noctem. [5] Pone exemplum, quod quis potest ambulare super trabem quæ est in via: sed si sit super aquam profundam, loco pontis, non ambulabit super eam, eo quod imaginatur in animo et timet vehementer, forma cadendi impressa, cui obediunt membra omnia, et facultates reliquæ.

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cause to fear, a true object of fear; so have melancholy men an inward cause, a perpetual fume and darkness, causing fear, grief, suspicion, which they carry with them, an object which cannot be removed, but sticks as close, and is as inseparable, as a shadow to a body, and who can expel, or over-run his shadow? remove heat of the liver, a cold stomack, weak spleen: remove those adust humours and vapours arising from them, black blood from the heart, all outward perturbations; take away the cause, and then bid them not grieve nor fear, or be heavy, dull, lumpish; otherwise counsel can do little good; you may as well bid him that is sick of an ague not to be adry, or him that is wounded not to feel pain.

Suspicion follows fear and sorrow at heels, arising out of the same fountain, so thinks [1] *Fracastorius, that fear is the cause of suspicion, and still they suspect some treachery, or some secret machination to be framed against them*, still they distrust. Restlessness proceeds from the same spring, variety of fumes makes them like and dislike. Solitariness, avoiding of light, that they are weary of their lives, hate the world, arise from the same causes, for their spirits and humours are opposite to light, fear makes them avoid company, and absent themselves, lest they should be misused, hissed at, or overshoot themselves, which still they suspect. They are prone to Venery by reason of wind. Angry, waspish, and fretting still, out of abundance of choler, which causeth fearful dreams, and violent perturbations to them both sleeping and waking. That they suppose they have no heads, fly, sink, they are pots, glasses, &c. is wind in their heads. [2] *Herc. de Saxonia* doth ascribe this to the several motions in the animal spirits, *their dilatation, contraction, confusion, alteration, tenebrosity,* [3] *hot or cold distemperature*, excluding all material humours. [4] *Fracastorius accounts it a thing worthy of inquisition why they should entertain such false conceits, as that they have horns, great noses, that they are birds, beasts, &c.* why they should think themselves Kings, Lords, Cardinals. For the first [5] *Fracastorius* gives two reasons: *one is the disposition of the body: the other the occasion of the phantasy*, as if their eyes be purblind, their ears sing, by reason of some cold and

[1] Lib. 2 de intellectione. Suspiciosi ob timorem et obliquum discursum; et semper inde putant sibi fieri insidias. Lauren. 5. [2] Tract. de mel. cap. 7. Ex dilatione, contractione, confusione, tenebrositate spirituum, calida, frigida intemperie, &c. [3 = gloom.] [4] Illud inquisitione dignum, cur tam falsa recipiant, habere se cornua, esse mortuos, nasutos, esse aves, &c. [5] 1. Dispositio corporis. 2. Occasio imaginationis.

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rheum, &c. To the second *Laurentius* answers, the imagination, inwardly or outwardly moved, represents to the understanding, not enticements only, to favour the passion, or dislike, but a very intensive pleasure follows the passion, or displeasure, and the will and reason are captivated by delighting in it.

Why students and lovers are so often melancholy & mad, the Philosophers of [1]*Coimbra* assign this reason, *because, by a vehement & continual meditation of that wherewith they are affected, they fetch up the spirits into the brain, and with the heat brought with them they incend*[2] *it beyond measure: and the cells of the inward senses dissolve their temperature, which being dissolved, they cannot perform their offices as they ought.*

Why melancholy men are witty, which *Aristotle*[3] hath long since maintained in his Problems, and why all learned men, famous Philosophers, and Law-givers, *ad unum fere omnes melancholici*, have still been melancholy, is a problem much controverted. *Jason Pratensis* will have it understood of natural melancholy, which opinion *Melancthon* inclines to, in his book *de Anima*, and *Marcilius Ficinus, de san. tuend. l.* 1. *cap.* 5, but not simple, for that makes men stupid, heavy, dull, being cold and dry, fearful, fools, and solitary, but mixt with the other humours, phlegm only excepted; and they not adust, [4] but so mixt, as that blood be half, with little or no adustion, that they be neither too hot nor too cold. *Apponensis*, cited by *Melancthon*, thinks it proceeds from melancholy adust, excluding all natural melancholy as too cold. *Laurentius* condemns his *tenent*, because adustion of humours makes men mad, as lime burns when water is cast on it. It must be mixt with blood, & somewhat adust, and so that old Aphorism of *Aristotle* may be verified, *nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ*,[5] no excellent wit without a mixture of madness. *Fracastorius*[6] shall decide the controversy; *Phlegmatick are dull: San-*

[1] In pro. li. de cœlo. Vehemens et assidua cogitatio rei erga quam afficitur, spiritus in cerebrum evocat. [Coimbra is identified with the ancient Conembrica. It was long a Moorish stronghold. It was the capital of Portugal till the 16th century. In connection with its University Schools of Medicine are regular Hospitals.] [2 = inflame.] [3] Melancholici ingeniosi omnes, summi viri in artibus et disciplinis, sive circum imperatoriam aut reip. disciplinam, omnes fere melancholici. Aristoteles. [Problem. Sect. xxx. Initium.] [4] Adeo miscentur, ut sit duplum sanguinis ad reliqua duo. [5 See Seneca, De Tranquillitate, cap. xv.] [6] Lib. 2. de intellectione. Pingui sunt Minerva phlegmatici: sanguinei amabiles, grati, hilares, at non ingeniosi; cholerici celeres motu, et ob id contemplationis impatientes: melancholici solum excellentes, &c.

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guine lively, pleasant, acceptable & merry, but not witty: Cholerick are too swift in motion & furious, impatient of contemplation, deceitful wits: Melancholy men have most excellent wits, but not all; this humour may be hot or cold, thick or thin; if too hot, they are furious and mad; if too cold, dull, stupid, timorous, and sad: if temperate, excellent, rather inclining to the extreme of heat than cold. This sentence of his will agree with that of *Heraclitus*, a dry light makes a wise mind; temperate heat & dryness are the chief causes of a good wit; therefore, saith *Ælian*, an elephant is the wisest of all brute beasts, because his brain is dryest, *et ob atræ bilis copiam:*[1] this reason *Cardan* approves, *subtil. l.* 12. *Jo. Baptista Silvaticus*, a Physician of *Milan*, in his first controversy, hath copiously handled this question, *Rulandus* in his Problems, *Cælius Rhodiginus, l.* 17. *Valleriola, 6to narrat. med. Herc. de Saxonia, Tract. posth. de mel. cap.* 3, *Lodovicus Mercatus, de inter. morb. cur. lib. cap.* 17, *Baptista Porta, Physiog. lib.* 1. *c.* 13, and many others.

Weeping, sighing, laughing, itching, trembling, sweating, blushing, hearing and seeing strange noises, visions, wind, crudity, are motions of the body, depending upon these precedent motions of the mind. Neither are tears affections, but actions (as *Scaliger* holds): [2] *the voice of such as are afraid trembles, because the heart is shaken,* (*Conimb. prob.* 6. *sec.* 3. *de som.*) Why they stut or falter in their speech, *Mercurialis* and *Montaltus*, cap. 17, give like reasons out of *Hippocrates*, [3] *dryness, which makes the nerves of the tongue torpid.* Fast speaking, (which is a symptom of some few), *Aëtius* will have caused [4] *from abundance of wind, and swiftness of imagination:* [5] *baldness comes from excess of dryness,* hirsuteness from a dry temperature. The cause of much waking is a dry brain, continual meditation, discontent, fears, & cares, that suffer not the mind to be at rest; incontinency is from wind, and an hot liver, *Mont. cons.* 26. Rumbling in the guts is caused from wind, and wind from ill concoction, weakness of natural heat, or a distempered heat and cold; [6] palpitation of the heart from vapours; heaviness & aching from the same cause. That the belly is hard, wind is a cause, and of that leaping in many parts. Redness of the face, & itching, as if they were flea-bitten, or stung with

[1 And because of his plentiful supply of black bile.] [2] Trepidantium vox tremula, quia cor quatitur. [3] Ob ariditatem quæ reddit nervos linguæ torpidos. [4] Incontinentia linguæ ex copia flatuum, et velocitate imaginationis. [5] Calvities ob siccitatis excessum. [6] Aëtius.

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pismires, from a sharp subtile wind: [1] cold sweat from vapours arising from the hypochondries, which pitch upon the skin; leanness for want of good nourishment. Why their appetite is so great, [2]*Aëtius* answers: *os ventris frigescit*, cold in those inward parts, cold belly & hot liver causeth crudity; and intention proceeds from perturbations, [3] our soul for want of spirits cannot attend exactly to so many intentive operations; being exhaust, & overswayed by passion, she cannot consider the reasons which may dissuade her from such affections.

[4] Bashfulness and blushing is a passion proper to men alone, and is not only caused for [5] some shame and ignominy, or that they are guilty unto themselves of some foul fact committed, but, as [6]*Fracastorius* well determines, *ob defectum proprium et timorem, from fear and a conceit of our defects. The face labours and is troubled at his presence that sees our defects, & nature, willing to help, sends thither heat, heat draws the subtilest blood, & so we blush. They that are bold, arrogant, and careless, seldom or never blush, but such as are fearful. Anthonius Lodovicus*, in his book *de pudore*, will have this subtile blood to arise in the face, not so much for the reverence of our betters in presence, [7] *but for joy and pleasure, or if anything at unawares shall pass from us, a sudden accident, occurse, or meeting*, (which *Disarius* in *Macrobius* [8] confirms) any object heard or seen, for blind men never blush, as *Dandinus* [9] observes, the night & darkness make men impudent. Or by being staid before our betters, or in company we like not, or if any thing molest and offend us, *erubescentia* turns to *rubor*, blushing to a continuate redness. [10] Sometimes the extremity of the ears tingle, and are red, sometimes the whole face, *etsi nihil vitiosum commiseris*, [even though one has done nothing wrong], as *Lodovicus* holds: though *Aristotle* is of opinion, *omnis pudor ex vitio commisso*, all shame [is] for some offence.[11] But we find otherwise; it may as well proceed [12] from

[1] Lauren. c. 13. [2] Tetrab. 2. ser. 2. cap. 10. [3] Ant. Lodovicus, prob. lib. 1. sect. 5. de atrabilariis. [4] Subrusticus pudor, [Cic. ad Fam. 5, 12, 1.] vitiosus pudor. [5] Ob ignominiam aut turpitudinem facti, &c. [6] De symp. et antip. cap. 12. Laborat facies ob præsentiam ejus qui defectum nostrum videt, et natura, quasi opem latura, calorem illuc mittit, calor sanguinem trahit, unde rubor. Audaces non rubent, &c. [7] Ob gaudium et voluptatem foras exit sanguis, aut ob melioris reverentiam, aut ob subitum occursum, aut si quid incautius exciderit. [8 Sat. vii. 11.] [9] Com. in Arist. de anima. Cæci ut plurimum impudentes, nox facit impudentes. [10] Alexander Aphrodisiensis makes all bashfulness a virtue, eamque se refert in seipso experiri solitum, etsi esset admodum senex. [11 See Arist. Rhetoric, Lib. ii. cap. 6.] [12] Sæpe post cibum apti ad ruborem, ex potu vini, ex timore sæpe, et ab hepate calido, cerebro calido, &c.

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fear, from force and inexperience, (so [1] *Dandinus* holds), as vice; a hot liver, saith *Duretus* (*notis in Hollerium*:) *from a hot brain, from wind, the lungs heated, or after drinking of wine, strong drink, perturbations, &c.*

Laughter what it is, saith [2] *Tully, how caused, where, & so suddenly breaks out that, desirous to stay it, we cannot, how it comes to possess & stir our face, veins, eyes, countenance, mouth, sides, let* Democritus *determine.* The cause that it often affects melancholy men so much is given by *Gomesius, lib.* 3. *de sale genial. cap.* 18, abundance of pleasant vapours, which, in sanguine melancholy especially, break from the heart, [3] *and tickle the midriff, because it is transverse and full of nerves: by which titillation the sense being moved, and* [*the*] *arteries distended, or pulled, the spirits from thence move and possess the sides, veins, countenance, eyes.* See more in *Jossius, de risu & fletu, Vives* 3. *de Animâ.* Tears, as *Scaliger* defines, proceed from grief & pity, [4] *or from the heating of a moist brain, for a dry cannot weep.*

That they see and hear so many phantasms, chimæras, noises, visions, &c., as *Fienus* hath discoursed at large in his book of imagination, & [5] *Lavater, de spectris part* 1. *cap.* 2, 3, 4, their corrupt phantasy makes them see & hear that which indeed is neither heard nor seen. *Qui multum jejunant, aut noctes ducunt insomnes,* they that much fast, or want sleep, as melancholy or sick men commonly do, see visions, or such as are weak-sighted, very timorous by nature, mad, distracted, or earnestly seek. *Sabini quod volunt somniant,* as the saying is, they dream of that they desire. Like *Sarmiento* the Spaniard, who, when he was sent to discover the Straits of *Magellan*, and confine places, by the *Prorex* [6] of *Peru*, standing on the top of an Hill, *amœnissimam planitiem despicere sibi visus fuit, ædificia magnifica, quamplurimos Pagos, altas Turres, splendida Templa,* [thought he looked down upon a most pleasant open country, magnificent buildings, numerous Hamlets, lofty Towers, splendid Temples], and brave Cities, built like ours in *Europe*, not, saith mine [7] Author, that there was any such thing, but that he was *vanissimus & nimis credulus*, [very imaginative and too credulous], and would fain have had it so. Or, as [8] *Lod.*

[1] Com. in Arist. de anima. Tam à vi et inexperientia quam à vitio. [2] 2 De oratore, [58. 235.] Quid ipse risus, quo pacto concitetur, ubi sit, &c. [3] Diaphragma titillant, quia transversum et nervosum, qua titillatione moto sensu atque arteriis distentis, spiritus inde latera, venas, os, oculos occupant. [4] Ex calefactione humidi cerebi: nam ex sicco lacrimæ non fluunt. [5] Res mirandas imaginantur, et putant se videre quæ nec vident nec audiunt. [6 = Viceroy.] [7] Laet. lib. 13. cap. 2. Descript. Indiæ Occident. [8] Lib. 1. cap. 17. cap. de mel.

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Mercatus proves, by reason of inward vapours, and humours from blood, choler, &c. diversely mixt, they apprehend and see outwardly, as they suppose, divers images, which indeed are not. As they that drink wine think all runs round, when it is in their own brain, so is it with these men, the fault and cause is inward, as *Galen* affirms, [1] mad men and such as are near death, *quas extra se videre putant imagines, intra oculos habent,* [have in their eyes images of what they think they see], 'tis in their brain, which seems to be before them; the brain, as a concave glass, reflects solid bodies. *Senes etiam decrepiti cerebrum habent concavum & aridum, ut imaginentur se videre* (saith [2] *Boissardus*) *quæ non sunt,* old men are too frequently mistaken & dote in like case: or as he that looketh through a piece of red glass, judgeth every thing he sees to be red; corrupt vapours mounting from the body to the head, and distilling again from thence to the eyes, when they have mingled themselves with the watery crystal which receiveth the shadows of things to be seen, make all things appear of the same colour, which remains in the humour that overspreads our sight, as to melancholy men all is black, to phlegmatick all white, &c. Or else, as before, the organs, corrupt by a corrupt phantasy, as *Lemnius, l.* 1. *c.* 16, well quotes, [3] *cause a great agitation of spirits and humours, which wander to and fro in all the creeks of the brain, and cause such apparitions before their eyes.* One thinks he reads something written in the Moon, as *Pythagoras* is said to have done of old, another smells brimstone, hears *Cerberus* bark: *Orestes,* now mad, supposed he saw the Furies tormenting him, and his mother still ready to run upon him.

> O mater! obsecro, noli me persequi
> His furiis, aspectu anguineis, horribilibus,
> Ecce! ecce! me invadunt, in me jam ruunt; [4]

but *Electra* told him, thus raving in his mad fit, he saw no such sights at all, it was but his crazed imagination.

> Quiesce, quiesce, miser, in linteis tuis,
> Non cernis etenim quæ videre te putas. [5]

So *Pentheus* (*in Bacchis Euripidis* [6]) saw two Suns, two *Thebes,*

[1] Insani, et qui morti vicini sunt, res quas extra se videre putant, intra oculos habent. [2] Cap. 10. de Spirit. apparitione. [3] De occult. nat. mirac. [4 O mother! I beseech you not to pursue me with those horrible snaky-looking furies. See! see! they attack me, they rush at me! Euripides, *Orestes,* 255-257.] [5 Rest, rest, unhappy being in your bed, for you do not see what you think you see. Do. 258, 259.] [6 918, 919.]

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his brain alone was troubled. Sickness is an ordinary cause of such sights. *Cardan, subtil.* 8, *mens ægra, laboribus & jejuniis fracta, facit eos videre, audire, &c. And. Osiander* beheld strange visions, and *Alexander ab Alexandro*, both in their sickness, which he relates, *de rerum varietat. lib.* 8. *c.* 44. *Albategnius*,[1] that noble *Arabian*, on his death bed saw a ship ascending and descending, which *Fracastorius* records of his friend *Baptista Turrianus*. Weak sight, and a vain persuasion withal, may effect as much, and second causes concurring, as an oar in water makes a refraction, and seems bigger, bended double, *&c.* The thickness of the air may cause such effects, or any object not well discerned in the dark, fear and phantasy will suspect to be a Ghost, a Devil, *&c. Quod nimis miseri timent, hoc facilè credunt*,[2] we are apt to believe and mistake in such cases. *Marcellus Donatus, lib.* 2. *cap.* 1, brings in a story out of *Aristotle*[3] of one *Antipheron*, which likely saw, wheresoever he was, his own image in the air, as in a glass. *Vitellio, lib.* 10, *perspect.* hath such another instance of a familiar acquaintance of his, that, after the want of three or four nights' sleep, as he was riding by a river side, saw another riding with him, and using all such gestures as he did, but when more light appeared, it vanished. *Eremites* and *Anachorites* have frequently such absurd Visions, Revelations, by reason of much fasting and bad diet, many are deceived by Legerdemain, as [Reginald] *Scot* hath well shewed in his Book of the Discovery of Witchcraft, and *Cardan, subtil.* 18. Suffites,[4] perfumes, suffumigations, mixt candles, perspective glasses, and such natural causes, make men look as if they were dead, or with horse-heads, bull's-horns, and such like brutish shapes, the room full of snakes, adders, dark, light, green, red, of all colours, as you may perceive in *Baptista Porta, Alexis, Albertus*, and others; glow-worms, firedrakes, meteors, *Ignis fatuus*, which *Plinius, lib.* 2. *cap.* 37, calls *Castor* and *Pollux*, with many such that appear in moorish grounds, about Church-yards, moist valleys, or where battles have been fought, the causes of which read in *Goclenius, Velcurius, Finkius, &c.* Such feats are often done to frighten children with squibs, rotten wood, *&c.* to make folks look as if they were dead, [5] *solito majores*, bigger [than usual], lesser, fairer, fouler, [*aut*] *ut astantes sine capitibus videantur, aut*

[1] Albategni, called the Arabian Ptolemy.] [2] Seneca. [Herc. Fur. 313.] Quod metuunt nimis, nunquam amoveri posse, nec tolli putant. [3] De Memoria et Reminiscentia, cap. 1.] [4] = Snuffs of a candle.] [5] Sanguis upupæ cum melle compositus et centaurea, &c. Albertus.

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toti igniti, aut forma dæmonum, [or to appear as if standing on their heads, or all on fire, or in the form of demons]. *Accipe pilos canis nigri, &c.* saith *Albertus;* and so 'tis ordinary to see strange uncouth sights by Catoptricks; who knows not that, if in a dark room the light be admitted at one only little hole, and a paper or glass put upon it, the Sun shining will represent on the opposite wall all such objects as are illuminated by his rays? With concave and cylinder glasses we may reflect any shape of men, Devils, Anticks, (as Magicians most part do, to gull a silly spectator in a dark room), we will ourselves, and that hanging in the air, when 'tis nothing but such an horrible image as [1]*Agrippa* demonstrates, placed in another room. *Roger Bacon* of old is said to have represented his own image walking in the air by this art, though no such thing appear in his perspectives. But most part it is in the brain that deceives them, although I may not deny but that oftentimes the Devil deludes them, takes his opportunity to suggest, and represent vain objects to melancholy men, and such as are ill affected. To these you may add the knavish impostures of Jugglers, Exorcists, Mass-Priests, and Mountebanks, of whom *Roger Bacon* speaks, &c. *de miraculis naturæ et artis, cap.* 1. [2]They can counterfeit the voices of all birds and brute beasts almost, all tones and tunes of men, and speak within their throats, as if they spoke afar off, that they make their auditors believe they hear Spirits, and are thence much astonished and affrighted with it. Besides, those artificial devices to over-hear their confessions, like that whispering place of *Gloucester*[3] with us, or like the Duke's place at *Mantua* in *Italy*, where the sound is reverberated by a concave wall; a reason of which *Blancanus* in his *Echometria* gives, and mathematically demonstrates.

So that the hearing is as frequently deluded as the sight, from the same causes almost, as he that hears bells, will make them sound what he list. *As the fool thinketh, so the bell clinketh.*[4] *Theophilus*, in *Galen*, thought he heard musick from vapours which made his ears sound, &c. Some are deceived by *Echoes*,

[1] Lib. 1. occult. philos. Imperiti homines dæmonum et umbrarum imagines videre se putant, quum nihil sint aliud quam simulacra animæ expertia. [2] Pythonissæ, vocum varietatem in ventre et gutture fingentes, formant voces humanas à longè vel propè, prout volunt, ac si spiritus cum homine loqueretur, et sonos brutorum fingunt, &c. [3 In Gloucester Cathedral.] [4 Cf. the Fr. Prov. "On fait dire aux cloches tout ce qu'on veut."]

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some by roaring of waters, or concaves & reverberation of air in the ground, hollow places and walls. [1]At *Cadurcum*, in *Aquitaine*, words & sentences are repeated by a strange *Echo* to the full, or whatsoever you shall play upon a musical instrument, more distinctly & louder than they are spoken at first. Some *Echoes* repeat a thing spoken seven times, as at *Olympus* in *Macedonia*, as *Pliny* relates, *lib.* 36. *cap.* 15, some twelve times, as at *Charenton*, a village near *Paris*, in *France*. At *Delphi* in Greece heretofore was a miraculous *Echo*, and so in many other places. *Cardan*, *subtil. l.* 18, hath wonderful stories of such as have been deluded by these *Echoes*. *Blancanus* the Jesuit in his *Echometria* hath variety of examples, & gives his reader full satisfaction of all such sounds by way of demonstration. At *Barry*, an Isle in the Severn Mouth, they seem to hear a smith's forge: [2] so at *Lipari*, & those sulphureous Isles, and many such like which *Olaus* speaks of in the Continent of *Scandia*, & those Northern Countries. *Cardan*, *de rerum var. l.* 15. *c.* 84, mentioneth a woman, that still supposed she heard the Devil call her, & speaking to her, she was a painter's wife in *Milan:* & many such illusions & voices, which proceed most part from a corrupt imagination.

Whence it comes to pass that they prophesy, speak several languages, talk of Astronomy, & other unknown sciences to them, (of which they have been ever ignorant,) [3]I have in brief touched, only this I will here add, that *Arculanus*, *Bodine*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 6. *dæmon.* & some others, [4]hold as a manifest token that such persons are possessed with the devil: so doth [5]*Hercules de Saxonia*, and *Apponensis*, and fit only to be cured by a Priest. But [6]*Gutianerius*, [7]*Montaltus*, *Pomponatius* of *Padua*, & *Lemnius*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 2, refer it wholly to the ill disposition of the [8]humour, & that out of the authority of *Aristotle*, *prob.* 30. 1, because such symptoms are cured by purging; & as by the striking of a flint fire is enforced, so, by the vehement motions of spirits, they do *elicere voces inauditas*, compel strange speeches to be spoken: another argument he hath from *Plato's reminiscentia*,[9] which is all out as likely as that which

[1] Tam clarè et articulatè audies repetitum, ut perfectior sit Echo quam ipse dixeris. [2] Blowing of bellows, and knocking of hammers, if they apply their ear to the cliff. [3] Memb. 1. Sub. 3. of this Partition, cap. 16 in 9 Rhasis. [4] Signa dæmonis nulla sunt nisi quod loquantur ea quæ ante nesciebant, ut Teutonicum aut aliud idioma, &c. [5] Cap. 12. tract. de mel. [6] Tract. 15. c. 4. [7] Cap. 9. [8] Mira vis concitat humores, ardorque vehemens mentem exagitat, quum, &c. [9] See Plato, Phædo, 72 E; Meno, 81 D.]

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[1]*Marsilius Ficinus* speaks of his friend *Pierleonus;* by a divine kind of infusion he understood the secrets of nature, & tenents of *Grecian* and *Barbarian* Philosophers, before ever he heard of, saw, or read their works: but in this I should rather hold with *Avicenna* and his associates, that such symptoms proceed from evil Spirits, which take all opportunities of humours decayed, or otherwise, to pervert the soul of man; and besides, the humour itself is *Balneum Diaboli*, the Devil's Bath, and, as *Agrippa* proves, doth entice him to seize upon them.

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

Prognosticks of Melancholy.

PROGNOSTICKS, or signs of things to come, are either good or bad. If this malady be not hereditary, and taken at the beginning, there is good hope of cure, *recens curationem non habet difficilem*, saith *Avicenna*, *l.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *c.* 18. That which is with laughter of all others is most secure, gentle, and remiss, *Hercules de Saxoniâ*. [2]*If that evacuation of hæmrods, or* varices *which they call the water between the skin, shall happen to a melancholy man, his misery is ended, Hippocrates, Aphor.* 6. 11. *Galen*, *l.* 6. *de morbis vulgar. com.* 8, confirms the same; and to this Aphorism of *Hippocrates* all the *Arabians*, new and old Latins, subscribe; *Montaltus*, *c.* 25, *Hercules de Saxonia, Mercurialis, Vittorius, Faventinus, &c. Skenkius*, *l.* 1. *observat. med. c. de Maniâ*, illustrates this Aphorism with an example of one *Daniel Federer*, a Coppersmith, that was long melancholy, and in the end mad about the 27th year of his age; these *varices* or water began to arise in his thighs, and he was freed from his madness. *Marius* the *Roman* was so cured, some say, though with great pain.[3] *Skenkius* hath some other instances of women that have been helped by flowing of their months, which before were stopped. That the opening of hæmrods will do as much for men, all Physicians jointly signify, so they be voluntary, some say, and not by compulsion. All melancholy men are better after a quartan; [4]*Jobertus* saith, scarce any man hath that ague twice:

[1] Præfat. Iamblichi mysteriis. [2] Si melancholicis hæmorrhoides supervenerint, varices, vel (ut quibusdam placet) aqua inter cutem, solvitur malum. [3] See Plut. V. Marii, § vi.] [4] Cap. 10. de quartana.

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but whether it free him from this malady, 'tis a question; for many Physicians ascribe all along agues for especial causes, and a quartan ague amongst the rest. [1]*Rhasis, cont. lib.* 1. *tract.* 9. *When melancholy gets out at the superficies of the skin, or settles, breaking out in scabs, leprosy, morphew, or is purged by stools, or by the urine, or that the spleen is enlarged, and those* varices *appear, the disease is dissolved. Guianerius, cap.* 5, *tract.* 15, adds dropsy, jaundice, dysentery, leprosy, as good signs, to these scabs, morphews, and breaking out, and proves it, out of the 6th of *Hippocrates'* Aphorisms.

Evil prognosticks on the other part. *Inveterata melancholia incurabilis*, if it [melancholy] be inveterate, it is [2] incurable, a common axiom, *aut difficultèr curabilis*, [or], as they say that make the best, hardly cured. This *Galen* witnesseth, *l.* 3. *de loc. affect. cap.* 6, [3] *be it in whom it will, or from what cause soever, it is ever long, wayward, tedious, and hard to be cured, if once it be habituated.* As *Lucian* said of the gout, she was [4]*the Queen of diseases, and inexorable*, may we say of melancholy. Yet *Paracelsus* will have all diseases whatsoever curable, & laughs at them which think otherwise, as *T. Erastus, part.* 3, objects to him; although in another place he accounts hereditary diseases incurable, & by no art to be removed. [5]*Hildesheim, spicil.* 2. *de mel.* holds it less dangerous if only [6] *imagination be hurt, and not reason;* [7] *the gentlest is from blood, worse from choler adust, but the worst of all from melancholy putrefied.* [8]*Bruel* esteems hypochondriacal least dangerous, and the other two species (opposite to *Galen*) hardest to be cured. [9] The cure is hard in man, but much more difficult in women. And both men and women must take notice of that saying of *Montanus, consil.* 230, *pro Abbate Italo:* [10] *this malady doth commonly accompany them to their grave; Physicians may ease, & it may lie hid for a time, but they cannot*

[1] Cum sanguis exit per superficiem, et residet melancholia per scabiem, morpheam nigram, vel expurgatur per inferiores partes, vel urinam, &c. non erit, &c. splen magnificatur, et varices apparent. [2] Quia jam conversa in naturam. [3] In quocunque sit, à quacunque causa, hypocon. præsertim, semper est longa, morosa, nec facile curari potest. [4] Regina morborum et inexorabilis. [Lucian's Tragodopodagra.] [5] Omne delirium quod oritur à paucitate cerebri incurabile. Hildesheim, spicel. 2. de mania. [6] Si sola imaginatio lædatur, et non ratio. [7] Mala à sanguine fervente, deterior à bile assata, pessima ab atra bile putrefacta. [8] Difficilior cura ejus quæ fit vitio corporis totius et cerebri. [9] Difficilis curatu in viris, multo difficilior in feminis. [10] Ad interitum plerumque homines comitatur; licet medici levent plerumque, tamen non tollunt unquam, sed recidet acerbior quam antea minima occasione aut errore.

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quite cure it, but it will return again more violent & sharp than at first, and that upon every small occasion or error: as in *Mercury's* weather-beaten statue, that was once all over gilt, the open parts were clean, yet there was *in fimbriis aurum*, in the chinks a remnant of gold: there will be some reliques of melancholy left in the purest bodies (if once tainted) not so easily to be rooted out. [1] Oftentimes it degenerates into Epilepsy, Apoplexy, Convulsions, and Blindness; by the authority of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, [2] all aver, if once it possess the ventricles of the brain, *Frambesarius, & Sallust. Salvianus* adds, if it get into the optick nerves, blindness. *Mercurialis, consil.* 20, had a woman to his patient, that from melancholy became epileptick and blind. [3] If it come from a cold cause, or so continue cold, or increase, Epilepsy, Convulsions follow, and Blindness, or else in the end they are moped, sottish, and in all their actions, speeches, gestures, ridiculous. [4] If it come from an hot cause, they are more furious, & boisterous, and in conclusion [often] mad. *Calescentem melancholiam sæpius sequitur mania.* [5] If it heat and increase, that is the common event, [6] *per circuitus, aut semper, insanit*, he is mad by fits, or altogether. For, as [7] *Sennertus* contends out of *Crato*, there is *seminarium ignis* in this humour, the very seeds of fire. If it come from melancholy natural adust, and in excess, they are often dæmoniacal, *Montanus.*

[8] Seldom this malady procures death, except (which is the greatest, most grievous calamity, and the misery of all miseries) they make away themselves, which is a frequent thing, & familiar amongst them. 'Tis [9] *Hippocrates'* observation, *Galen's* sentence, *etsi mortem timent, tamen plerumque sibi ipsis mortem consciscunt*, [although they fear death, yet they generally commit suicide], *l. 3. de locis affect. cap.* 7, the doom of all Physicians. 'Tis [10] *Rabbi Moses'* Aphorism, the prognosticon of *Avicenna, Rhasis, Aëtius, Gordonius, Valescus, Altomarus, Sallust. Salvianus, Capivaccius, Mercatus, Hercules de Saxonia, Piso, Bruel, Fuchsius*, all, &c.

[1] Periculum est ne degeneret in Epilepsiam, Apoplexiam, Convulsionem, Cæcitatem. [2] Montal. c. 25. Laurentius. Nic. Piso. [3] Herc. de Saxoniâ, Aristotle, Capivaccius. [4] Favent. Humor frigidus sola delirii causa, furoris vero humor calidus. [5] Heurnius calls madness sobolem melancholiæ. [6] Alexander l. 1. c. 18. [7] Lib. 1. part 2. c. 11. [8] Montalt c. 15. Raro mors aut nunquam, nisi sibi ipsis inferant. [9] Lib. de Insan. Fabio Calico Interprete. [10] Nonnulli violentas manus sibi inferunt.

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[1] Et sæpe usque adeo, mortis formidine, vitæ
Percipit humanos odium lucisque videndæ,
Ut sibi consciscant mærenti pectore letum.

And so far forth death's terror doth affright,
He makes away himself, and hates the light:
To make an end of fear and grief of heart,
He voluntary dies to ease his smart.

In such sort doth the torture and extremity of his misery torment him, that he can take no pleasure in his life, but is in a manner enforced to offer violence unto himself, to be freed from his present insufferable pains. So some (saith [2]*Fracastorius*) *in fury, but most in despair, sorrow, fear, and out of the anguish and vexation of their souls, offer violence to themselves: for their life is unhappy and miserable. They can take no rest in the night, nor sleep, or, if they do slumber, fearful dreams astonish them.* In the day time they are affrighted still by some terrible object, and torn in pieces with suspicion, fear, sorrow, discontents, cares, shame, anguish, &c. as so many wild horses, that they cannot be quiet an hour, a minute of time, but even against their wills they are intent, and still thinking of it, they cannot forget it, it grinds their souls day and night, they are perpetually tormented, a burden to themselves, as *Job* was, [vii. 20,] they can neither eat, drink or sleep. *Psal.* 107. 18, *their soul abhorreth all meat, and they are brought to death's door,* [3]*being bound in misery and iron:* they curse their stars with *Job, and day of their birth,*[4] *and wish for death:* [5] for, as *Pineda* and most interpreters hold, *Job* was even melancholy to despair, and almost [6] madness itself; they murmur many times against the world, friends, allies, all mankind, even against God himself in the bitterness of their passion, [7]*vivere nolunt, mori nesciunt,* live they will not, die they cannot. And in the midst of these squalid, ugly, and such irksome days, they seek at last, finding no comfort, [8] no remedy, in this wretched life, to be eased of all by death. *Omnia appetunt bonum,*[9] all creatures seek the best, and for their good as they hope, *sub specie,* in shew at least, *vel quia mori pulchrum*

[1] Lucret. l. 3. [79-81.] [2] Lib. 2. de intell. Sæpe mortem sibi consciscunt ob timorem et tristitiam, tædio vitæ affecti ob furorem et desperationem. Est enim infera, &c. Ergo sic perpetuo afflictati vitam oderunt, se præcipitant, his malis carituri, aut interficiunt se, aut tale quid committunt. [3] Psal. cvii. 10. [4] Job [iii. 1-9.] [5] Job vi. 8, [9.] [6] Vi doloris et tristitiæ ad insaniam pænè redactus. [7] Seneca. [Epist. 4.] [8] In salutis suæ desperatione proponunt sibi mortis desiderium, Oct. Horat. l. 2. c. 5. [9] Aristotle, Eth. Nic. i. i.]

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putant (saith [1]*Hippocrates*) *vel quia putant indè se majoribus malis liberari*, [either because they think it fine to die, or] to be freed as they wish. Though many times, as *Æsop's* fishes, they leap from the frying-pan into the fire itself, yet they hope to be eased by this means; and therefore, saith *Felix*[2] *Platerus*, *after many tedious days, at last, either by drowning, hanging, or some such fearful end*, they precipitate or make away themselves: *many lamentable examples are daily seen amongst us: alius ante* [*amicæ*] *fores laqueo pependit*, (as *Seneca* notes), *alius se præcipitavit à lecto, ne dominum stomachantem* [*diutius*] *audiret, alius, ne reduceretur à fuga, ferrum redegit in viscera*,[3] so many causes there are——*His amor exitio est, furor his*——love, grief, anger, madness, and shame, &c. 'Tis a common calamity,[4] a fatal end to this disease, they are condemned to a violent death by a Jury of Physicians, furiously disposed, carried head-long by their tyrannizing wills, enforced by miseries, and there remains no more to such persons, if that heavenly Physician, by his assisting grace and mercy alone, do not prevent, (for no human persuasion or art can help), but to be their own butchers, and execute themselves. *Socrates his cicuta*, *Lucretia's* dagger, *Timon's* halter, are yet to be had; *Cato's* knife and *Nero's* sword are left behind them, as so many fatal engines, bequeathed to posterity, and will be used to the world's end by such distressed souls: so intolerable, unsufferable, grievous, and violent, is their pain, [6] so unspeakable, and continuate. One day of grief is an hundred years, as *Cardan* observes: 'tis *carnificina hominum*, *angor animi*, as well saith *Aretæus*, a plague of the soul, the cramp and convulsion of the soul, an epitome of hell; and if there be an hell upon earth, it is to be found in a melancholy man's heart.

> For that deep torture may be call'd an hell,
> When more is felt than one hath power to tell.

Yea, that which scoffing *Lucian* said of the gout in jest, I may truly affirm of melancholy in earnest.

[1] Lib. de insania. Sic, sic juvat ire per umbras. [Virg. Æn. iv. 660.] [2] Cap. 3. de mentis alienat. Mœsti degunt, dum tandem mortem quam timent suspendio aut submersione, aut aliqua alia vi, præcipitant, ut multa tristia exempla vidimus. [3] Seneca, Epistle 4. One hung himself before his mistress' door,—another threw himself from the house-top, to avoid his master's anger;—a third, to escape return to exile, plunged a dagger into his heart.] [4] Arculanus in 9. Rhasis, c. 16. Cavendum ne ex alto se præcipitent, aut alias lædant. [5] O omnium opinionibus incogitabile malum! Lucian. Mortesque mille, mille dum vivit neces gerit, peritque. Heinsius, Austriaco.

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O triste nomen! O Diis odibile!
[1] Melancholia lacrimosa, Cocyti filia!
Tu Tartari specubus opacis edita
Erinnys, utero quam Megæra suo tulit,
Et ab uberibus aluit, cuique parvulæ
Amarulentum in os lac Alecto dedit.
Omnes abominabilem te dæmones
Produxere in lucem exitio mortalium.
Et paulo post.
Non Jupiter fert tale telum fulminis,
Non ulla sic procella sævit æquoris,
Non impetuosi tanta vis est turbinis.
An asperos sustineo morsus Cerberi?
Num virus Echidnæ membra mea depascitur?
Aut tunica sanie tincta Nessi sanguinis?
Illacrimabile et immedicabile malum hoc.[2]

O sad and odious name! a name so fell,
Is this of melancholy, brat of hell,
There born in hellish darkness doth it dwell.
The Furies brought it up, Megæra's teat,
Alecto gave it bitter milk to eat.
And all conspired a bane to morta. men,
To bring this devil out of that black den.
Jupiter's thunderbolt, nor storm at sea,
Nor whirl-wind, doth our hearts so much dismay.
What? am I bit by that fierce Cerberus?
Or stung by [2] serpent so pestiferous?
Or put on shirt that's dipt in Nessus blood?
My pain's past cure; Physick can do no good.

No torture of body like unto it! *Siculi non invenere tyranni Majus tormentum*,[4] no strappadoes, hot irons, *Phalaris'* bulls,

[5] Nec ira deûm tantum, nec tela, nec hostis,
Quantum sola noces animis illapsa.

Jove's wrath nor Devil's can
Do so much harm to th' soul of man.

All fears, griefs, suspicions, discontents, imbonities, insuavities, are swallowed up & drowned in this *Euripus*, this Irish Sea, this Ocean of misery, as so many small brooks; 'tis *coagulum omnium ærumnarum* [a collection of all griefs]: which [6] *Ammianus* applied to his distressed *Palladius*. I say of our melancholy man, he is the cream of human adversity, the [7] quintessence, & upshot;

[1] Regina morborum cui famulantur omnes et obediunt. Cardan. [Podagræ Encomium.] [2] Lucian's Tragodopodagra. [3] Eheu! quis intus scorpio, &c. Seneca, Herc. Œt. [1218.] [4] Hor. Epp. i. ii. 58, 59. The Sicilian tyrants have invented no greater torture. Phalaris and Dionysius the Elder are probably especially in Horace's mind. [5] Silius Italicus. [iii. 119, 120, memoriter.] [6] Lib. 29. [2. 1.] [7] Hic omnis imbonitas et insuavitas consistit, ut Tertulliani verbis utar. Orat. ad Martyr. [3.]

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all other diseases whatsoever are but flea-bitings to melancholy in extent: 'tis the pith of them all,

> [1] Hospitium est calamitatis. Quid verbis opus est?
> Quamcunque malam rem quæris, illic reperies:
>
> What need more words? 'tis calamity's Inn,
> Where seek for any mischief, 'tis within;

and a melancholy man is that true *Prometheus*, which is bound to *Caucasus;* the true *Tityus*, whose bowels are still by a vulture devoured, (as Poets feign), for so doth [2] *Lilius Geraldus* interpret it, of anxieties, and those griping cares, and so ought it to be understood. In all other maladies we seek for help; if a leg or an arm ache, through any distemperature or wound, or that we have an ordinary disease, above all things whatsoever we desire help & health, a present recovery, if by any means possible it may be procured: we will freely part with all our other fortunes, substance, endure any misery, drink bitter potions, swallow those distasteful pills, suffer our joints to be seared, to be cut off, any thing for future health; so sweet, so dear, so precious above all other things in this world is life: 'tis that we chiefly desire, long and happy days, [3] *multos da, Jupiter, annos!* increase of years all men wish; but to a melancholy man nothing so tedious, nothing so odious; that which they so carefully seek to preserve [4] he abhors, he alone. So intolerable are his pains, some make a question *graviores morbi corporis an animi*, whether the diseases of the body or mind be more grievous, but there is no comparison, no doubt to be made of it, *multo enim sævior longeque est atrocior animi quam corporis cruciatus*, (*Lem. l.* 1. *c.* 12.), the diseases of the mind are far more grievous.—*Totum hic pro vulnere corpus*, body and soul is misaffected here, but the soul especially. So *Cardan* testifies, *de rerum var. lib.* 8. 40: *Maximus Tyrius*,[5] a *Platonist*, and [6] *Plutarch* have made just volumes to prove it. [7] *Dies admit ægritudinem hominibus;*[8] in other diseases there is some hope likely, but these unhappy men are born to misery, past all hope of recovery, incurably sick, the longer they live the worse they are, and death alone must ease them.

[1] Plautus. [Trinummus, ii. iv. 152, 153.] [2] Vit. Herculis. [3] Juv. x. 188. Wrongly assigned to Persius by Burton.] [4] Quid est miserius in vita quam velle mori? Seneca. [M. Annæus, Excerpta Contr. Lib. viii. Contr. iv.] [5] Treatise xiii. ed Davis, 1740.] [6] Tom. 2. Libello, an graviores passiones, &c. [7] Ter. [Heautontimorumenos, iii. i. 13.] [8] Time removes grief from men.]

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Another doubt is made by some Philosophers, whether it be lawful for a man, in such extremity of pain & grief, to make away himself, and how these men that so do are to be censured. The *Platonists* approve of it, that it is lawful in such cases, & upon a necessity. *Plotinus, l. de beatitud. c.* 7, and *Socrates* himself defends it, in *Plato's Phædo;*[1] *if any man labour of an incurable disease, he may despatch himself, if it be to his good. Epicurus* and his followers, the *Cynicks* & *Stoicks*, in general affirm it, *Epictetus*[2] and [3]*Seneca* among the rest, *quamcunque veram esse viam ad libertatem*, any way is allowable that leads to liberty, [4]*let us give God thanks, that no man is compelled to live against his will:* [5]*quid ad hominem claustra, carcer, custodia? liberum ostium habet*, death is always ready and at hand. *Vides illum præcipitem locum, illud flumen?* dost thou see that steep place, that river, that pit, that tree? there's liberty at hand, *effugia servitutis & doloris sunt*, [means of escape from slavery and sorrow], as that *Laconian* lad cast himself headlong, (*non serviam, aiebat puer*), to be freed of his misery. Every vein in thy body, if these be *nimis operosi exitus*, [too difficult ends,] will set thee free; *quid tua refert finem facias an accipias?* there's no necessity for a man to live in misery. *Malum est* [*in*] *necessitate vivere; sed in necessitate vivere necessitas nulla est.*[6] *Ignavus qui sine causa moritur, & stultus qui cum dolore vivit. Idem. Epist.* 58.[7] Wherefore hath our Mother the Earth brought forth poisons, saith [8]*Pliny*, in so great a quantity, but that men in distress might make away themselves? which Kings of old had ever in a readiness, *ad incerta fortunæ venenum sub custode promptum, Livy* writes, [xxx. 15.] and executioners always at hand. *Speusippus* being sick was met by *Diogenes*, and, carried on his slaves' shoulders, he made his moan to the Philosopher; but I pity thee not, quoth *Diogenes, qui, cum talis sis, vivere sustines*, thou mayest be freed when thou wilt, meaning by death.[9] [10]*Seneca* therefore commends *Cato, Dido*, and *Lucretia*, for their generous courage in so doing, & others that voluntarily die, to avoid a

[1 Burton is probably thinking of Plato, Phædo, pp. 61, 62, but forgets that Socrates disallows suicide there. The right reference should be the passage alluded to page 502, viz., Plato, *De Legibus*. Lib. ix. p. 873 C.] [2 Book i. ch. 9.] [3 Patet exitus; si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere; quis vos tenet invitos? De provid. cap. 6. [4 Agamus Deo gratias, quod nemo invitus in vita teneri potest. [Seneca, Epistle 12.] [5 Epist. 26. Seneca, et de sacra. 2 cap. 15. et Epist. 70. et 12. [6 Seneca, Epistle 12.] [7 Memoriter.] [8 Lib. 2. cap. 83. Terra mater nostri miserta. [9 Diogenes Laertius, Book iv. § 3.] [10 Epist. 24. 71. 82.

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greater mischief, to free themselves from misery, to save their honour, or vindicate their good name, as *Cleopatra* did, as *Sophonisba*, *Syphax'* wife did,[1] *Hannibal* did, as *Junius Brutus*, as *Vibius Virius*, & those *Campanian* Senators in *Livy* (*Dec.* 3. *lib.* 6. [cap. 14.]) that poisoned themselves to escape the Roman tyranny. *Themistocles* drank bull's blood, rather than he would fight against his country, and *Demosthenes* chose rather to drink poison, *Publius Crassi filius*, *Censorius*, and *Plancus*, those heroical *Romans*, to make away themselves, than to fall into their enemies' hands. How many myriads besides in all ages might I remember, *qui sibi letum Insontes peperere manu*,[2] &c. [3]*Razis* in the *Maccabees* is magnified for it, *Samson's* death approved. So did *Saul* and *Jonas* sin, and many worthy men and women, *quorum memoria celebratur in Ecclesia*, [whose memory is famous in the Church], saith [4]*Leminchus*, for killing themselves to save their Chastity and Honour, when *Rome* was taken, as *Austin* instances, *l.* 1. *de Civit. Dei, cap.* 16. *Jerome* vindicateth the same *in Jonam*, and *Ambrose*, *l.* 3. [cap. 7.] *de virginitate*, commendeth *Pelagia* for so doing. *Eusebius*, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 15, admires a Roman Matron for the same fact to save herself from the lust of *Maxentius* the Tyrant. *Adelhelmus*, Abbot of *Malmesbury*, calls them *beatas virgines quæ sic*, &c. [blessed Virgins who died so.] *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, that wise, discreet, renowned *Roman* Senator, *Tully's* dear friend, when he had been long sick, as he supposed of an incurable disease, *vitamque produceret ad augendos dolores, sine spe salutis*, was resolved voluntarily by famine to despatch himself, to be rid of his pain, and when as *Agrippa*, and the rest of his weeping friends, earnestly besought him, *osculantes obsecrarent, ne id quod natura cogeret ipse acceleraret*, not to offer violence to himself, *with a settled resolution he desired again they would approve of his good intent, & not seek to dehort him from it:* and so constantly died, *precesque eorum taciturnâ sua obstinatione depressit.*[5] Even so did *Corellius Rufus*, another grave Senator, by the relation of *Plinius Secundus*, *Epist. lib.* 1. *epist.* 12, famish himself to death; *pedibus correptus, cum incredibiles cruciatus et indignissima tormenta pateretur, à cibis omnino abstinuit;* neither he nor *Hispulla* his wife could divert him, but *destinatus mori obstinatè magis*, &c. die

[1 Livy, xxx. 15.] [2 Virg. Æn. vi. 434, 435. Who innocently committed suicide.] [3 ii.] Macc. 14. 42. [4 Vindicatio Apoc. lib. [5 Cornelius Nepos, xxv. 22.]

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he would, and die he did. So did *Lycurgus*, *Aristotle*, *Zeno*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, with myriads, *&c.* In wars for a man to run rashly upon imminent danger, and present death, is accounted valour & magnanimity, [1] to be the cause of his own, & many a thousand's ruin, besides, to commit wilful murder in a manner of himself & others, is a glorious thing, and he shall be crowned for it. The [2] *Massagetæ* in former times, [3] *Derbiccians*, [4] and I know not what nations besides, did stifle their old men after 70 years, to free them from those grievances incident to that age. So did the inhabitants of the Island of *Choa;* because their air was pure and good, and the people generally long lived, *antevertebant fatum suum, priusquam manci forent, aut imbecillitas accederet, papavere vel cicuta*, [before they became infirm and imbecile], with poppy or hemlock they prevented death. *Sir Thomas More* in his *Utopia* commends voluntary death, if he be *sibi aut aliis molestus*, troublesome to himself or others, ([5] *especially if to live be a torment to him*), *let him free himself with his own hands from this tedious life, as from a prison, or suffer himself to be freed by others.* [6] And 'tis the same tenent which *Laertius* relates of *Zeno* of old, *justè sapiens sibi mortem consciscit, si in acerbis doloribus versetur, membrorum mutilatione, aut morbis ægre curandis*, & which *Plato* 9. *de Legibus*, [*p.* 873 *c.*] approves, if old age, poverty, ignominy, *&c.* oppress, and which *Fabius* expresseth in effect, (*Prefat.* 7. *Institut.*) *nemo nisi suâ culpâ diù dolet*, [no one need long be miserable except through his own fault]. It is an ordinary thing in *China*, (saith *Matt. Riccius*, the Jesuit), [7] *if they be in despair of better fortunes, or tired & tortured with misery, to bereave themselves of life, & many times, to spite their enemies the more, to hang at their door. Tacitus* the Historian, *Plutarch* the Philosopher, much approve a voluntary departure, and *Austin*, *De Civ. Dei*, *l.* 1. *c.* 29, defends a violent death, so that it be undertaken in a good cause: *nemo sic mortuus, qui non fuerat aliquando moriturus; quid autem interest quo mortis genere vita ista finiatur, quandò ille cui finitur iterum*

[1] As amongst Turks and others. [2] Bohemus, de moribus gent. [3] Ælian. [Var. Hist.] lib. 4. cap. 1. Omnes 70. annum egressos interficiunt. [4] Διέβιξαι. See also Strabo, xi. pp. 508, 514, 520.] [5] Lib. 2. Præsertim quum tormentum ei vita sit, bonâ spe fretus, acerbâ vitâ velut a carcere se eximat, vel ab aliis eximi sua voluntate patiatur. [6] Nam quis amphoram exsiccans fæcem exsorberet? (Seneca, epist. 58.) Quis in pœnas et risum viveret? Stulti est manere in vitâ cum sit miser. [7] Expedit. ad Sinas. l. 1. c. 9. Vel bonorum desperatione, vel malorum perpessione, fracti et fatigati, vel manus violentas sibi inferunt, vel ut inimicis suis ægre faciant, &c.

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mori non cogitur? &c. no man so voluntarily dies, but *volens, nolens*, he must die at last, & our life is subject to innumerable casualties, who knows when they may happen? *utrum satius est unam perpeti moriendo, an omnes timere vivendo?* [1] rather suffer one [death] than fear all. *Death is better than a bitter life*, Eccl. 30. 17, [2] and a harder choice to live in fear than by once dying to be freed from all. *Cleombrotus Ambraciotes* [3] persuaded I know not how many hundreds of his auditors, by a luculent oration he made of the miseries of this & happiness of that other life, to precipitate themselves: and, having read *Plato*'s divine tract *de anima*,[4] for example's sake led the way first. That neat Epigram of *Callimachus* [5] will tell you as much;

> Jamque vale Soli cum diceret Ambraciotes,
> In Stygios fertur desiluisse lacus,
> Morte nihil dignum passus: sed forte Platonis
> Divini eximium de nece legit opus.[6]

[7] *Calenus* and his [8] *Indians* hated of old to die a natural death: the *Circumcellions* and *Donatists*,[9] loathing life, compelled others to make them away, with many such: [10] but these are false and Pagan positions, profane Stoical Paradoxes, wicked examples, it boots not what Heathen Philosophers determine in this kind, they are impious, abominable, and upon a wrong ground. *No evil is to be done that good may come of it; reclamat Christus, reclamat Scriptura*, God and all good men are [11] against it. He that stabs another can kill his body, but he that stabs himself kills his own soul. [12] *Malè meretur qui dat mendico quod edat; nam et illud quod dat perit; et illi producit vitam ad miseriam:* he that gives a beggar an alms (as that Comical Poet said) doth ill, because he doth but prolong his miseries. But *Lactantius, l. 6. c. 7, de vero*

[1] So did Anthony, Galba, Vitellius, Otho, Aristotle himself, &c. Ajax in despair, Cleopatra to save her honour. [2] Inertius deligitur diu vivere in timore tot morborum quam semel moriendo nullum deinceps formidare. [3] See Cic. Tusc. i. 34. Ovid, Ibis, 491, 492.] [4] The Phædo is meant.] [5] xxiv. ed. Ernesti.] [6] And now when Ambraciotes bade farewell to the light of day, he is said to have cast himself into the Stygian pool, although he had not been guilty of any crime that merited death: but, perhaps, he read that divine work of Plato upon death.] [7] See Arrian, Anab. vii. 2, &c. Plut. Alex. § 69.] [8] Curtius l. [viii. cap. 9.] [9] See St. Augustine, *Collatio tertii diei cum Donatistis*, cap. viii. § 14.] [10] Laqueus præcisus, [excerpta contr.] contr. 1. l. 5. Quidam naufragio facto, amissis tribus liberis et uxore, suspendit se; præcidit illi quidam ex prætereuntibus laqueum; a liberato reus fit maleficii. Seneca. [11] See Lipsius, Manuduc. ad Stoicam Philosophiam, lib. 3. dissert. 22. D. Kings 14 Lect. on Jonas. D. Abbot's 6 Lect. on the same Prophet. [12] Plautus. [Trinummus, ii. ii. 57, 58, memoriter.]

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cultu, calls it a detestable opinion, and fully confutes it, *l.* 3. *de sap. cap.* 18, and S. *Austin. ep.* 52. *ad Macedonium*, *cap.* 61, *ad Dulcitium Tribunum*: so doth *Hierome* to *Marcella* of *Blæsilla's* death, *non recipio tales animas &c.* he calls such men *martyres stultæ Philosophiæ*: so doth *Cyprian*, *de duplici martyrio*; *si qui sic moriantur, aut infirmitas, aut ambitio, aut dementia, cogit eos*: 'tis mere madness so to do, [1] *furor est ne moriare mori.* To this effect writes *Arist.* 3. *Ethic.* [*cap. x.*] *Lipsius*, *Manuduc. ad Stoicam Philosophiam*, *lib.* 3. *dissertat.* 23, but it needs no confutation. This only let me add that in some cases those [2] hard censures of such as offer violence to their own persons, or in some desperate fit to others, which sometimes they do, by stabbing, slashing, &c. are to be mitigated, as in such as are mad, beside themselves for the time, or found to have been long melancholy, and that in extremity; they know not what they do, deprived of reason, judgement, all, [3] as a ship that is void of a pilot must needs impinge upon the next rock or sands, and suffer shipwrack. [4] *P. Forestus* hath a story of two melancholy brethren, that made away themselves, and for so foul a fact were accordingly censured to be infamously buried, as in such cases they use, to terrify others, as it did the *Milesian* Virgins of old;[5] but, upon farther examination of their misery and madness, the censure was [6] revoked, and they were solemnly interred, as *Saul* was by *David*, 2 Sam. 2. 4.[7] And *Seneca* well adviseth, *Irascere interfectori*, *sed miserere interfecti*;[8] be justly offended with him as he was a murderer, but pity him now as a dead man. Thus of their goods and bodies we can dispose; but what shall become of their souls, God alone can tell; His mercy may come *inter pontem & fontem*,[9] *inter gladium & jugulum*, betwixt the bridge and the brook, the knife and the

[1] Martial. [ii. 80. 2.] [2] As to be buried out of Christian burial with a stake. Idem. Plato 9. de legibus, vult separatim sepeliri, qui sibi ipsis mortem consciscunt, &c., lose their goods, &c. [p. 873 D.] [3] Navis destituta nauclero in terribilem aliquem scopulum impingit. [4] Observat. [5] Plutarch, De Mulierum Virtutibus, § xi.] [6] Seneca [Excerpta Contr.] l. 8. c. 4. Lex. Homicida in se insepultus abjiciatur. Contradicitur. Eo quod afferre sibi manus coactus sit assiduis malis; summam infelicitatem suam in hoc removit, quod existimabat licere misero mori. [7] It was the men of Jabesh-Gilead who buried Saul, not David. See 1 Sam. xxxi. 11-13; ii. Sam. ii. 4-7. David only commended what they had done. Burton's inaccuracy is surprising in so learned a man.] [8] M. Annæus Seneca, Excerpta Contr. Lib. viii. Contr. iv.] [9] A correspondent in *Notes and Queries*, *First Series*, vol. vi. p. 614, says, "Misericordia Domini inter pontem et fontem" is somewhere in St. Augustine. I looked through that Father for this, as for other things, but could not find this.]

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throat. *Quod cuiquam contigit, cuivis potest.*[1] Who knows how he may be tempted? It is his case, it may be thine.[2] *Quæ sua sors hodie est, cras fore vestra potest.* We ought not to be so rash and rigorous in our censures as some are; charity will judge & hope the best; God be merciful unto us all!

[1 Memoriter from Seneca, De Tranquillitate, cap. xi. Also in Publius Syrus. In both Seneca and Publius Syrus it runs: "Cuivis potest accidere, quod cuiquam potest." What happens to one man may happen to anyone.] [2 Buchanan. Eleg. lib. [What is his fate to-day, to-morrow may be thine.]

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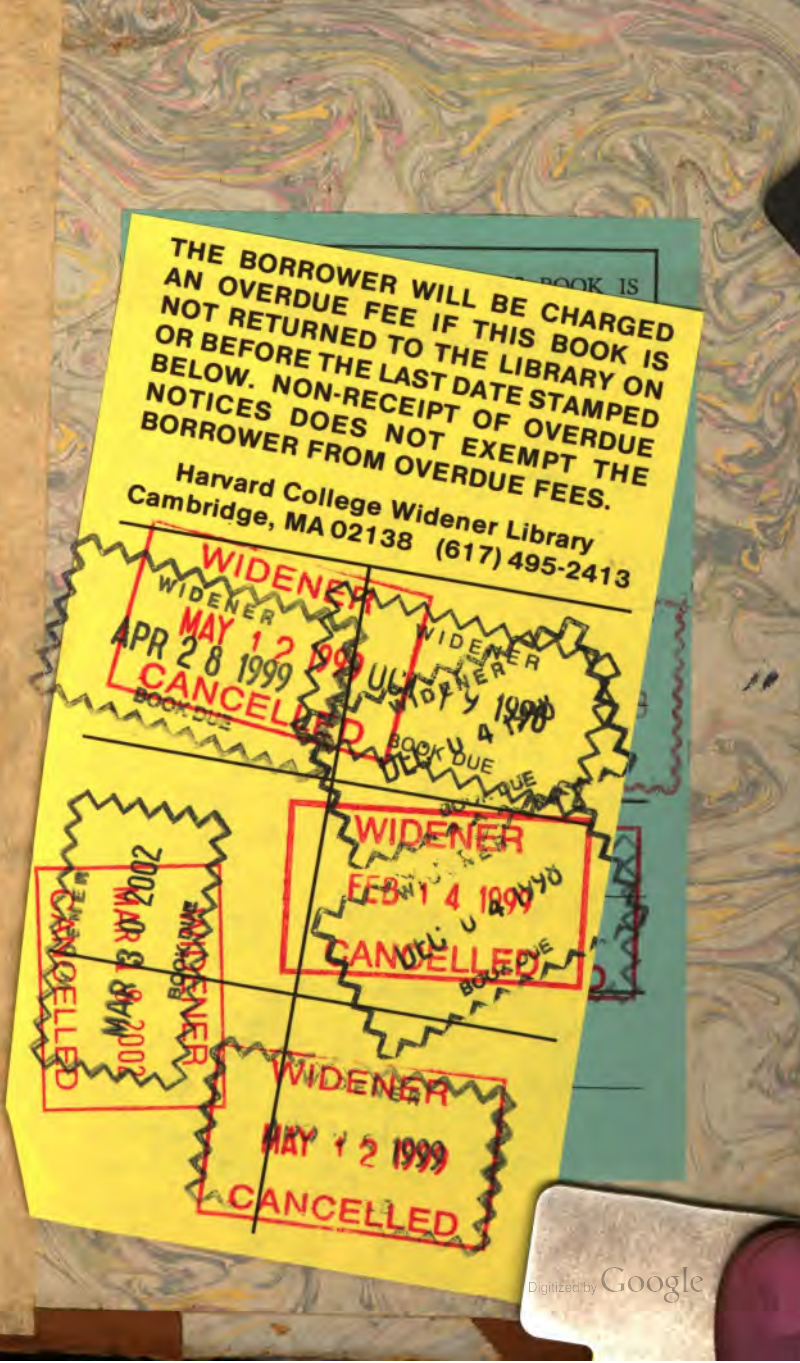
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